ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

VOLUME II

Āpa – Bhārhut

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Volume II



(by courtesy of the British Museum, London)

ARHAT

Chinese glazed pottery 10–11th century from the I-chu caves, Hopei

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

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VOLUME II

Āpa – Bhārhut

1966

PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CEYLON

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, CEYLON

Fascimile Reprint

Reprinted in 1998
by
The Department of Buddhist Affairs
Ministry of Buddhasasana

Direct Copied and Printed at the State Printing Corporation

NOTE

THE system of transliteration used in the case of Pali and Sanskrit terms is that now generally accepted by scholars and lexicographers. In the case of Chinese and Japanese names and words, Wade's system has been followed. Where Siamese words are concerned, a system suggested by H. H. Prince Dhani Nivat has been largely adopted.

In certain cases the textual word (Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, & c.) has been retained in preference to a dubious English rendering with a connotation foreign to Buddhism. Thus, Saṅgha for the Order of Monks; bhikkhu for priest, monk or almsman; arahant for saint; karma for action; bodhisattva for aspirant for enlightenment, & c. And such term will be used in the language of the source employed, Nibbāna (Pali), Nirvāna (Sanskrit), & c. But a comprehensive system of cross-references will ensure that the reader who is not familiar with such technical terms is guided from an English term to the more precise and classical one; thus, Apperception, see Javana; Awareness, see Sati; Void, see Śūnya; & c.

In Ceylon the dates of events up to the 16th century have been taken from the Chronological List in the University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon,* Vol. I, Part II.

Instead of A. D. the abbreviation A. C. has been used throughout.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. .. Aṅguttara Nikāya, I–VI, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS*. 1885–1910

AA. .. Aṅguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakatha, (Manorathapūranī), I–V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp, *PTS*. 1924–56

AAWG. .. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen

AbhK. .. Abhidharmakośa (Nāgari characters), ed. R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930

AbhKbh. .. Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky, *BB*. XX, 1920

AbhKk. .. Abhidharmakośakārikā, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Paris, 1931

AbhKvy. .. Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932–36

Abhs. .. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS*. 1884, 1–48

Abhsy. .. Abhidharmasamuccaya, ed. P. Pradhan, *VBS*. 12, 1950

Abhvt. .. Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM*. 1, 1915

ABIA .. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Kern Institute

ABORI. .. Annals of the Bhandarker Oriental Research Institute (Poona)

AbsPuś. .. Abhisamayālaṃkāraprajñāpāram-itopadeśaśāstra (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed. Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller, *BB*. XXIII, 1929

AbsPvy. .. Abhisamayālaṃkārālokaprajñāpā-ramitāvyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932–35

AdśP. .. Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. H. Leumann, Strassburg, 1912

Akanuma 1 .. Akanuma, C. : Indo-Bukkyō, Koyūmeishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931

Akanuma 2 .. Akanuma, C. : Kam-pa Shibu Agon Goshōroku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Agamas and Pali Nikāyas), Nagoya, 1929

AKM. .. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausg. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

AM. .. Asia Minor

AMG. .. Annales du Musée Guimet

Anāgv. .. Anāgatavaṃsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS*. 1886, 33 ff.

Anesaki .. Anesaki, M. : The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese, 1908

AO. .. Archiv Orientální : Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute

Ap. .. Apadāna, I–II, ed. M. E. Lilley, *PTS*. 1925–27

ApA. .. Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā (Visuddhajanavilāsinī), ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS*. 1954

ArtA. .. Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland)

Arvs. .. Arthaviniścaya, ed. A. Ferrari, Rome, 1944

AS. .. Aluvihara Series (Colombo)

ASCAR. .. Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report

ASCI. .. Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Inscription

ASCMem. .. Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Memoir

ASIAR. .. Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report

ASIMem. .. Archæological Survey of India, Memoir

AsP. .. Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1888

Āṭā. .. Āṭānāṭikasūtra, ed. H. Hoffmann (Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra), *KITurf*. V, 1939

Avk. .. Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das, *BI*. 1888–96

Avś. .. Avadānaśataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST*. 19, 1958

BASR. .. Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie

BB. .. Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)

Bbh. .. Bodhisattvabhūmi, U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930–36

Bc. .. Bodhicaryāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Calcutta, 1901–14

Bcp. .. Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, 1902

BD. .. Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo, 1956

Beal. .. Beal, S. : The Buddhist Tripitaka, 1876

BEFEO. .. Bulletin de l'École FranCaise d'Extrême Orient (Hanoi)

Bendall .. Bendall, C. : Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1883

Bhkāv. .. Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ed. S. d' Oldenbourg, 1884

BHS. .. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, ed. F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953

Bhsk. .. Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938

BI. .. Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

BiblB. .. Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)

BIIMEO. .. Bolletino dell' Instituto Indiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome)

BM. .. Buddhadatta's Manuals, I–II, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1915, 1927

BMFJ. .. Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo)

BnīPrāt. .. Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa), *KLTurf.* III, 1926

BOH. .. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)

BPrāt. .. Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, *IHQ.* 7, 1931, 259 ff.

BS. .. Buddhistic Studies, ed. B. C. Law Calcutta, 1931

BSOAS. .. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London Institution

BSS. .. Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. .. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

Buc. .. Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1935

Bup. .. Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1892

Buv. .. Buddhavaṃsa, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1882

BuvA. .. Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā (Madhuratthavilāsinī), ed. I. B. Horner, *PTS.* 1946

Cabaton .. Cabaton, A. : Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pāli, Paris, 1907

Catuś. .. Catuḥśataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1931

CHJ. .. The Ceylon Historical Journal

CII. .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

CJHSS. .. The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies

CJSc. .. Ceylon Journal of Science—Section G

Ckv. .. Chakesadhātuvaṃsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1885, 5–16

Cordier .. Cordier, P. : Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain, II–III, 1909–15

Cp. .. Cariyāpiṭaka, ed. B. C. Law, *PTS.* Lahore, 1924

CpA. .. Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī), ed. D. L. Barua, *PTS.* 1939

CPD. .. A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen, 1925–65

Cvisp. .. Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa, ed. P. B. Patel, *VBS.* 8, 1949

D. .. Dīgha Nikāya, I–III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, *PTS.* 1890–1911

DA. .. Dīghanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī), I–III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede, *PTS.* 1886–1932

Dāṭhv. .. Dāṭhāvaṃsa. ed. B. C. Law, *PSS.* 7, 1925

Dbhg. .. Daśabhūmika sūtra (Gāthā portion) ed. J. Rahder and S. Susa, Extract from the Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V, No. 4, 1931

Dbhs. .. Daśabhumika-sūtra, ed. J. Rahder, Louvain. 1926

DCBT. .. Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, ed. W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, London, 1937

DeS. .. de Silva, W. A. : Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts, I, *MCM.* series A, No. 4, 1938

DeZ. .. de Zoysa, Louis. : A Catalogue of Pali Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, Colombo, 1885

Dhk. .. Dhātukathā (with commentary), ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *PTS.* 1892

Dhmpr. .. Dharmottarapradīpa, ed. D. Malvania, Patna, 1955

Dhp. .. Dhammapada, ed. S. Sumangala, *PTS.* 1914

DhpA. .. Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, I–V, ed. H. Smith, H. C. Norman, L. S. Tailang, *PTS.* 1906–15.

Dhpr. .. Dharmapradīpikā(va), ed. Dharmakirti Sri Dharmarama (sixth edition), Vidyalankara Press, Ceylon, 1951.

Dhs. .. Dhammasaṅgaṇī, ed. E. Müller, *PTS.* 1885

DhsA. .. Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī), ed. E. Müller, *PTS.* 1897

Dhscy. .. Dharmasamuccaya, ed. Lin Li-Kouang (first part of Sanskrit text with Tibetan and Chinese versions), Paris, 1946

Dhsmg. .. Dharmasaṃgraha, ed. F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885

Divy. .. Divyāvadāna, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886

DPPN. .. Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I–II, by G. P. Malalasekera, London, 1960

Dpv. .. Dīpavaṃsa, ed H. Oldenberg, London, 1879

Dpv. 2. .. The Dīpavaṃsa, ed. B. C. Law, *CHJ*. VIII, Nos. 1-4, Maharagama, Ceylon, 1959

Dukap. .. Dukapaṭṭhāna. ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS*. 1906

EI. .. Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press)

Ency. Bsm. .. Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, Ceylon

ERE. .. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I–XIII, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburg, 1908–26

EW. .. East and West (Rome)

EZ. Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press)

Gg. .. Gaṇḍīstotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan), ed. Staël-Holstein, *BB*. XV, 1913

GM. .. Gilgit Manuscripts, 1–III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta, 1939–50

GOS. .. Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda)

Gst. .. Guhyasamājatantra, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1931

Gv. .. Gandhavamsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS*. 1886 54–80

Gvyū. .. Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra I–IV, ed. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (second edition), Kyoto, 1949

Hatthv. .. Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa, ed. C. F. Godakumbura, *PTS*. 1957

Hbg. .. Hōbōgirin, Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme, ed. P. Demiéville, Tokyo, 1929–37

Hetub. .. Hetubinduṭīkā (with sub-commentary), ed. S. Sanghavi and M. S. Jinavijayaji, *GOS*. 113, 1949

HJAS. .. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

HOS. .. Havard Oriental Series

Hvp. .. Hastavālaprakaraṇa (reconstructed in Sannskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*. 1918, 267 ff.

IA. .. Indian Antiquary (Bombay)

IAL .. Indian Art and Letters (London)

IBK. .. Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū (University of Tokyo, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies)

IC. .. Indian Culture (Calcutta)

IHQ. .. The Indian Historical Quarterly

It. .. Itivuttaka, ed. E. Windisch, *PTS*. 1889

ItA. .. Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī, I–II ed. M. M. Bose, *PTS*. 1934–36

J. .. Jātaka (with commentary), 1–VI, ed. V. Fausböll, *PTS*. 1962

JAOS. .. Journal of the American Oriental Society

JAs. .. Journal Asiatique

JASB. .. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

JBHU. .. Journal of the Benares Hindu University

JBORS. .. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

JBRAS. .. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JBRS. .. Journal of the Burma Research Society

JBTS. .. Journal of the Buddhist Text Society

JCBRAS. .. Jourual of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JDLC. .. Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta

JGIS. ... Journal of the Greater India Society

JIH. .. Journal of Indian History

Jinac. .. Jinacarita, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, *JPTS*. 1904–5, 1–165

Jinak. .. Jinakālamālī (in Sinhalese characters) ed. A. P. Buddhadatta Colombo, 1956

Jināl. .. Jinālaṃkāra (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1894

Jm. .. Jātakamālā, ed. H. Kern, *HOS* 1, Boston, 1891

JOR. .. Journal of Oriental Research

JPTS. .. Journal of the Pali Text Society

JRAS. .. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

JSS. .. Journal of the Siam Society

Keith .. Keith, A. B.: Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1905

Khp. .. Khuddakapāṭha, ed. H. Smith, *PTS*. 1915

KhpA. .. Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā I), ed. H. Smith, *PTS*. 1915

Khs. .. Khuddasikkhā, ed. E. Müller, *JPTS*. 1883, 88–121

KhT. .. Khotanese Texts, I–II, ed. H.W. Bailey, Cambridge, 1946–54

Klpm .. Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, ed. H. Lüders (Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā), *Kl Turf*. II, 1926

Kl Turf. .. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte (Königliche Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen).

Kp. .. Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka, ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri, Calcutta, 1898

Kśyp. .. Kāśyapaparivarta, ed. H. Staël-Holstein, 1926

Ktr. .. Karatalaratna (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938

Kvbh. .. (Karmavibhaṅga) : Mahākarmavibhaṅga (La grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahākarmavibhaṅga), ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1932

Kvit. .. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, ed. Dorothy Maskell, *PTS.* 1956

Kvu. .. Kathāvatthu, I–II, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS.* 1894–95

KvuA. .. Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1889, 1–222

Kvyū. .. (Avalokiteśvaraguṇa) kāraṇḍavyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873

Lal. .. Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* I, 1958

Laṅk. .. Laṅkāvatārasūtra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923

Ligeti .. Ligeti, Louis : Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol, I, *BOH.* III, 1942–44

Lś. .. Lokeśvaraśataka, ed. Suzanne Karpelès, *JAS.* 1919, s. 11, XIV, 357–465

M. .. Majjhima Nikāya, I–IV, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1888–1925

MA. .. Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī). I–V, ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Horner, *PTS.* 1922–38

MBT. .. Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, *SOR.* IX, Part I, 1956

MCM. .. Memoir of the Colombo Museum

Mdhvr .. Mādhyamakavṛtti, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *BB.* IV, 1903–13

Mdhvt. .. Mādhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. de la Valée Poussin, *BB.* IX

Mgh. .. Meghasūtra, ed.C. Bendall, *JRAS.* 1880, 288 ff.

Mhbv. .. Mahābodhivaṃsa, ed. S. A. Strong, *PTS.* 1891

Mhm .. Mahāmāyurī, ed. Oldenburg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Russk. Archeol. Obschestva, XI, 1899

Mhps. .. Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie, Berlin, 1950–51

Mhs. .. Mahāsamājasūtra, ed. E. Wa dschmidt, (Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras, I.) *KlTurf.* IV, 1932

Mhsmg. .. Mahāyānasaṃgraha, I–II, ed. E. Lamotte, (La Somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga), Louvain, 1938

Mhv. .. Mahāvaṃsa, ed. W. Geiger, (chapters i–xxxvi), *PTS.* 1908 ; Cūlavaṃsa, ed. W. Geiger, I–II, (chapters xxxvii–lxxii and lxxiii–ci), *PTS.* 1925–27

MhvA. .. Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā (Vaṃsatthappakāsinī = Mahāvaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā), I–II, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *PTS.* 1935

MhvE. .. Extended Mahāvaṃsa, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *AS.* III, 1937

Mhvu. .. Mahāvastu, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882–97

Mhvyut. .. Mahāvyutpatti, ed. R. Sakaki, Kyoto, 1916

Miln. .. Milindapañha, ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS.* 1962

Mmk. .. (Ārya) Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ed T. G. Sastri, *TSS.*1920–25

Moc. .. Mochizuki, S. : Bukkyō-dai-jiten, 1–8, Tokyo, 1933–57

Mūls. .. Mūlasikkhā, ed. E. Müller, *JPTS.* 1883, 122–32

Mvibh. .. Madhyāntavibhāga, ed. S. Yamaguchi, Nagoya, 1934

Mvyk. .. Maitreyavyākaraṇa, ed. S. Lévi, Mélanges Linossier, Paris, 1933, 381–90

Nanjio .. Nanjio, B. : Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, Oxford, 1883

Nd. I .. Mahāniddesa, I–II, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas, *PTS.*1916–17

Nd. II .. Cullaniddesa, I–III, ed. W. Stede, *PTS.* 1918

NdA. I .. Niddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhammapajjotikā—Mahāniddesa Aṭṭhakathā), I–III, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1931–41

NdA. II .. Niddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhammapajjotikā = Cullaniddesa Aṭṭhakathā), ed. Boruggamuwe Siri Revata, *SHB.* XIV, 1923

Nett. .. Nettippakaraṇa, ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1902

Nett A .. Nettippakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā, ed. Widurupola Piyatissa, *SHB.* IX, 1921

NIA. .. New Indian Antiquary

NR. .. Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku-bu Kenkyū Ronshū (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University)

Nrp. .. Nāmarūpapariccheda, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *JPTS.* 1913–14

Nrs. .. Nāmarūpasamāsa, ed. P.Dhammarama, *JPTS.* 1915–16

Nyāb. .. Nyāyabindu, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky (Nyāyabindu: Nyāyabinduṭīkā), I–II, *BB.* VIII, 1904; III, 1929

Nyāp. .. Nyāyapraveśa (with commentary), ed. A. B. Dhruva, *GOS.* 38, 1930

M. .. Ōtani Daigaku Toshokan-zō Tibet Daizōkyō Kanjur Kandō Mokuroku, Kyoto 1930–32

Pañcag .. Pañcagatidīpanī, ed. L. Feer, *JPTS.* 1884, 152–61

PB. .. Prabuddha Bhārata

PBO. .. Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Varsovie)

PED. .. Pali English Dictionary, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *PTS.* 1921–25

Peṭ. .. Peṭakopadesa, ed. A. Barua, *PST.* 1949

Phṛd. .. Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, ed. F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1884

Pjm. .. Pajjamadhu, ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS*, 1887, 1–16

PMG. .. Publications du Musée Guimet

PpA. .. Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī), Part I, ed. Rerukane Ariyañāna, *SHB* XXXVIII, 1936; Part II, ed. Rerukane Candavimala, *SHB.* XL, 1938

Ppiṇḍ. .. Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha, I–II, ed G. Tucci (Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñāpāramitā), *JRAS* 1947

Prāt. .. Prātimokṣasūtra, ed. L. Finot (Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins) with a French translation of the Chinese version by Ed. Huber, *JAs*. XI. 2 (1913), 473 ff.

Prgsg. .. Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasañcayagāthā, ed. E. Obermiller, Moscow, 1937

Prvār. .. Pramāṇavārttikam (with commentary and sub-commentary), ed. R. Sankrityayana, Allahabad, 1949

Ps. .. Paṭisambhidāmagga, I–II, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS.* 1905–07

PsA. .. Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammappakāsinī), I–III, ed. C. V. Joshi, *PTS.* 1933–47

PSS. .. Panjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore)

PTC. .. Pāli Tipiṭakaṁ Concordance, *PTS.* 1952–65

PTS. .. Pali Text Society (edition)

Pug. .. Puggalapaññatti, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1883

PugA. .. Puggalapaññatti Aṭṭhakathā, ed. G. Landsberg and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1913–14, 170–254

PvśP. .. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñapāramitā, ed. N. Dutt, London, 1934

Pvu. .. Petavatthu, with commentary: Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1894

Ratgot. .. Ratnagotravibhāgamahāyānottaratantraśāstra, ed. E. H. Johnston, Patna, 1950

Rkāv. .. Roruka Avadāna (I: Tibetischer Text und dt. Übersetzung; II: Wörterbuch), ed. J. Nobel, 1954

Rpp. .. Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, ed. L. Finot, St. Petersburg, 1901

Rsv. .. Rasavāhinī, ed. Ñānawimala Mahāthera, Colombo, 1961

Rvibh. .. Rūpārūpavibhāga, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* I, 1915

S. .. Saṃyutta Nikāya, I–VI, ed. L. Feer and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1884–1904

SA. .. Saṃyuttanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakāsinī), I–III, ed. F.L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1929–37

Sādh. .. Sādhanamālā, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1925–28

Sāg. .. Saṃyuktāgama (fragments from Stein manuscripts), ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS.* 1913, 569 ff.

Śāl. .. Śālistambasūtra (reconstructed), ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, (Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Théorie des douze causes), Gand, 1913, 19–90

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Crossreferences of special titles to Abbreviations

Atthasālinī, ..	.. Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*DhsA.*)
Madhuratthavilāsinī,	.. Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*BuvA.*)
Manorathapūraṇī,	.. Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*AA.*)
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā, ..	.. Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*NdA.* **I, II**)
Papañcasūdanī, ..	.. Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*MA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī, ..	.. Cariyapitaka Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*CpA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī, ..	.. Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*ItA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī, ..	.. Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*PpA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī, ..	.. Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*PvuA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī, ..	.. Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*ThagA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī, ..	.. Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*ThīgA.*)
Paramatthajotikā I,	.. Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*KhpA.*)
Paramatthajotikā II,	.. Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*SnA.*)
Paramatthamañjusā,	.. Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*VismA*)
Saddhammapajjotikā I, II,	.. Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*NdA.* I, II)
Saddhammappakāsinī,	.. Patisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*PsA.*)
Samantapasādikā, ..	.. Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*VinA.*)
Sammohavinodanī,	.. Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā ..	.. (*VbhA.*)
Sāratthappakāsinī, ..	.. Saṃyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*SA.*)
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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

abhidhamma (**abhidharma**), 'special *dhamma*', the analytic doctrine of the Buddhist canon. Buddhist philosophy ; name of the third group of the canonical books.

abhiṣeka, ritual initiation, consecration of a ruler.

ācariya (**ācarya**), teacher.

āgama, a division of the Sanskrit canonical texts corresponding to *nikāya* of the Pali canon.

anāgāmin, 'never-returner', one who has attained the third stage of the path of holiness.

apsaras, celestial nymph.

arahant (**arhat**), the perfected disciple.

āsana, seat or support of a god or group of gods.

āsava (**āsrava**), mental intoxicant.

asura, inferior deity inhabiting a lower world.

avadāna, story illustrating the results of an act.

bhāṇavāra, a section of the Pali texts, a division for purposes of recitation.

bhikkhu (**bhikṣu**), a Buddhist monk.

bhikkhuni (**bhikṣuṇī**), a Buddhist nun.

bhūmi, stage of a bodhisattva's religious progress.

bija, lit. 'seed', 'germ', the seed of enlightenment; mystic letter or syllable in a magic formula.

bodhi, enlightenment.

bodhicitta, 'thought of enlightenment', mental effort for enlightenment.

bodhisatta (**bodhisattva**), a being aspiring to the supreme enlightenment of a Buddha.

brahmacariyā, religious life, celibacy.

brahmaloka, highest heaven, abode of brahmas.

brāhman, a member of the priestly caste in India, from Vedic times onwards.

brahma-vihāra, lit. 'divine abodes', the four sublime or divine states of mind (love, pity, sympathetic joy, equanimity).

Buddha, the Enlightened One.

buddhakṣetra, 'Buddha-field', domain of a Buddha's ministry.

caitya, see **cetiya**.

cakkavattin (**cakravartin**), world ruler.

caṇḍāla, an outcaste.

cetiya (**caitya**), a sepulchral monument ; a shrine.

deva (**devatā**), a deity. —**loka**, heaven.

dhamma (**dharma**), norm, law, doctrine ; thing, object of mind ; phenomenon.

dhāraṇī, a magic formula.

dharma, see **dhamma**.

dharmakāya, one of the three forms of existence of the Buddha, according to Mahāyāna, constituting the essence of all Buddhas.

dhyāna (**jhāna**), state of mental absorption.

dhyāni-bodhisattva, transcendent bodhisattva.

Dhyānibuddha, transcendent Buddha.

gandhabba (**gandharva**), celestial musician.

gāthā, verse, stanza.

gāvuta, a linear measure, less than two miles.

guhyanāma, mystic name.

Hinayāna, 'the small vehicle', name in Mahāyāna texts describing the early teaching of Buddhism. Theravāda being the best known.

iddhi (**ṛddhi**), psychic power.

jātaka, story of a previous birth of the Buddha.

jhāna (**dhyāna**), state of mental absorption.

kalpa (**kappa**), a world cycle, an aeon.

karma (**kamma**), action ; law of cause and effect.

khattiya (**kṣatriya**), a member of the warrior caste

kinnara (**kiṃnara**), mythical being, partly human

koṭi, a crore or 10 million.

kṣatriya, see **khattiya**.

kusala (**kuśala**), good, meritorious ; skilful. **akusala** (**akuśala**), improper, wrong, bad ; unskilful.

lama, a Tibetan Buddhist priest.

lokadhātu, world system.

Mahāyāna, 'the great vehicle', name given to the developed teachings of Buddhism, based on the doctrine of saving others.

maṇḍala, magic circle.

mantra, mystic formula.

mudrā, mystic pose of the hand.

nāga, snake, serpent-demon.

Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa), cessation of the process of becoming, the ultimate goal in Buddhism.

nikāya, sub-division of the Pali canon.

niraya, purgatory, hell.

nirmāṇakāya, one of the three forms of the Buddha, according to Mahāyāna, constituting the human form adopted by him.

Nirvāṇa, see **Nibbāna.**

paccekabuddha (pratyekabuddha), an enlightened one who does not preach to the world.

paṇḍit, learned person.

pāramitā, perfection by a bodhisattva.

paribbājaka (parivrājaka), a wandering religious mendicant.—f. **paribbājika (parivrājika).**

paritta, protective charm, usually part of the canon.

peta (preta), a departed spirit.

piśāca (pisāca), a demon, goblin.—f. **pisācī (piśācī).**

pratyekabuddha, see **paccekabuddha.**

purohita, brāhman chaplain to a king.

rājā, king or member of the ruling family.

ṛddhi, see **iddhi.**

rākkhasa (rākṣasa), a kind of malevolent demon.—f. **rakkhasī (rākṣasī).**

sādhana, formula for the invocation of a deity.

sakadāgāmin (sakṛdāgāmin), 'once returner', one who has attained the second stage of holiness.

Ṣakti, energy of a god, symbolised as a female.

Sākya, name of a clan to which Gotama Buddha belonged.

samādhi, concentration.

sāmaṇera, a novice.—f. **sāmaṇerī.**

sambhogakāya, one of the three forms of existence of the Buddha, according to Mahāyāna, constituting the superhuman form in which he manifests himself.

samsāra, round of birth and death.

Saṅgha, community of Buddhist monks and nuns.

sāsana, message, teaching, dispensation.

sāvaka (śrāvaka), disciple of the Buddha.—f. **sāvikā (srāvikā).**

seṭṭhi, wealthy merchant, treasurer, banker.

sīla, moral practice, morality.

śloka, stanza.

sotāpanna (śrotāpanna), 'stream-winner', who has attained the initial stage of holiness.

sotāpatti (śrotāpatti), entering upon and attaining the first stage of the path of holiness.

stūpa (thūpa), a relic-mound.

sutta ((sūtra), a discourse in the canon.

tantra, a class of esoteric literature.

Tathāgata, epithet of a Buddha, generally used by Gotama Buddha in reference to himself.

thera, a senior monk.

therī, a senior nun.

thūpa, see **stūpa,**

Tipiṭaka (Tripiṭka), the Buddhist canon, consisting of three collections, Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma.

uddāna, summary of contents.

upāsaka, a lay devotee.—f. **upāsikā.**

upasampadā, a higher ordination of a monk or a nun.

uposatha, 'fasting day', a weekly sacred day, dependent on the phase of the moon.

ūrṇā (uṇṇā), circle of hair between eye-brows.

uṣṇīṣa (uṇhīsa), protuberance on head of Buddhas.

vagga (varga), chapter of a book.

vāhana, the mount of a deity.

vihāra, monastery.

Vinaya, monastic discipline. Collection of rules of conduct for monks and nuns, forming a division of the canon.

yakkha (yakṣa), a demon.—f. **yakkhinī (yakṣī, yakṣiṇī).**

yoga, union; concentration of mind; endeavour; austere ascetic practice; (magic) power.

yogin, one who practises contemplation; one possessed of supernormal powers.

yoginī, female demon or any being endowed with magical power; woman representing a goddess who is the object of adoration.

yojana, a linear measure, about 7 miles.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA
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BUDDHISM

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ĀPA, water, one of the mahābhūta. See BHŪTA.

ĀPĀ, a class of deities mentioned in the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D.* II, 259) among those attending the great concourse of gods which assembled to hear the preaching of the Buddha. The word *Āpo devā*, literally meaning water-gods, is mentioned along with three others, *paṭhavī* (earth) *devā*, *tejo* (fire) *devā*, and *vāyo* (air) *devā*. The commentary on the sutta (*DA.* II, 689) says that the *Āpā devā* were born as such by virtue of their having practised meditation on water (*āpokasiṇa*) in their previous lives. But the four groups of devas mentioned here are, more plausibly, deifications of the four elements, earth, water, fire and air.

B. J.

APABHRAṂSA, the generic name given to various Middle Indian Vernaculars as separate from the standard literary Prakrit languages. At first they were only spoken dialects but later they, too, received literary form. The word etymologically means 'departure from correct speech'. The Apabhraṃśa dialects were the immediate predecessors of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. They were used by various Jain and Buddhist authors but it is difficult to say when they became literary languages.

Early mention of the word *apabhraṃśa* itself goes as far back as the 2nd cent. B.C. The use of Apabhraṃśa by writers goes back to at least the 7th cent. A.C., and was current for some half a dozen centuries afterwards. P. C. Bagchi speaks of a well-known Tibetan tradition that the canon of the Mahāsammatīyas was written in Apabhraṃśa. [1] In its later days it was a vehicle of a class of Buddhist poetry in the *dohā* metre (couplets of varying measure). Buddhist divines, such as Tillopāda, Sarahapāda and Kaṇhapāda, composed such verses on the subject of mysticism. This idiom was then traditionally called *sandhyā bhāṣā* (twilight tongue). The later sects, e.g., Tantrists and Vajrayānists, also had some literature in Apabhraṃśa. (See H. L. Jain, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, IV, 212 ff.)

D. T. D.

APACARA, a king of the first kappa and a previous birth of Devadatta. He was the world's first liar. He was better known as Upacara.

APACĀYIKA SUTTA of the *Sacca Saṃyutta* (*S.* V, 468), incorrectly named *Pacāyika* both in the text and the *uddāna* (*DPPN.* II, 92), states that those who pay respect (*apacāyikā*) to elders are few, whereas those who do not are quite numerous. The sutta is very short and was delivered by the Buddha to the monks.

APACCAKKHAKAMMA SUTTA. The Buddha says, in answer to a question by Vacchagotta, that it is as a result of not making clear the nature of the five groups of existence (*khandha*) that diverse views arise as to whether the world is eternal or not, finite or not, whether the life and the body are identical or not, whether the Tathāgata exists after death or not (*S.* III, 262).

APACCUPALAKKHAṆĀ SUTTA. The arising of diverse views, given in the *Apaccakkhakamma Sutta*, is attributed to not differentiating the five groups of existence (*S.* III, 261).

APACCUPEKKHANĀ SUTTA attributes the arising of diverse views to not looking into the five groups of existence (*S.* III, 262).

APACITADHANA-PRAPŪRAṆA-VIDHI-KALPA-VṚKṢA-PAUṢṬIKA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a text, the authorship of which is

1 "Fundamental Problems of the Origins of Buddhism" (*France-Asie-Asia*, New Series, XVII, No. 168). See also this same author's *Studies in the Tantras* (p. 27) for his interpretation of *sandha bhāṣā* as 'intentional speech'.

attributed to Ye-śes rdo-rje (Jñānavajra). Its Tibetan version occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Nor-ḥgrib-pa dgaṅ-baḥi cho-ga dpag-bsam śiṅ rgyas-pa shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3854). The work describes a rite to be performed for the restoration of lost wealth. The main instructions set out in the work are as follows. An altar should be erected with a mixture of earth brought from the premises of a not too poor house. An eight-petalled red lotus should be drawn on it with the figures of a *vajra* in the middle, a flask in the east, a club (*gadā*) in the south, a shield in the north and a coin (*karṣāpaṇa*) in the west. Oblations (*bali*) and offerings of lamps, incense, flowers and conch-shells should be prepared. Garlands of flowers should be hung on four posts of *khadira* (*acacia catechu*) wood placed at the four entrances. Finally, precious stones, corn and the like should be laid out on the top of the circle of offerings. Flowers, leaves and fruits should then be arranged along the border of the circle (*maṇḍala*). Various kinds of scent should be sprinkled and *kuśa* grass strewn around. Curtains of different kinds of silk should be hung enclosing the venue of the sacrifice. Images and paintings of the Tathāgata are to be placed on the sides, as also offerings of delicious food, drink and paps. The priest, *vajra* and bell in hand and decked with ornaments, should then perform the ceremonial ablutions standing on the ground strewn with *kuśa* grass. His assistants, also bedecked with ornaments, should be installed in their proper places. Then those standing on the right should enter from behind and drive out evil spirits with the sound *hūṃ* and turn back. Those on the left should enter from the north-east, chant the formula *Oṃ vajra yakṣa hūṃ hūṃ* and so prevent the appearance of evil spirits responsible for the decrease of wealth. The ceremony should continue for three days. On the third day, the priest should enter the circle (*maṇḍala*) from the west, perform a ceremony of consecration, make a large offering to Kuvera and nominate him to be in charge of the riches. Thereupon the priest and his assistants should request Kuvera and his following to increase their wealth and prevent any loss of it. More offerings are to be made to the accompaniment of the sound of cymbals and further blessings solicited.

R. H.

APADĀNA, the thirteenth section of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It is a narrative work entirely in Pali stanzas and, as the title of the book indicates, is a collection of tales of the pious works of the saints or arahants.

The book consists of four main sections, namely, (i) the *Buddhāpadāna*, (ii) the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*, (iii) the *Therāpadāna* and lastly, (iv) the *Therī-apadāna*. These four sections are again subdivided into fifty-nine groups or vaggas. Of them, the first fifty-five vaggas consist of 550 tales about theras, each vagga consisting of ten tales, and named after the title of the first tale narrated in the vagga. In the first vagga are also included the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* which are but minor sections of the book. The last four vaggas of the book consist of forty tales of therīs, each vagga consisting of ten tales.

The *Buddhāpadāna* is a glorification of the Buddha, the 'King of the Dhamma endowed with the thirty perfections (*pāramī*)'. Here the Buddha himself is made to pronounce this glorification in reply to a question raised by the elder Vedeha. In this glorification the Buddha is made to describe the various meritorious deeds he had done in his previous births and their good results. The *Buddhāpadāna* ends in 81 stanzas with a brief admonition to the monks to be united, heedful and to follow the Noble Eightfold Path.

The *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* is a glorification of paccekabuddhas who 'go their solitary way, like the rhinoceros'. The entire sutta of the rhinoceros (*Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* : *Sn.* i. 3) is inserted here. To the 41 stanzas of that sutta another 17 stanzas have been added, 8 at the beginning and 9 at the end, thus making the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* a composition of 58 stanzas. This section of the book is written in a metre different from the rest of the book. (The first three stanzas of the book are also in the same metre.)

The *Therāpadāna* describes the glorious deeds of 550 arahants, beginning with the story of Sāriputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha. This story alone is longer than both the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* (234 stanzas). The story of Sāriputta is followed by those of other famous monks such as Mahā-Moggallāna, Mahā-Kassapa, Anuruddha, Upāli, Aññā-Koṇḍañña, Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, Ānanda, Rāhula, Raṭṭhapāla and Sopāka.

These biographies of the theras are of the same pattern though their length differs considerably from one another. Every tale describes some meritorious deed done by the thera concerned during the time of a former Buddha and then the

pleasures obtained during his subsequent existences in accordance with the prophecy uttered by that Buddha and, ultimately, the attainment of the perfection of an arahant. Another characteristic feature of these *Apadānas* is that, like the *Jātakas*, almost all of them have a story of the past and a story of the present. Whereas the *Jātakas* relate a previous existence of the Buddha, the *Apadānas* relate that of an arahant. Only a few *Apadānas* deviate from this stereotype.

The *Therī-apadāna* is also comparatively short. It consists of biographies of forty renowned nuns, divided into four vaggas or groups, each vagga consisting of ten biographies. Here appear biographies of some of the famous nuns in Buddhist literature, such as Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Paṭācārā, Kuṇḍalakesī, Kisāgotamī, Nandā Janapadakalyāṇī, Yasodharā, Rūpanandā and Ambapālī. These biographies of nuns follow the same pattern as those of monks.

In addition to these, there are a large number of names which are only descriptive titles, e.g., the theras," Dispenser of fans ", " Dispenser of clothes ", Dispenser of mangoes ", " Worshipper of footprints ", and the therīs, " Dispenser of water ", " Dispenser of five seats ", " Dispenser of rice gruel " and the like.

The *Apadāna* is certainly one of the latest works of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and of the canon. As B. C. Law has pointed out in his *History of Pali Literature* (p. 7), the *Apadāna* is not included as a text of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* in the *Dīghabhānaka* list, but it finds mention as the thirteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* in the *Majjhimabhāṇaka* list. This would lead to the inference that at the time the *Dīghabhāṇaka* list was completed the *Apadāna* was not considered as a text of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, and probably also of the canon. Moreover, the reference in the *Apadāna* to numerous Buddhas presupposes the legend of twenty-four previous Buddhas which is only a later development of the older legend of six Buddhas contained in other parts of the canon such as the *Dīgha Nikāya*. B. C. Law also says that one of the *Apadānas* seems to allude to the *Kathāvatthu* as an *Abhidhamma* composition (*Ap.* I, 37) and Rhys Davids argues that, if it is so, the *Apadāna* must be one of the very latest books of the canon.

The *Apadāna* makes no attempt to teach the higher doctrines in Buddhism. Its stories deal with the merits done by the good people, laying much stress on the formal aspects of religion, e.g., *pūjā, vandanā, dāna,* etc. Very often the good deed is the erection of a cetiya, cleaning round a cetiya, white-washing a cetiya, sweeping the compound of a cetiya or a bodhi-tree or some such commonplace action. Thus, the *Apadāna* has aimed to emphasise the charitable and humanitarian aspects of Buddhist life.

The *Apadāna* is as copious a composition as the *Jātaka*, though of less literary value. Its narratives bear much in common with those of the *Theragāthā*, the *Therīgāthā* and the *Vimānavatthu* in their contents and also in their style. Some narratives of the *Apadāna* give more details of the personages described in the *Thera, Therī–gāthā*, e.g., Kisāgotamī and Paṭācārā.

The legends of the *Apadāna* have been the subject matter for many other later compositions, like the two Pali works, the *Sādhucarita* and the *Rasavāhinī* and the two Sinhalese prose works, the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Kathiṇānisaṃsaya.*

The *Apadāna* has its counterpart in the ***Avadāna*** in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

H. R. P.

APADĀNA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ, the commentary on the Apadāna. See VISUDDHAJANAVILĀSINĪ.

APADĀNIYA, an arahant thera. Ninety-two kappas ago he eulogised the life-history (*apadānaṃ pakittayiṃ*) of the Buddha and paid homage at his feet. As a consequence of this good deed he knew no evil birth thereafter (*Ap.* I, 24).

APADIKA, a river, on the banks of which Vasabha thera, in a previous birth as the matted haired ascetic (*jaṭila*) Nārada, erected a *puḷina* (sand) *cetiya* which was smeared with gold in memory of earlier Buddhas (*Thag A.* II, 16). In the *Apadāna,* Vasabha thera is referred to as Puḷinathūpiyatthera, and the river Apadika as Amarika (var. Aparika : *Ap.* II, p. 437).

ĀPAJJURA, a grove in the city of Sāṅkāśya in India, mentioned in the *Avadāna Śataka*. When Maudgalyāyana informed the Buddha in the *Trāyatriṃśat deva* world that the people of *Jambudvīpa* were anxious to see him, the Buddha asked him to announce to them that he would come down from the *deva* world and appear in the Āpajjura grove (*Avś.* 215, 216).

U. K.

APALĀLA, a nāga king converted by the Buddha, mentioned in the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary (*BuvA*. 32) along with Āravāla, Dhanapāla and Pārileyyaka, where it says that the Buddha was honoured even by beasts. In the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. IV, 742) the conversion of Apalāla (*Apalāladamana*) is given among the stories not included in the three Councils (*Saṅgīti*) but the reference to it in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv*. xxx, 84) as one of the many scenes depicted in the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa shows that the incident was known quite early in Ceylon. (See Vol. II Pl. I). The *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 348, 385) makes reference to the incident and says that the nāga was converted shortly before the death of the Buddha. Hsüan-tsang (Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 168–9) gives the story in detail. According to him this nāga was born as a man called Gaṅgi in the time of Kāśyapa Buddha. By his charms he overcame the power of the dragons and the people were able to harvest much grain. Thereupon each family agreed to offer him a peck of grain as a yearly tribute. Later, some forgot their promise and Gaṅgi prayed that he might become a dragon after death to destroy their crops. His wish was fulfilled and he began to destroy all the products of the earth. The Buddha out of compassion went there, to convert the dragon. Taking the mace of the Vajrapāṇi spirit, he beat against the mountain side. The dragon king, terrified, came forth and paid him reverence. Hearing the preaching of the law by the Buddha he was pleased. The Buddha forbade him to injure the crops but the dragon in order to support himself begged to have one gathering every twelve years. The Buddha granted this request. It is because of this that the White River (*Śubhāvastu*) overflows its banks every twelfth year.

Fa-hsien, too, gives a short account of the conversion of the nāga. He says that the nāga was the guardian deity of the Śubhāvastu river and was converted by the Buddha at Udyāna shortly before his death (Legge, *Fa-Hien's Travels*, p. 29). Nariman in his *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism* (pp. 194, 274) says that this incident is mentioned in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and other Sanskrit books. See also AHARARA.

H. R. P.

APALOKINA SUTTA. The Buddha says (*S*. IV, 370) that the destruction of lust, hatred and illusion is called the "undecaying"; mindfulness relating to body (*kāyagatāsati*) is the path that leads thereto.

U. K.

APĀ-MĀRGA (*Achyzanthes bidentatea*), a medicinal herb.

The *Ch'ien-shou-ch'ien-yen-kuan-shih-yin--p'u-sa-chih-ping-ho-yao-ching* (千手千眼觀世音菩薩治病合藥經 *Taishō*, No. 1059) says that the power of the mantra of Avalokiteśvara is such that if someone chants it twenty-one times, Avalokiteśvara will come to help him. The sūtra goes on to state many methods of curing disease with the help of Avalokiteśvara. *Apā-mārga* is to be used according to this sūtra for a still birth as follows: "When a woman conceives and the baby dies in her womb, boil one big ounce of *apā-mārga* with two pints of water, and take the juice from it; and after chanting Avalokiteśvara's mantra twenty-one times, drink the juice. Then the dead embryo will come out. No pain will be felt. If the afterbirth has not come out, take the same medicine once more, and it, too, will come out" (*Taishō*, Vol. 20, p. 104).

The *Pu-k'ung-chüan-so-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (不空羂索陀羅尼經 *Taishō*, No. 1096) gives this as the medicine for epilepsy.

K. Tmr.

A–P'AN (阿潘), the first Chinese Buddhist nun, of Lo-yang in Honan. According to the *Ta-sung-sêng-shih-lüeh* (大宋僧史略 *Taishō*, No. 2126), she renounced the world but did not receive ordination.

"When Mahāprajāpatī became a nun as the first Buddhist nun, her renunciation was not easy. A-p'an's renunciation of the world is also wonderful and she took only the three formulae of refuge as the first case of the renunciation of a woman in China. So, the two kinds of the Order, bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, were not in China yet. ....During the spring of the eleventh year of the Yüan-chia era (434 A.C.), ten Ceylonese nuns, Tissalā and others, performed a Buddhist ceremony at the sīmā-maṇḍala of the Nan-lin temple in Chien-k'ang for the ordination of nuns; and Hui-kuo, a nun of the Ching-fu temple, Ching-yin and many others were ordained at this ceremony. And within twelve days, more than three hundred nuns received ordination. Thus, they were the first

to receive ordination in China, and A-p'an is known to have taken the three formulae of refuge only " (*Taishō*, Vol. 54, p. 238).

K. TMR.

ĀPAṆA, a city in the Aṅguttarāpa, a country north of the river Mahī, evidently a part of the Aṅga country on the other side of that river (*SnA.* II, 437). In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* Āpaṇa is spoken of as a township of the Aṅgas, and the Buddha is mentioned as having stayed there with Sāriputta (*S.* V, 225). According to the *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā*, Āpaṇa was a brāhman village and was the home of Sela (*ThagA.* III, 45). Buddhaghosa says that the town was called Āpaṇa because it had 20,000 bazaars and was, therefore, distinguished for its shops (*MA.* III, 37).

The Buddha once visited the city with 1250 monks, and the whole company was entertained by the Jaṭila Keniya (*Vin.* I, 245). Several suttas were preached there, among them the *Potaliya Sutta* (*M.* I, 359), the *Laṭukikopama Sutta* (*M.* I, 447), the *Sela Sutta* (*M.* II, 146 ; *Sn.* p. 102), and the *Saddha* or *Āpaṇa Sutta* (*S.* V, 225). On the occasion of the conversion of Sela and Keniya, the Buddha seems to have stayed there for over a week and ordained 300 monks in the company of Sela (*Sn.* 112). Near the city, on the banks of the Mahī, was the woodland where the Buddha stayed during his visits. From Āpaṇa, he went on to Kusinārā (*Vin.* I, 245).

U. K.

APAṆAKA, a monastery in east India during the period attributed to the Kūrkihār bronzes (9-11th cent. A.C.). It is also named in a Buddha image from Mathurā (*JBORS.* XXVI, 248 ff.).

D.T.D.

ĀPANA SUTTA. See SADDHA SUTTA.

A-PANG, a demon. See ABŌ.

ĀPANNAKA, name of a yakṣa, who along with his retinue, was tamed by the Buddha in Bhraṣṭālā near Kashmir. (*VinMS.* in *GM.* III, i, first page after the lost portion. See note facing p. xiv).

A. G. S. K.

APAṆṆAKA JĀTAKA (*J.* I, 95 f.). The first story in the Jātaka collection, related by the Buddha at Jetavana near Sāvatthi to Anāthapiṇḍika and his five hundred friends, disciples of the sophists (*titthiya-sāvaka*). It is said that once, while the Buddha was residing at the Great Monastery (*Mahāvihāra*) at Jetavana, he preached the doctrine to these followers of the " sophists " who were visiting him with the treasurer Anāthapiṇḍika. They were converted, but no sooner had the Buddha gone back from Sāvatthi to Rājagaha than they abandoned their new faith and reverted to the old ones. The Buddha, returning to Sāvatthi some seven or eight months later, discovers this through Anāthapiṇḍika. He therefore preaches to them again, elucidating many aspects of his doctrine, and relates this *Apaṇṇaka Jātaka* to illustrate that not only then, but " even in times past " those who mistook appearance for reality, like a traveller who mistakes a mirage for an oasis, came to grief, whilst men who in spite of odds adhered to reality, prospered.

The story is of two merchants who had to take their caravans across a hot desert on their trading expeditions. One of them bargains to go earlier, but on his way through the desert, a demon who has planned to devour him and his men, appears before him, creating the semblance of a man who has come from a rainy region, and advises him to do away with his water vessels, as they are an unnecessary burden, when an oasis is so close at hand. The foolish merchant mistaking appearance for reality, takes the demon at his word and destroys his water vessels, but to find too late, that he and his men have to die of thirst in the desert. When they are weak with thirst, the demon and his retinue arrive and eat them up. The second merchant, the bodhisattva, comes on the same route, and is met by the same demon in similar disguise and with similar advice, but he is able to see through the false report. By reasoning he knows that there can be no oasis near by. He convinces his following that the factual evidence is to the contrary and retains his water vessels on the rest of the journey. He completes his trading expedition successfully, and on the way sees the dead bones of the foolish merchant and his men, their carts abandoned in the desert.

The foolish merchant is identified with Devadatta and the wise one with the Buddha himself, while the two companies are identified with their respective followers.

B. J.

APAṆṆAKA SUTTA. There are two suttas by this name, one in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 400) and the other in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 270).

The *Majjhima Nikāya* discourse delivered to the brāhman householders of Sālā by the Buddha, while he was on tour among the Kosalans with a large retinue of monks, deals with the question of what is safe anchorage for a faith for those who have none. The Buddha takes several views held by other teachers and sifts their tenets, comparing the opposing viewpoint in each case, asserting which of these tenets is true and which false, when placed against certain propositions which he says are absolutely certain. For instance, he takes the doctrine held by some recluses and brāhmans that " there is no result of gift, there is no result of offering, there is no fruit or ripening of deeds well done or ill done, there is not this world, there is not the world beyond, there is no benefit from serving mother or father, there are no spontaneously arising beings, there are not in the world recluses and brāhmans who are faring rightly, proceeding rightly, who proclaim this world and the world beyond, having realised them by their own super-knowledge." Against this view, which in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*D.* I, 55) is ascribed to the heretic Ajita Kesakambalī, he places the opposing view of certain recluses and brāhmans and then proceeds to analyse the causes for the earlier view tracing its origin to moral depravity and the ignorance of the certainty of the after-life which is borne witness to by the intuitions of the sages, ' those perfected ones, who are knowers of the world '.

In this manner, the Buddha examines the views placed before people by several schools, such as those of the Natthikavādins as against the Atthikavādins, the Kiriyavādins as against the Akiriyavādins, represented by statements attributed elsewhere to Makkhali-Gosāla and a few others, which it has not been possible yet to identify with any known contemporaneous school of thought. In the case of those who deny the existence of an after-life, he asserts that the sure (*apaṇṇaka*) dhamma, the certain fact, is that there is an after-life ; and so on, with other views as well. These categorical affirmations are probably the explanation for the name of this sutta, the word *apaṇṇaka* meaning sure or certain. It is interesting to note here that the *Apaṇṇaka Jātaka*, too, makes reference to the views of the heretical teachers. So does the other sutta by the same name in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

This latter sutta discusses the three kinds of failure and the three kinds of success. The three kinds of failure are failure in morals, in mind and in views. Seven of the ten unskilful actions (*dasa akusala*) are mentioned, lapses which are given as failures in morals. Coveteousness and malevolence are given as failures in mind. As failure in view is given scepticism about moral values and rebirth, views elsewhere attributed to Ajita Kesakambalī. Strangely enough, the other heretical views normally mentioned with this are not mentioned here. The Buddha asserts that it is sure " as a true die when thrown rests evenly on whatever side it falls, even so ", it is certain that these three failures are the causes of rebirth in hell.

The opposite positions, that is, abstinence from the seven *akusala*, the absence of coveteousness and malevolence, the holding of views contrary to the assertions of Ajita Kesakambalī are referred to as leading to success. And here again the Buddha declares this to be a fact as sure as the true die cast.

B. J.

APAṆṆAKATĀ SUTTA of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, p. 113) discusses the three qualities giving a monk proficiency in the practice of ' the sure way ' (*apaṇṇakata-paṭipadā*) and strengthens his capacity to destroy the *āsavas*, namely, (1) keeping watch over the senses, (2) moderation in eating and (3) watchfulness. The sutta goes on to explain further what is meant by these qualities, and how to acquire them. The first is attained by refraining from generalisation on sensual impression. " Seeing an object, (the monk) does not grasp at the general features or at the details thereof. Since coveting and dejection, evil, unprofitable states might overwhelm one who dwells with the faculty of the eye uncontrolled, he applies himself to such control, sets a guard over the faculty of eye, attains control thereof.

When he hears a sound with the ear or with the nose smells a scent, or with the tongue tastes a savour, or with body contacts tangibles ; when with mind he cognises mental states—he does not grasp at the general features or details thereof. But since coveting and dejection, evil, unprofitable states might overwhelm one.... he sets a guard over the faculty of mind, attains control thereof " (trsl. Woodward, *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, I, p. 98).

The second quality is achieved by taking food, not for pleasure or out of indulgence, but as a

necessity for attaining the ideal of self-restraint leading to Nibbāna. The third quality is achieved by the practice of meditation through the three watches of the night.

The term *apaṇṇakata-paṭipadā* (the Sure Way) is probably an alternative for the 'Middle Way' leading to Nibbāna.

B. J.

APAṆṆAKA VAGGA (1), the eighth chapter of the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 76–83). It consists of ten suttas on various topics.

In the first and the second suttas the Buddha declares that a monk who is endowed with the following qualities, namely, virtue, learning, ardent energy, wisdom, dispassionate, benevolent and harmless thoughts, and right view has entered on the path to surety (*apaṇṇakatā*) and is with determination bent on the destruction of the mental intoxicants (*āsava*). This 'path of surety' (*apaṇṇakatā*) has given the title to the entire chapter.

The third sutta is devoted to the explanation of the fourfold low qualities, and their opposites, which are found in an unworthy person (*asappurisa*) and a worthy person (*sappurisa*), respectively. The former speaks ill of another even when not questioned and when questioned utters more of it in detail. He does not speak good of another and when asked, grudgingly speaks a few good things about him. On the other hand, he does not speak what is discreditable to himself, but when questioned utters grudgingly in brief what is to his discredit. Even when not questioned he speaks out what is creditable to himself and when questioned gives more of it in detail.

In the fourth sutta, the Buddha says that a monk who has just entered the Order is full of fear and bashfulness like a young wife just brought to the husband's home. In both cases fear gives place to boldness, but a monk should always be like a newly-wed wife.

The fifth sutta is devoted to a discussion on the fourfold perfections (*aggāni*), namely, the perfection of virtue, of concentration, of wisdom and of release.

In the sixth sutta, which is an extract from the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,* the Buddha just before his death invites the monks to question him with regard to any doubts or misgivings they may have about the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

In the seventh sutta, the Buddha declares that there are four unthinkables (*acinteyyāni*), namely, the Buddhas, their musings (*jhāna*), the fruit of action (*kamma-vipāka*) and world-speculation (*lokacintā*). He also says that by thinking of these things one would be distraught and would come to grief.

The eighth sutta discusses the fourfold purity regarding gifts. In one case the giver is virtuous, and not the receiver. In the second the receiver is pure, but not the giver, in the third neither is pure and in the fourth both are pure.

In the ninth sutta, the Buddha explains to Sāriputta, why it is that some people succeed in their trade and others do not, while yet others prosper even beyond their hopes.

The tenth sutta is devoted to explain to Ānanda why women are excluded from public assemblies and serious business. They are uncontrolled, envious, greedy and weak in wisdom.

I. K.

APAṆṆAKA VAGGA (2), the first chapter of the *Eka Nipāta* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, consisting of ten *Jātakas* (Nos. 1–10) and deriving its title from the first of them, viz., *Apaṇṇaka Jātaka* (*J.* I, 95–142).

L. R. G.

APAPA (var. Ahaha, Hahava), name of a cold hell. See AHAHA.

APARA, one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilati*) and named it Isigili. The names of these paccekabuddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 217) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

Apara is further distinguished in the *Isigili Sutta* by the epithet 'the sage' (*muni*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

APARĀDIṬṬHI SUTTA (*S.* I, 144–6) describes how the Buddha refuted, by means of a miracle,

the wrong notion held by a Brahmā that no recluse or brāhman could come to his world. The Buddha went to that Brahma-world and sat cross-legged in the air above the Brahmā, flames radiating from his body. The Buddha was followed in this by Moggallāna, Mahākassapa, Mahākappina and Anuruddha. The Brahmā was first agitated by their actions, but later he was delighted on learning from Moggallāna that there were many more disciples of the Buddha who could do likewise.

U. K.

APARAGAUDANI, according to Rockhill (*Life of Buddha*, p. 84), occurs in the *Dulva* as the name of one of the four great (Buddhist) continents into which the earth is divided. See APARAGOYĀNA.

APARAGAYĀ, 'farther', i.e., western Gayā mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* (trsl. J. J. Jones, Vol. III, p. 315) as a place where a nāga king named Sudarśana had invited the Buddha to stay and take his meals. From here the Buddha journeyed on to Vaiśālā. The translator notes that the incident is peculiar to the *Mahāvastu* and that in the *Lalitavistara* it occurs after the meeting with Upaka.

D. T. D.

APARAGOYĀNA is the western continent in the set of four continents mentioned chiefly in Buddhist commentarial literature, as found in each thousandfold world-system (*cakkavāḷa*). The Buddhist conception of cosmography resembles the brahmanical geographical conception (see: Jacobi, *ERE*. IV, pp. 155 ff.) in which Mount Meru is in the centre of the universe, surrounded by four great *dvīpa*, islands, continents, or dwellings of men. These island-continents are outside the seven rings of oceans (see SĀGARA), which surround Mount Meru, and Aparagoyāna is the continent which lies to the west of Meru. The word Aparagoyāna has been translated frequently as 'Western Pasturage' (De La Vallée Poussin, *ERE*. IV, pp. 132 ff.) and literally as "Western Ox-Wain" (e.g., Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, V, p 41). Variant readings are Aparagodānika, Aparagodāniya and Aparagodāna.

The only Nikāya references to Aparagoyāna are found in the *Aṅguttara*, where in one instance (*A*.V, 59), the Buddha illustrating the universality of change describes the *cakkavāḷa*, the thousandfold world-system, as containing thousands of suns, moons, etc., and among them thousands of each of the four continents, of which Aparagoyāna is mentioned as one. Here the Buddha is apparently using conventional symbols to demonstrate the universal nature of the laws of *anicca* and *dukkha* rather than to assert the literal existence of thousands of continents Aparagoyāna by name. The general tone and trend of the argument shows that his attempt here is to give examples of 'entities', conventionally believed to be solid and eternal, and to show that they are far from being so, thus destroying the illusion of their perpetuity. To attempt (see, e.g., Hardy, *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, Edinburgh, 1866, especially, p. 80 f.) to build up a Buddhist cosmography on the basis of this type of evidence assumes a character far removed from the spirit of a scholarly research. That the illustration is merely symbolical is confirmed by another reference in the same Nikāya (*A*. I, 227) in which, answering a question asked by Ānanda, the Buddha declares rhetorically, that his voice extends to the ends of the universe, which is described in the same stock description of the *cakkavāḷa* with its thousands of suns and moons and four continents, including the western continent, Aparagoyāna.

In the commentarial literature, however, the notion of Aparagoyāna is taken more literally. The *Sutta Nipāta* commentary describes it as surrounded by five hundred islands and the whole continent as being 700 yojanas in extent, a figure calculated by Hardy (op. cit., pp. 85, 89) to be roughly 70,000 miles.

The *Dīgha Nikāya* commentary (*DA*. II, 868) says that the hours of sunrise and sunset vary from continent to continent. Thus, sunset in Aparagoyāna coincides with midnight in Jambudīpa, the southern continent, sunrise in which occurs simultaneously with midnight in Aparagoyāna.

The commentaries also speak of Aparagoyāna as a human habitation (*KhpA*. 123), the peculiar characteristic of the inhabitants being that they have no houses and sleep on the ground (*ThagA*. II,187).

The mythical *kadamba* tree (*nauclea cadamba*) is believed to stand at the centre of the continent, Aparagoyāna, and to remain there for a whole *kappa* (*DhsA*. 298). The *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary (*BuvA*. 113) includes Aparagoyāna as being in the orbit of king Videha along with Jambudipa. It is thus evident that the idea is associated with

the conception of *cakkavatttin.* The *Divyāvadāna* confirms this conclusion with the description of Mandhātā's campaigns. The *Divyāvadāna* also adds that Aparagoyāna, along with the other continents, rests on a circle of gold and is on a level with the ocean (*Divy.* 215).

The jātakas mention a magical jewel supposed to be capable of reflecting, among other wonders, the four continents, Aparagoyāna being one of them (*Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka : J.* VI, 278).

It is of interest to note that Aparanta is said to have been occupied by migrants from Aparagoyāna who came along with the conquering Mandhātā.

Hardy describes the continent as being shaped like a mirror (op. cit. p. 85) but gives no reference to the source. See further COSMOLOGY.

B. J.

APARĀJITA (1), a former Buddha. He was proclaimed by the Buddha Dhvajamaparājita and he himself proclaimed the Buddha Supratāpa (*Mhvu.* III, 230. 10 f.).

C. W.

APARĀJITA (2), one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who in ancient times lived on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. They were seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but were never seen thereafter. Hence the name of the mountain, that it swallowed up sages (*isī gilati*). The names of these paccekabuddhas are given in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa says in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 217) that these sages lived inside the mountain behind a rock, which would open and close like a folding door.

Aparājita is distinguished in the *Isigili Sutta* by the epithet: he who triumphed over Māra's might (*Mārabalaṃ ajesi*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

APARĀJITA (3), a world-ruler (*cakravartin*), a former birth of the bodhisattva in his fifth stage (*bhūmi*) of bodhisattvahood. He dedicated to the Buddha Nareśvara sixteen monasteries studded with the seven precious stones and many other valuable gems, and wished for Buddhahood himself (*Mhvu.* I, 112).

C. W.

APARĀJITA (4), a world-ruler (*cakkavattin*) who lived seven aeons ago, an earlier birth of Avyādhika thera (*Ap.* I, 215).

C. W.

APARĀJITA (5), a householder of Bandhumatī. He sought the advice of his elder brother, Sena, who was an arahant monk in the time of the Buddha Vipassī, as to how he should use his wealth to perform an act of great merit. He was asked to build a *gandhakuṭi* for the Buddha which he did, using all kinds of precious metals and gems, and offered it to the Buddha. The monastery surrounding the *gandhakuṭi*, he thrice filled knee-deep with the seven precious things (*satta ratana*) to be taken away by the people coming to hear the Buddha preach. To celebrate the dedication of the *gandhakuṭi* he entertained 6,800,000 monks for nine months and at the end presented them each with the three robes. Later, he made known his wish that he should never be deprived of anything belonging to him either by many hundreds of kings or thieves or by fire or water. The Buddha wished that his desire be fulfilled. In a still earlier birth he had given sugar-cane to a paccekabuddha. In the time of the Buddha Gotama he was born as the treasurer Jotika (*DhpA.* IV, 199 ff.).

Aparājita had a nephew, his sister's son, by the same name. He was refused by his uncle a share in the building of the *gandhakuṭi*, and so he built next to it a *kuñjarasālā*—an elephant stable according to *DPPN.* I, p. 119—the meaning of which is doubtful. He was a former birth of the treasurer Meṇḍaka.

C. W.

APARĀJITA (6), a yakṣa mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

APARĀJITĀ (1), one of the eight deva maidens of the eastern quarter. The Buddha is said to have invoked their blessings on Trapuṣa and Bhallika who gave him his first meal after the enlightenment (*Lal.* 282). According to the *Mahāvastu* (III, 306) he invoked the blessings of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the sovereign lord of the eight deva maidens.

C. W.

APARĀJITĀ (2), a goddess mentioned in the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (318. 12 ; 396. 1 f.), presumably the same as Āryāparājitā in the same work (312. 6 ; s.v. Aparājitā in *BHS.*).

The name Aparājitā occurs several times in the *Sādhanamālā*. In the *Aṣṭabhuja-kurukullā-sādhana*, she occupies the south-eastern petal of the eight-petalled lotus seat of Kurukullā Bhagavatī (*Sādh.* II, p, 352. 6). In the *Aparājitā-sādhana*, she is represented as a two-armed goddess, yellow in colour and adorned with all kinds of jewellery (ibid. p. 403). Her right hand is in a raised position displaying the act of slapping (*capeṭadānābhinayadakṣiṇākāra*), while her left hand carries a noose round its index finger which is held against her chest. Her face has a ferocious appearance. A parasol is held above her head by a number of ferocious gods. She is referred to as *Gaṇapatisamākrāntā* (one who tramples Gaṇapati) and sometimes she is represented in this posture (see B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 246 and fig. 189). In the *Jvālāmukhī-sādhana*, Vajravārāhī is called Āryāparājitā, the mother of the three worlds (*Sādh.* II, p. 434 ff.). There is another Sādhana named *Ārya-sitātapatra-aparājitā* (ibid. p. 395). It is difficult to say whether the same personage is meant in all these cases or whether any of them can be identified with the Aparājitā mentioned in the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*.

C. W.

APARĀJITĀ (3), one of the sister goddesses (*kumārī, bhaginī*) related to Mañjuśrī, the other three being, Jayā, Vijayā and Ajitā.

In the Mañjuśrī section of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, Aparājitā is at the left of Tumburu, her brother, and below Ajitā (*Mmk.* 537, 540, 543).

Her mystic syllable is *a*, her symbol (*samaya*) is a bar, and her secret name is Vajrā. These are manifestations of the Pure Wisdom.

Regarding her figure, the *Pi-tsang-chi* (秘藏記) mentions that Aparājitā is flesh-coloured and holds a bar in her hand. The *Shosetsu-fudō-ki* (諸說不同記) states that she has some object in her right hand, and that she keeps her closed left hand at her waist. She sits facing front. Opinions differ as to what she has in her right hand. According to the maṇḍala of the *Li-ch'ü-ching* (理趣經) she is to the west of Tumburu, and her figure is rather different from that of the Garbha-dhātu-maṇḍala.

K. Tmb.

APARĀJITADHVAJA, the Tathāgata under whom Śākyamuni, as a bodhisattva, long ago planted the first seeds of merit, while being born as a cakravarti rājā following the natural career (*prakṛticaryā*), the first of the fourfold conduct of a bodhisattva (*Mhvu.* i. 4). Also the name of a bodhisattva mentioned in *Gvyū.* 115. 9.

W. G. W.

APARĀJITADHVAJABALA, a Buddha whose name is mentioned among those of an unbroken line of *jinas* who, being her preceptors, were propitiated by the night-goddess Samantasattvatrāṇojaḥśrī while striving to gain the bodhisattva salvation (*bodhisattva-vimokṣa*), named Sarvalokābhimukhajagadvinayanidarśana (*Gvyū.* 285. 20).

T. R.

APARĀJITAJÑĀNASTHĀMA, a Tathāgata whose name occurs between Nārāyaṇavīrya and Samantavilokitajñāna, in a list of Tathāgatas who were propitiated (*ārāgita*) by the Śākya-girl, Gopā, in her previous births (*Gvyū.* 421. 20).

T. R.

APARĀJITAMERU, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 443.3). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

APARAJITĀ-MERUVARĀBHADRAṄKARA-RATNASĀDHANA, a Sanskrit work. the Tibetan translation of which occurs under the title *Gshan-gyis-mi-thub-pa daṅ ri-rab mchog-ma rin-po-che bzaṅ-poḥi bsgrub-thabs* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 86, No. 4830). The colophon, which states that Intrabode (Indrabhūti) was the author of the work and that Kha-che Pan-chen and Tshul-Khrims-gshon-nu were the translators, gives *Gnod-sbyin yid-ḥphrog-gi bsgrub-thabs* (*Yakṣamanoharasādhana*) as the title of the work. Cordier quotes *Yakṣiṇīmanoharī-sādhana* and *Aparacitameru-bhodaṅkararatnabhalasādhanam* as other names of the work (*Cordier*, III, p. 174, No. 43). The text is not preserved in the Sde-dge edition (*TM.*). A description of the procedure of the performance of a rite forms the content of the work. Incantations to be chanted during the ceremony are quoted.

R. H.

APARĀJITĀ-NĀMA-SĀDHANA, the Sanskrit title of a work extant in its Tibetan translation under the name *Gshan-gyis mi thub-ma shes-bya-baḥi sgrub-thabs* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 67, No. 2921). This work is different from the *Aparājitā-sādhana* (q.v.). The present work deals with a procedure of worship presumably for the invocation of the Buddhist goddess Aparājitā. There is no description of the form of Aparājitā. The Sanskrit title is mentioned in the work but the names of the author and the translator are not given. The Sde-dge edition gives the names Ses-rab skyon and Dānaśīla as those of the author and translator, respectively (*TM.* No. 2064).

R. H.

APARĀJITA-RATNA-BHADRA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *A-pa-ra-ci-ta rin-chen bzaṅ-poḥi sgrub-thabs shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 86, No. 4997, pp. 216–18). The work, which begins with a salutation to Vajrapāṇi, describes the procedure of worship of a deity, whose name appears to be the yakṣa Aparājita, judging from the name of the text *Gnod-sbyin Aparajitaḥi sgrub-thabs* (*Yakṣa-Aparājita-sādhana*) given in the colophon which may be an alternative name for Aparājita-ratna-bhadra, occurring in the title at the beginning of the text. According to a description in the sādhana, the deity bears the form of a demon (*yakṣa*), white in complexion, one-faced and two-armed, who carries an iron hook (Tib. *lcags-kyu*, Skt. *aṅkuśa*) in his right hand, holds a water-pot made of jewels in the left, is decked with jewel ornaments, wears an under-garment (Tib. *śam-thabs*, Skt. *antarvāsa*) of green silk, and has large eyes. Instructions about the offerings to be made to the deity are given and the topics of meditation are specified. Incantations to be chanted in the course of the performance of the ritual are interspersed in the text. These appear to be quotations from the original Sanskrit work. The following examples may be given: *Oṃ candra mahāroṣaṇa hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ śrī dza A-pa-ra-ji-ta dza dza sarva-maṇe. . . svāhā ; baliṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi.* The colophon gives the name of the author as Indrabodhi.

According to Cordier, *Gnod-sbyin a-pa-ra-di-taḥi sgrub-thabs zab-mo yaṅ-dag* (*Yakṣāparājita-gūḍha-sadbhūta-sādhana*) is also a title of the work (*Cordier,* III, p. 222, No. 62). The Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka does not contain this text.

R. H.

APARĀJITĀ-SĀDHANA, a very short sādhana text devoted to the worship of the Buddhist goddess Aparājitā (*Sādh.* 403. For an English translation of this sādhana see *The Indian Buddhist Iconography,* B. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1958, p. 246). The following Tibetan translations of the text occur in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur.

(1) *Gshan-gyis mi-thub-maḥi sgrub thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 4082). The Sanskrit title *Aparājitā-sādhanaṃ* is given in the text. According to the colophon, Abhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan translated the work into Tibetan (cp. *TM.* Nos. 3249, 3259).

(2) *Rnam-par rgyal-maḥi sgrub-paḥi thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 4205). The Sanskrit title *Aparājitā-sādhanaṃ* is quoted in the text. The colophon states that Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri were the translators.

(3) *Gshan-gyis mi-thub-maḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4415). The Sanskrit title *Aparājitā-sādhanaṃ* occurs in the text. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan translated the work into Tibetan (cp. *TM.* No. 3593).

Gshan-gyis mi thub-maḥi sgrub-thabs is the title of yet another text in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The Sanskrit title *Aparājitā-sādhanaṃ* occurs at the beginning of the text. However, the contents of the work indicate that the sādhana is devoted to the worship of the goddess Sitātapatrā. The correct title of the work, *Ḥphags-ma gshan-gyis mi thub-ma gdugs dkar-moḥi sgrub-thabs,* occurs in the colophon. This text is a translation of the Sanskrit work *Āryasitātapatrāparājitā-sādhana* (*Sādh.* p. 395. For an English translation of a section of this see *The Indian Buddhist Iconography,* B. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1958, p. 216).

R. H.

APARĀJITATEJAS, n me of a bodhisattva occurring in a list of bodhisattvas (*Mhvyut.* 732).

APARĀJITAVRATADHVAJA, a Buddha whose name is mentioned among those of an unbroken

line of *jinas*, who, being her preceptors, were propitiated by the night-goddess Samantasattvatrāṇojaḥśrī while striving to gain the bodhisattva-salvation (*bodhisattva-vimokṣa*) named Sarvalokābhimukhajagadvinayanidarśana (*Gvyū.* 284).

T. R.

APARAMAHĀVINASELIYA, name of one of the early Buddhist (sub) sects, whose monastery at the site of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was found by Hsüan-tsang, though the sect had ceased to exist by that time. Along with the Uttaraśailas, this hill community had probably been a local branch of the Mahāsaṅghika. They were found in the south-east of India and near such places as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvatī, etc. The Aparamahāvinaseliyas are mentioned in the inscriptions in the *ayaka* columns, of 2–3rd cent. A.C., at the former site. It seems to be this word which has been abbreviated into "Aparaselika(ya)s" in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* of Ceylon. The *ayaka* pillars where the inscriptions were found were those attached to the Mahācetiya (great thūpa) of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The following extract from a translation of one is given as an example (J. Ph. Vogel): "For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect this pious foundation of the Mahācetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha*–and the *Majjhima Nikāyas* by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ayira-haṁgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) who are resident in Paṁṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima*– (*nikāya*) and of the five Mātukas," etc. (*ASIMem*: Nos. 54, 71 ; *EI.* XX, etc.)

D. T. D.

APARAṆṆA, the name of the bodhisatta in his birth as a vulture in Gijjhapabbata (var. Aparaṇṇagijjha). According to the *Migālopa Jātaka* (*J.* III, 255 f.), in which he figures, he advises his son, Migālopa, not to fly too high, but the latter disdains his advice and comes to grief. The story provides an interesting parallel to the myth of Icarus, Aparaṇṇa's role in this story being that of Daedalus in the Greek. In the Buddhist legend, Migālopa meets with his death by being struck by the Verambha winds, while Icarus meets with his death as a result of his coming too close to the sun. See further MIGĀLOPA JĀTAKA.

B. J.

APARANTAKA (var. Aparānta), one of the nine regions to which Asoka sent missionaries after the third Council. According to the Ceylon chronicles (*Mhv.* xii, 4, 34–6 ; *Dpv.* viii, 7) Yonaka Dhammarakkhita preached the *Aggikkhandhopama Sutta* there and 37,000 people embraced the new faith while a thousand men and even more women entered the Order. Buddhism could have been known in Aparantaka even during the time of the Buddha (Dutt, *Early History of Buddhism,* p. 190). But the reference is to Sunāparanta which R. G. Bhandarkar (*Early History of Deccan,* 19) has identified with modern Konkan.

Aparantaka in ancient times referred to western India. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. lvii) calls it a *janapada* whereas the *Mahābhārata* (*Bhīṣma Parvan,* ix) refers to it as one of the provinces of ancient India. According to the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. I, p. 94), it is the country to the west of Devasabhā (identified with modern Dewas in central India) and according to the Pali *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 11), Aparantaka or western India lies to the west of the upper Irawady.

Aparantaka is referred to in Asoka's Rock Edict V. The Nasik Inscription of Gautamī Bālaśrī says that her son extended his sway over Aparānta. This was later conquered by the Saka Satrap Rudradāman as evidenced by the Junagadh Rock Inscription of 150 A.C.

According to B. C. Law (*India as Described in Early Texts,* 73), Aparānta may have comprised that part of western India which lay to the west of the Buddhist mid-land and to the north and south, respectively, of the Dakkhiṇāpatha and Uttarāpatha. Bhagavanlal Indraji, says B.C. Law (*Historical Geography of Ancient India,* 13), took Aparānta to be the western sea-board of India. According to Hsüan-tsang's account, western India seems to have comprised Sindh, western Rājaputānā, Cutch, Gujarat and a portion of the adjoining coast of the lower course of the Narmadā.

According to the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (*DhpA.* II, 482) and the *Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (*MA.* I, 184), when Mandhātā conquered all the four continents, people from the three other continents came over to Jambudvīpa and lived there. Finding it impossible to go back to their own countries after the king's death, they obtained the minister's permission to stay in Jambudvīpa. Thus, the land where the people coming from Aparagoyāna settled down is said to have been known as Aparānta.

The Aparāntas (lit. 'west-enders') have sometimes been regarded as a separate race or tribe. Hultzsch (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, I, xxxix), however, takes the term to mean "western borderers", generally, among whom are included the Yonas, the Kambojas and the Pītinikas. The word has various readings, e.g., *Apalaṃtā* in Rock Edict V in Kālsi, *Āpalaṃtā* in Dhauli and *Aparaṃta* in Shāhbāzgārhī.

H. R. P.

APARĀPARIYA-VEDANĪYA-KAMMA, moral action which will bear fruit, not in the present or in the immediately following life-span, but in some indefinite future, whenever the opportunity is right to produce its result. In its reduplicative formation (*aparāpara*) the word indicates such karma as will be known (*vedanīya*) or experienced in any possible successive existence. A classical example of such indefinitely effective action is found in the story of the death of the arahant Mahā-Moggallāna (*Sarabhaṅga Jātaka : J.* V, 126). In a previous life he wanted to put his aged father and mother to death as a result of listening to his wife. Although he did not actually kill his parents, his shameful action remained like a core of fire hidden under ashes, for ever biding its time till it could find an opportunity. Then, in the last life of the arahant, this act committed of old and carrying with it consequences to be experienced on some future occasion, got its chance for mischief, when Moggallāna's supernormal powers failed him and he became unable to escape the seventh attempt on his life by some hired brigands. He was beaten up so severely that all his bones were crushed ; but he kept his mind steady in meditation on the Buddha till he finally died.

The *Milinda-pañha* (p. 108) also relates of Devadatta how he heaped up karma on karma and would pass for an endless series of kalpas from torment to torment and from perdition to perdition. His suffering, however, became finite because he had entered the Order, and thereby the woe caused by previous karma would also become limited.

Aparāpariya-vedanīya-kamma is one of the sixteen kinds of karma classified in four groups according to their function (*kicca*), their efficacy (*pākadāna*), their time of taking effect (*pākakāla*) and the place of their effect (*pākaṭṭhāna*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

APARAPURAṂJAYA, name of a yakṣa, mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

APARARĀJĀVAVĀDAKA SŪTRA, a Sanskrit sūtra referred to in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (9.12). The sūtra purports to admonish a king regarding the practice of virtue without neglect of his obligations to the people.

W. G. W.

APARAŚAILA, one of the schools of early Buddhism. As a sect they were not known to the tradition of the Sammatīyas according to Bhavya, and the Sinhalese chronicles do not count them in the composition and affiliation of early sects but only amongst a group of six schools appearing later. Vasumitra places them side by side with the Caitīyas and the Uttaraśailas among the latest developments of the Mahāsāṅghikas, but Paramārtha does not mention them in his commentary on Vasumitra. The Mahāsāṅghika list as quoted by Bhavya and Vinītadeva places them among the Mahāsāṅghikas side by side with the Pūrvaśailas. Buddhaghosa mentions them as one of the four Andhaka schools.

If they were at all distinguished from the Pūrvaśailas they were probably one of their schools, for all the theses which are attributed to them by various sources are common to both. Their earliest appearance is in the second half of the third century B.C.

Their presence in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa during the Ikṣvāku dynasty (3rd cent. A.C.) is testified by several inscriptions (H. Sastri, *EI.* XX, 17 ff.). This confirms our knowledge from other sources, where Buddhaghosa, e.g., considers them a sect of Andhakas in the same region (*Kvu.* I, 9). Hsüan-tsang found a monastery of the Aparaśailas on a mountain west of Dhanyakaṭaka, but at that time it was already deserted for more than a hundred years (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* II, 214-5). Tāranātha (Schiefner Ed. p. 175) mentions that the Aparaśailas had disappeared at the time of Dharmapāla and Dharmakīrti (7th cent. A.C.).

An inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa gives us a glimpse of their canonical literature by mentioning against their name the *Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, and *Saṃyutta Nikāya* together with five *Mātukas* (H. Sastri, op. cit. 17 ff.). It is noteworthy that the divisions of the sutta-section are referred to as *nikāyas* as is done by the Theravādins of Ceylon, and not as *āgamas* as in north-west India (Kaśmir). N. Dutt is of opinion that the five *Mātukas* were summaries of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, as the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghikas consists of five parts (*Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, pp. 55–6). But it is

not likely that in the third century A.C. the Vinaya of this sect would have been not more than five separate tables. It is much more likely that they refer to Abhidhamma summaries, for this collection was developed by all schools but lately, and remained for a very long time in the form of separate *mātikās*.

Vasumitra observes that most of the theses of the Aparaśailas, as those of the Uttaraśailas and the Caitīyas, from whom he does not distinguish them, are similar to those of the Mahāsāṅghikas. They are :

(1) Bodhisattvas are not free (*vimukta*) from rebirth in evil states (*durgati*).

(2) Worship at a stūpa or caitya does not produce great results.

(3) An arahant may have impure seminal discharge (*asucisukkavisaṭṭhi*).

(4) An arahant has ignorance (*ajñāna*).

(5) An arahant has doubts (*kāṅkṣā*).

(6) An arahant is taken across (*paravitāraṇa*), i.e., saved by someone else.

(7) Although one may have attained the path of holiness (*samāpanna*) one may yet break the rules as to speech (*vacībheda*).

(8) He who is assured (*niyata*) as to the future enters the path to the goal (*niyāma*).

(9) The six spheres of the senses are established simultaneously in the mother's womb.

(10) Supramundane knowledge (*lokuttara-ñāṇa*) has twelve objects (*dvādasavatthuka*).

(11) All things (*sabbe dhammā*) last only one thought-moment (*ekacittakkhaṇika*).

A. B.

APĀRA SUTTA (1), also called the *Pāragāmī Sutta* (*S.* V, 81), says that the seven limbs of wisdom (*satta-bojjhaṅga*), if cultivated, conduce to the going from this shore to the further shore, Nibbāna, i.e., across the ocean of *saṃsāra*.

U. K.

APĀRA SUTTA (2) says that the four bases of psychical power (*cattāro iddhipādā*), if cultivated, conduce to the going from this shore to the further shore (*S.* V, 254).

U. K.

APARIBHINNA, the 54th name in the first list of approximately 100 Buddhas (actually only 97 are named in this first list), which was recited by Mahā-Kātyāyana at the request of Mahā-Kāśyapa. The list contains the names of Buddhas under whom the Buddha Śākyamuni acquired merit when he was advancing as a bodhisattva from the first to the seventh stage of development or *bhūmi* (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

H. G. A. v. Z.

APARIHĀNA DHAMMA, also called *aparihānīya dhamma*, the conditions of welfare. There are a number of lists in Pali and in Sanskrit literature enumerating the conditions of welfare. Some of the lists are identical, while others overlap each other, and still others are entirely different from one another. They enumerate conditions, both positive and negative, which lead not to the decline but to the welfare of individuals, both monks and laymen.

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* gives twelve conditions in six pairs which save the trainee (*sekha*) from declining, namely, the absence of anger and malevolence (*akkodha* and *anupanāha*), of hypocrisy and spite (*amakkha* and *apalāsa*), of envy and grudging (*anissā* and *amacchariya*), of deceit and treachery (*amāyā* and *asāṭheyya*), and finally the presence of modesty and scrupulousness (*hiri* and *ottappa* : *A.* I, 96).

Three conditions are given in the *Itivuttaka* as not leading to the decline of a trainee ; they are, taking no delight in worldly affairs (*na kammārāmatā*), in gossip (*na bhassārāmatā*), and in sleep (*na niddārāmatā* : *It.* 71-2).

These three conditions, in addition to taking no delight in company (*na saṅganikārāmatā*) and reflecting on the mind as it is released, form a list of five conditions that do not lead to the decline of a trainee or of one who has gained temporary release (*A.* III, 116, 173). The first three conditions in the above two lists with the addition of taking delight in guarding the doors of the senses and being moderate in eating, form another list of five at *A.* III, 173. The first three conditions in addition to taking no delight in company, being graceful in speech and having good friends form a list of six at *A.* III, 310. The same list occurs elsewhere with the last two conditions being replaced by having guarded sense-doors and being moderate in eating (*A.* III, 330).

The first three conditions given in the above lists together with taking no delight in company, not falling under the influence of wrong desires,

being not friendly with evil-doers and not coming to a stop on the way to Nibbāna form a list of seven conditions of welfare of monks (*D.* II, 77–8; *A.* IV, 22; *Mhps.* 125–6). The first four conditions given in the list immediately preceding, together with having guarded doors of the senses, being moderate in eating and giving due place to the elders, form another list of seven conditions which do not lead to the decline of a trainee (*A.* III, 24–5; IV, 25). The first six conditions in the preceding list together with solitary life and taking no delight in diffuseness form a list of eight (*A.* IV, 331).

Four conditions—listening to dhamma, absence of confusion in the dhamma listened to, reflection on the dhamma already listened to and understanding of what is not understood—these do not lead to the decline of any person (*A.* V, 103). Four more conditions are given again, namely, gradual decrease of lust, of hatred and of delusion and the possession of the eye of wisdom penetrating into profound matters (*A.* II, 144).

The possession of faith (*saddhā*), modesty (*hiri*), scrupulousness (*ottappa*), energy (*viriya*) and insight (*paññā*) are also the conditions of welfare (*S.* II, 207; *A.* V, 125). These five conditions together with much learning (*bahussutatā*) and mindfulness (*sati*) form a list of seven at *D.* II, 78–9 and at *A.* IV, 23. In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* is found the same list with learning being replaced by concentration (*Mhps.* p. 126).

The trainee who is possessed of the following five qualities does not decline: he is not busy nor clever at worldly affairs; he does not spend the day uselessly; he does not live in company with either laymen or recluses; he does not enter the village too early or leave it too late; and he speaks words full of meaning, does not let the time for solitude slip by and applies himself to calming the heart within (*A.* III, 177–8).

Taking no delight in visual objects, in sounds, in odours, in tastes, in physical touch and in thoughts arisen in the mind are given in *S.* IV, 77 as six conditions of welfare.

Practising kindness of action, speech and thought towards their colleagues, using their things in common, living among saints possessing virtues which are productive of freedom, praised by the wise, untarnished, and conducive to concentration of mind, and also living among saints cherishing that noble insight which leads to the complete destruction of sorrow,—such are the six conditions that do not lead to the decline of monks (*D.* II, 80).

The following six conditions are given in the *Anguttara Nikāya*: reverence for the Teacher, the teaching, the community of the Saṅgha, the training, the possession of diligence (*appamāda*) and good friendship (*paṭisanthāra*: *A.* III, 330–1). The same list is found in the same nikāya, having the last two conditions substituted with modesty and scrupulousness (*A.* III, 331); and with the fifth being replaced with grace in speech (*sovacassatā*: *A.* III, 423–4). The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* gives a list of seven conditions where the first three conditions are the same as in the preceding list, and the fourth is admonition (*anuśāsanā*), the fifth diligence, the sixth good friendship and the seventh concentration (*samādhi*: *Mhps.* p. 124).

The Buddha enumerates, with reference to the Vajjis, seven conditions that lead not to the decline but to the welfare of a nation. They are: (1) meeting constantly to discuss matters of public importance, (2) meeting and carrying out their transactions in concord, (3) enacting nothing not already established and abrogating nothing already enacted, (4) paying attention to elders, (5) not abducting women or maidens, (6) honouring their shrines (*cetiya*) and (7) defending and supporting the arahants (*D.* II, 73–5; *A.* IV, 16–17; 18–19; *Mhps.* pp. 108–116).

Seven conditions are prescribed as conditions for the welfare of monks. They are: (1) meeting constantly, (2) meeting in concord, (3) enacting nothing not already established and abrogating nothing already enacted, (4) paying attention to elders, (5) not falling under the influence of craving, (6) taking delight in a life of solitude in forests and (7) training their minds in self-possession (*D.* II, 76–7; *A.* IV, 21–2; *Mhps.* 120–1).

The seven limbs of wisdom (*satta-bojjhaṅga*), too, are explained as seven conditions of welfare (*D.* II, 79; *A.* IV, 23; *S.* V, 85; *Mhps.* p. 128).

The development of seven ideas, as objects of meditation, form another list of seven, namely, the idea of impermanence (*anicca-saññā*), of non-self (*anatta-saññā*), of impurity (*asubha-s°*), of danger of evils (*ādīnava-s°*), of getting rid of evils (*pahāna-s°*), of detachment (*virāga-s°*) and cessation (*nirodha-s°*: *D.* II, 79; *A.* IV, 24).

Seven conditions are given as conducive to welfare of lay disciples, namely, visiting monks, listening to the dhamma, being trained in higher virtue, trusting monks, listening to the dhamma without seeking faults, not seeking gift-worthy ones outside the Saṅgha and serving the Saṅgha first.

Seven conditions are given in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* as conditions of welfare of monks: they

are the realisation of dharma, meaning, time, proportion, oneself, people and their minds (*Mhps.* p. 126).

When the two words *aparihāna* and *dhamma* are compounded to read *aparihānadhamma*, it means the individual who by virtue of his acquired nature will not decline. The *Puggalapaññatti* says that all noble individuals (*ariyapuggala*) are not subject to decline by virtue of their nature (*aparihāna-dhamma* : *Pug.* p. 12).

U. K.

APARIHĀNI SUTTA of the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 85) gives the seven factors of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*) as the seven things that decline not (*aparihāniya-dhamma*).

C. W.

APARIHĀNIYA SUTTA (1), the second sutta of the *Anuttariya Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 310), preached by the Buddha to the bhikkhus, while staying among the Sakkas at Sāmagāma near the lotus pond.

Here the Buddha informs the bhikkhus that there are six things which do not cause one's downfall (*parihāni*). They are: not delighting in worldly activity (*kammārāmatā*), not delighting in talk (*bhassārāmatā*), not delighting in sleep (*niddārāmatā*), not delighting in company (*saṅga-nikārāmatā*), engaging in fair speech (*sovacassatā*), and cultivating friendship with good men (*kalyāṇa-mittatā*).

I. K.

APARIHĀNIYA SUTTA (2), the second sutta of the *Devatā Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 330), preached by the Buddha, while living among the Sakkas of Sāmagāma near the lotus pond.

A certain devatā approached the Buddha and informed him that there were six things which did not lead to a bhikkhu's failure. They are: reverence (*gāravatā*) for the teacher, for the dhamma, for the bhikkhus, for the training, for earnestness and for friendship.

The Buddha agreed with the view of the devatā and informed the bhikkhus of all that had taken place.

I. K.

APARIMITAGUṆADHARMA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 442. 2). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

APARIMITAGUṆA-ANUSAṂSĀ-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (Ārya-Ap°), the title of a Sanskrit text the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa yon-tan bsṅags-pa dpag-tu med-pa shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 7, No. 286; Vol. 11, No. 476). According to the Sde-dge edition, one version (*TM.* No. 679), occurs in the Rgyud ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section and the other, *TM.* No. 851(6), in the Gzuṅs-ḥdus (*dhāraṇī*) section. The work which begins with an adoration of the Three Jewels contains the following dhāraṇī: *Namo ratnatrayāya namo bhagavate Amitābhāya tathāgatāya arahate samyaksambuddhāya. Tad yathā. Oṃ Amṛte Amṛtodbhave Amṛtasambhave Amṛtavikrānte Amṛtagāminī Gaganakaritikare Sarvakleśakṣayaṅkare svāhā.* This is followed by an enumeration of the benefits of chanting it. It is stated that chanting it once will expiate the sinful deeds accumulated through a hundred thousand aeons (*kalpa*); chanting it three times each day will purify the effects of all sins and generate the merit acquired by a thousand Buddhas; chanting it twenty-one times will lead to the expiation of the four moral transgressions; one who chants it a hundred thousand times will see Maitreya; one who chants it two hundred thousand times will see Avalokiteśvara; and one who chants it three hundred thousand times will see Amitābha. The colophon does not give the name of the author or translator.

The following Chinese translations of the sūtra are known to exist: *A-mi-t'o-fu-shuo-chou* (阿彌陀佛說呪 *Taishō*, No. 369); *Kan-lu-ching-t'o-lo-ni-chou* (甘露經陀羅尼呪 *Taishō*, No. 1316; cp. *Taishō*, No. 1317); *Kan-lu-t'o-lo-ni-chou* (甘露陀羅尼呪 *Taishō*, No. 1317; *Nanjio*, No. 540), translated by Śikṣānanda of the T'ang dynasty, 618-907 A.C.; *Wu-liang-kung-tê-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (無量功德陀羅尼經 *Taishō*, No. 934, *Nanjio*, No. 892).

R. H.

APARIMITĀYU, another name for Amitāyu(s). See AMITA (1), AMITA (2).

APARIMITĀYU(Ḥ)-STOTRA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text extant in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the

Tengyur under the title *Tshe-dpag-med-la bstod-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3522). The colophon which states that Jetāri was the author of the work, gives the names of six translators, viz., Ba-ri lo-tsā-ba, Ḥchims-pa Brtson-ḥgrus seṅ-ge, Rgya naṅ phug-pa, Dbus-pa saṅs-rgyas ḥbum, Bla-ma dge-sdiṅs-pa and Bla-ma bsam-gtan bzaṅ-po. Cordier quotes the name Dgaḥ-baḥi dpal as that of a translator (*Cordier*, II, p. 298, No. 6).

The work consists of ten stanzas of adoration addressed to the Buddha (Śākyamuni), Rdo-rje (Vajra), Padma, Rin-chen (Ratna), Phrin-las (Avalokiteśvara), Kun-gshigs (Ādibuddha), Yon-tan (Guṇa), Ye-śes (Jñāna), Mi-gyo (Acala) and Tshe-dpag-med (Aparimitāyu).

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUR-HOMA-VIDHI-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text translated into Tibetan by Balacaṇḍa bla-ma and Darma tshul-khrims and included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Tshe dpag-tu med-paḥi sbyin-sreg-gi cho-ga shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 68, No. 2994).

The formula of salutation addressed to Aparimitāyu is followed by a commendation of the great merit that follows the performance of a *homa* (burnt offering). The procedure of the performance of the *homa* is then explained in detail. The mantra, *Oṃ agneye svāhā* ..... *Oṃ sarvapāpaṃ dahana vajra ye svāhā* ..... *Oṃ vajravijaye svāhā. Oṃ mahāvegaye' svāhā. Oṃ mahābalaye svāhā* .... *Oṃ vajra āyuṣe ye svāhā. Oṃ apratihatavajraye svāhā*, is to be recited while making an offering of butter, curd, sesame, rice, barley and lentils to Agni, the god of fire. The formulae, *Āyu puñjiṃ kuru oṃ* and *Oṃ vajra āyuṣe amṛta siddhi hūṃ*, are to be recited along with an offering, soliciting longevity. The respective rewards of different kinds of offerings are also enumerated in the text. It is said that an offering of butter increases wealth, that of sesame destroys sin, that of curdled milk and cooked food promotes knowledge, that of barley develops zeal, that of rice confers ability, that of wheat and lentils dispels disease, that of *durva* grass grants long life, free from disease, that of *kuśa* grass affords protection against all impediments and that of milk and honey bestows perfection (Skt. *siddhi*, Tib. *dṅos-grub*).

The text ends with the statement that all beings will obtain *aparimitāyu* (Tib. *tshe dpag med-pa*) through the merit of the performance of the *homa* described in the text.

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUR-JÑĀNAHṚDAYA- NĀMA- DHĀRAṆĪ (Ārya -Ap°), the title of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa tshe-daṅ ye-śes dpag-tu-med-paḥi sñiṅ-po shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 7, No. 363 ; Vol. 11, No. 475). The work begins with an adoration of the Buddha and all bodhisattvas. The substance of the sūtra is as follows : The Buddha addressed an assembly of monks and bodhisattvas and said . In the world called Sukhāvatī, in the western region, there is a Tathāgata called Aparimitāyu. They who chant his name will be born in that world. There, no women are to be found and birth in a womb is unknown. Beings there emerge from lotuses of jewels in a miraculous manner and they obtain food, clothes, medicines, robes, couches and the like, as soon as they think of them. The Buddhas in the ten directions praise Sukhāvatī. The Buddha who lives there, the Dharma he preaches and the Saṅgha are beyond the reach of intellect, and the results of being devoted to them are as incomprehensible. The palace of the Tathāgata Aparimitāyu is ten thousand miles in extent. A cakravarti king called Bzaṅ-poḥi mchog (Bhadrottara) was the father of the Tathāgata Aparimitāyu. His kingdom was Gzi-brjid-can (Tejasvī) and his queen was called Bzaṅ-skyoṅ-ma (Bhadrapālī). The Tathāgata Aparimitāyu had a son called Zla-baḥi hoḍ (Candraprabha).

If one were to bear in mind the name of the Tathāgata Aparimitāyu for seven days and chant the dhāraṇī, *Amṛtadundubhisvararāja*, three times during the day and three times at night, he will see the Tathāgata Aparimitāyu and also the Buddhas living in the ten directions. After death the devotee will be born in the Buddha-field of Aparimitāyu. The dhāraṇī is as follows : *śabale abale samajale nirdeśe nirjāte nirugate nirmukhe jvala-pariśodhane sukhavate nirdeśe amite ? āyugarbha-nirhāra amite āyuprasādhane nirbuddhe ākāśanirdeśe ākāśa-nirjāte ākāśanirkuśale ākāśanirdeśane*..... *Catvāridharma-prasādane catvāri āryasatya-prasādane catvārimārgabhana prasādane , balaviṣṭa-prasādane* .... *kuśale kuśalanirdeśe kuśalapratiṣṭhāne buddhakuśale viśuddhaprabhe saddharmakarane*

nirjāte** nirbuddhe vimale viraje.... rasāgre rasā-**grabale** rasāgre adhiṣṭhite kule pratikule vikule **dāntasudāntacitte** supraśāntacitte supratiṣṭhite.... **anuśayabale** buddha-ākāśa-guṇabuddhe ākāśanirguṇe **Amṛtadundubhiḥsvare svāhā.

They who preach this dhāraṇī will be born in the world of Aparimitāyu, where he sits surrounded by a vast number of bodhisattvas, with Avalokiteś-vara on his right. Further, if a thera or therī, or a lay devotee, either male or female, remembers the name of Aparimitāyu he or she will have no fear of danger from fire, water, poison, weapons, demons or evil spirits. The sūtra ends with the statement that the congregation, delighted, lauded the sermon of the Buddha. According to the colophon, Puṇyasambhava and Ba-tshab-ñi-ma-grags translated the work into Tibetan. A Chinese translation of the work, *A-mi-t'o-ku-yin-shêng-wang-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (阿彌陀鼓音聲王陀羅尼經 *Taishō*, No. 370 ; *Nanjio*, No. 485) is extant.

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUR-JÑĀNA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan version of which occurs twice in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Tshe dan ye-śes dpag-tu med-paḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga shes-bya-bar* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 68, No. 2993 ; Vol. 86, No. 4887). Zla-ba bzaṅ-po and Glan Darma tshul-khrims are cited as the translators of the work. The formula of adoration is addressed to the Tathāgata Aparimitāyu.

After an initial statement that the priest should pay reverence to Aparimitāyu and commence the rite (*vidhi*) as declared in the tantras, the method of its performance is detailed. The priest should choose a suitable spot, engage in meditation, offer flowers and make preparations for the drawing of the maṇḍala. Then a yellow-complexioned deity decked with ornaments is said to appear, her body only partly visible. Instructions for making offerings to her and singing praise of her are given in the text after the carrying out of which she is said to disappear into the earth. Offerings are to be then made to the guardians of the quarters. The blessings of the gods should be invoked by the recitation of mantras. The priest should then enter the maṇḍala and proceed with the rite as enjoined in the text. The following are some of the mantras quoted as those to be chanted in the course of the performance of the rite : *Oṃ hrīḥ viśuddha dharma sarvapāpaṃ .... viśodhayāvikalpa apanaye hūṃ. Oṃ namaste hūṃ. Oṃ namāmi hūṃ. Namo namaḥ hūṃ svāhā. Oṃ sarva-tathāgata-buddha abhiṣekagata ātmānaṃ niryātayāmi sarvata-thāgata vajraratna abhiṣiñca māṃ. Vajra uḥ ka oṃ ūḥ hūṃ.* The authorship of the work is credited by Cordier to Siddharājñī (Grub-paḥi rgyal-mo). Candrabhadra (Zla-ba bzaṅ-po) and Dharmaśīla (Dar-ma tshul-khrims) are said to have translated the work into Tibetan (*Cordier*, II, p. 198, No. 51 ; III, p. 190, No. 59 ; *TM.* No. 2141).

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUR- (JÑĀNA-) NĀMA- DHĀRAṆĪ, the title of a Mahāyāna text extant in the original Sanskrit and also in Tibetan, Chinese and Khotanese versions. See APARIMITĀYUR-JÑĀNA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

APARIMITĀYUR-JÑĀNA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (Ārya -Ap), the name of a Mahāyāna text containing a sūtra said to have been preached by the Śākyamuni at the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada in Jetavana in Śrāvastī. The work begins with an adoration to Avalokiteśvara and to all Buddhas and bodhisattvas. According to the sūtra, the Buddha addressed Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta at a large assembly of monks and bodhisattvas and said : There is a world in the regions above, Aparimitaguṇasañcayā by name, where a Buddha called Aparimitāyurjñānasuviniścitateja preaches the doctrine. If the people in Jambudvīpa, who at present are short-lived, were to write the religious discourse praising the virtues of the Tathāgata Aparimitāyuṣa, or cause it to be written, or hear the mere name thereof, bear it in mind or recite it, or keep a book containing it in their houses and pay respects to it, then they will live a hundred years. Further, they who hear the name of Aparimitāyur-jñāna-suviniścita-teja, bear it in mind or utter it a hundred and eight times will also have their span of life lengthened. They who write, cause to be written, recite or keep in their houses a book containing the formula, *Oṃ namo bhagavate Aparimitāyur-jñāna-suviniścita-tejo-rājāya tathāgatāyārhate samyak-sambuddhāya. Tad yathā. Oṃ puṇya-puṇya-mahā-puṇya-aparimita -puṇya-aparimitāyuḥ-puṇya-jñāna- sambhāropacite. Oṃ sarva-saṃskāra-pariśuddha-dharmate gagana-samudgate svabhāva-viśuddhe mahānaya-parivāre **svāhā,*** will live a hundred years and be born in the Buddha-field (*Buddhakṣetra*) of Aparimitāyuṣa, in the world Aparimitaguṇasañcayā. The above formula termed *Aparimitāyuḥ sūtram* in the text occurs twenty-one times more with the statement that

several crores of Buddhas recited it or with an enumeration of the benefits of writing it or causing it to be written. The mantra runs: 'Oṃ, salutation to the Bhagavat: to the sovereign of endless life, wisdom and unfailing glory; to the Tathāgata; to the Arhat; to the perfect Buddha; thus, Oṃ, to the soul of the virtue of virtues; the great virtue, the measureless virtue, the knowledge of measureless load of virtue; and Oṃ to the possessor of all purified and pure duty; to him who can rise to the sky; to the scion of the naturally pure and righteous race, may this be propitious.' The sūtra ends with six stanzas the first of which is as follows: *dāna-balena-samudgata-buddho dāna-balādhigato nara-siṃho dāna-balasya ca śrūyati śabdo kāruṇikasya pure praviśantam* (?). The other five stanzas have the same wording except for the fact that the words *śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna* and *prajñā* occur in place of *dāna*.

There are three Tibetan translations of the work in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur, under the title *Ḥphags-pa tshe-daṅ ye-śes dpag-tu-med-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 7, Nos. 361, 362; Vol. 11, No. 474). In the Sde-dge edition two of the translations are in the Rgyud-ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section of the Kangyur (*TM.* Nos. 674, 675) and the third, *TM.* No. 849 (4), is in the Gzuṅs-ḥdus (*dhāraṇī*) section. The names of the translators are not known.

Copies of the sūtra have been found among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to central Asia in 1906–8 and which were eventually received in the India Office Library (Nos. 308–10; 463, 2 in the *Catalogue of Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang*, published by the Commonwealth Relations Office, 1962). L. de la Vallée Poussin states that these deserve special notice and that the paper is quite different from the paper of the other manuscripts in the collection (ibid. p. xv).

Two Chinese translations of the sūtra are extant: (i) the *Ta-ch'eng-wu-liang-shou-tsung-yao-ching* 大乘無量壽宗要經 or the *Ta-ch'eng-wu-liang-shou-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 936) translated during the T'ang dynasty (618–807 A.C.). The name of the translator is not known. (ii) The (*Fu-shuo-*) *Ta-ch'eng-shêng-wu-liang-shou-chüeh-ting-kuang-ming-wang-ju-lai-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經 *Taishō*, No. 937; *Nanjio*, No. 786).

A complete manuscript of a Khotanese version of the sūtra was found by Sir Aurel Stein in the cave temples at the Halls of the Thousand Buddhas. Sten Konow has edited this version together with the Sanskrit text and the Tibetan translation. He has also given an English interpretation of the Khotanese text (*Turk. Rem.* pp. 289–329). The Khotanese *Aparimitāyuḥ Sūtra* has also been edited by H. W. Bailey (*Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, London, 1951, pp. 94 ff.). For an edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts and a translation of the Sanskrit and Chinese versions into German, see *Aparimitāyur-jñāna-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtram* by Max Walleser, Heidelberg, 1916. According to the colophon of a Nepalese manuscript that Sten Konow used, the work was known by the name *Ārya-Aparimitāyur-nāma-dhāraṇī* (*Turk. Rem.* p. 292). Walleser, too, notes this reading in his edition of the text.

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUR-JÑĀNA-SĀDHANA (1) (Ārya-Ap°), a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Tshe daṅ ye-śes dpag-tu-med-paḥi sgrub-thabs* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3523). The opening salutation addressed to Ārya-Aparimitāyur-jñāna is followed by the statement that all beings desirous of guarding their lives should write out this work describing the procedure of worship of Ārya-Aparimitāyu. The subject matter of the work consists of a description of this procedure of worship. After making the preliminary vows one should perform the *maṇḍala* worship and the ceremonies of ablution at a solitary and suitable spot. Pure in body, speech and mind, the lamas, the Buddha and other deities should be propitiated. The four 'immeasurables' (the qualities of *maitrī, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekṣā*) and the emptiness or illusory nature (*śūnyatā*) of all things should be contemplated upon. Then one should reflect on the meaning of the magic formula, *Oṃ svabhāva-viśuddhaḥ sarvadharmā svabhāva-viśuddho'ham*, and proclaim the might and power of the one-faced, two-armed, red-complexioned deity Ārya-Aparimitāyu who sits cross-legged, with a smile on his face. Two mantras are to be recited, the *miṅ-gi sṅags* (? *nāma mantra*), viz., *Oṃ tad yathā Aparimite Āyurjñāne hriḥ brūṃ svāhā* as quoted at the end of the text and the *sñiṅ poḥi-sṅags* (? *vajramantra*). A recitation of the *Amṛtadundubhisvara-dhāraṇī* should follow. This dhāraṇī is not quoted here but it occurs in the text *Aparimitāyur-jñānahṛdaya-nāma-dhāraṇī* (q.v.). Further offerings should be made to the deities

after the recitation of these formulas. The work concludes with the statement that through the merit of the performance of this rite all the beings in the six worlds will receive the injunctions of Aparimitāyu and be free from all sorrow. The colophon ascribes the authorship of the work to Jetāri. Ḥjam-paḥi dbyaṅs and Lce Dgaḥ-baḥi dpal are said to have translated the work into Tibetan.

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUR-JÑĀNA-SĀDHANA (2), a Sanskrit text the Tibetan version of which is extant in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Tshe daṅ ye-śes dpag-tu med-paḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 68, No. 2990). The authorship of the work is ascribed to Ye-śes-kyi mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma Grub-paḥi rgyal-mo (Jñānaḍākinī Siddharājñī). The work is identical in content with the *Aparimitāyur-nāma-sādhana* (q.v.) written by the same author.

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUR-JÑĀNA-VIDHI-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text the Tibetan translation of which is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Tshe daṅ ye-śes dpag-tu-med-paḥi cho-ga shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3524). The opening salutation of the text is addressed to Aparimitāyur-jñāna. Instructions regarding the performance of a rite to worship him form the subject matter of the work. The text states that a chosen spot should be sprinkled with water, incense burnt and a mystic circle (*maṇḍala*) drawn. The circle, to be adorned with flags and canopies, should have eight lotus petalled entrances. Four initial offerings to be made are specified—an offering of milk in the east, fish in the south, blood in the west and liquor in the north. Topics like the four 'immeasurables' (the qualities of *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*) and the emptiness or illusory nature (*śūnyatā*) of all things, that are to be contemplated upon, are then mentioned.

A description of Aparimitāyu—a red-complexioned deity bearing marks of water-vessels on his hands, who emerges from the mystic syllable *hriḥ* and sits on a lotus with a calm expression on his face—follows with the instruction that he should be circumambulated to the accompaniment of the recitation of the mantra: *Oṃ namo brūṃ āyurjñāna hriḥ arolika hūṃ hriḥ.* Further, meditation on the following immortal deities is enjoined: *Rdo-rje* (*Vajra*) in the east, *Padma* in the west, *Ṛin-chen* (*Ratna*) in the south, *Las-kyi* (?) in the north, *Kun gzigs* (the All-seeing One) in the north-east, *Yon-tan* (*Guṇa*) in the south-east, *Ye-śes* (*Jñāna*) in the south-west and *Mi-gyo* (*Acala*) in the north-west. All these deities are described as being red-complexioned, possessing calm facial expressions and bearing marks of water-vessels on their hands. More instructions are given about the continuation of the rite and the following formula is quoted as a mantra to be chanted during a consecration ceremony: *Oṃ vairocana āyurjñāna siddhi samayā abhiṣiñca hūṃ.*

The colophon ascribes the authorship of the work to Jetāri. Śrīmañju and Lce Dgaḥ-baḥi dpal are said to have translated the work into Tibetan.

R. H

APARIMITĀYUR-NĀMA-SĀDHANA, the possible title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Tshe dpag-tu med-pa shes-bya-baḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 86, No. 4886). The title as quoted in the text is *Āyu-aparimita-sādhana*. The authorship of the work is ascribed to Ye-śes-kyi mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma Grub-paḥi rgyal-mo (Jñānaḍākinī Siddharājñī). The formula of salutation is addressed to Aparimitāyurjñāna. The work prescribes meditation on several objects some of which are said to arise from the mystic syllable *hrī*. Among those to be meditated upon is the Tathāgata Aparimitāyu, a red-complexioned deity, decked with ornaments, who sits on a five-petalled red lotus. The following mantras are quoted as those to be recited while circumambulating the sacred objects: *Oṃ hrīḥ brūṃ vajra jñāna āyuṣe svāhā. Oṃ hūm brūṃ vajra jñāna āyuṣe svāhā. Oṃ sva brūṃ vajra jñāna āyuṣe svāhā. Oṃ bhrūṃ brū vajra jñāna āyuṣe svāhā. Oṃ a brūṃ vajra jñāna āyuṣe svāhā. Oṃ brūṃ aparimita āyurjñāna suviniścita tejarājāya svāhā. . . . . . . dza hūṃ baṃ ho aparimita āyurjñāna svāhā.*

R. H.

APARIMITĀYUS SŪTRA, a sūtra based on the Pure Land doctrine, extant in its Chinese translation under the title *A-mi-t'o-ching* (阿彌陀經 *Taishō*, No. 362) in two fascicles translated by Chih-ch'ien during the Wu dynasty (222-80 A.C.).

This sūtra contains the twenty-four vows of Dharmākara as well as the *Wu-liang-ch'ing-ching-p'ing-têng-chüeh-ching* (無量淸淨平等覺經 *Taishō*, No. 361) as opposed to other six Pure Land sūtras which mention the forty-eight vows of Dharmākara. As this sūtra is written in prose style, it must be the oldest sūtra of the many Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan editions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*.

The sūtras catalogued as *Aparimitāyuḥ Sūtra* by *Taishō* as Nos. 360, 361, 362 and 363, corresponding to *Nanjio* Nos. 27, 25, 26 and 863, seem to be related.

K. TMR.

APARIMITĀYUS-SŪTRA-ŚĀSTRA. See APARIMITĀYUS-SŪTROPADEŚA.

APARIMITĀYUS-SŪTROPADEŚA, the restored Sanskrit title of a work by Vasubandhu, extant in its Chinese translation. It deals with the doctrine of the Pure Land.

This work consists of two parts, viz., the verse and the prose. T'an-luan, a commentator, describes the verse part as a general teaching and the prose part as an interpretation.

The verse part contains twenty-four verses' each of which has four lines. In this part Vasubandhu expresses at first his undivided devotion to Amitābha. Then, he says that he summarises what is taught in sūtras and speaks of the path to Amitābha. The next twenty-one verses describe the adornments of the Pure Land. In the last verse Vasubandhu confesses his aspiration to be born in the Pure Land with others.

In the prose part, Vasubandhu interprets the verses and explains the 'Five Spiritual Gates', viz., the Gate of Worship, the Gate of Praise, the Gate of Aspiration, the Gate of Perception and the Gate of Merit Transference. The Gate of Worship means bodily action and the Gate of Praise oral action. The Gate of Aspiration is solely and exclusively the aspiration to be born in the Pure Land. The Gate of Perception which is taught in detail will be explained below. The last, the Gate of Merit Transference is the accomplishment of the compassionate heart in transferring merit to all beings in suffering.

In the Gate of Perception, the three kinds of adornments may be perceived. These are the 17 kinds of adornments of the Buddha Land, the 8 kinds of adornments of Amitābha and the 4 kinds of adornments of the bodhisattvas in the Pure Land. Thus, the three kinds of adornment are further divided into twenty-nine. But all these can be condensed into one word, i.e., *dharma*, which means 'purity'. By the word purity is meant the true wisdom and non-created *dharmakāya*.

This is the most important doctrine of the Pure Land. All adornments of the Pure Land are condensed into one *dharma*, namely, *tathatā*. In other words, it means that the Pure Land is the manifestation of the *tathatā*. T'an-luan teaches two kinds of *dharmakāya* of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, namely, the *dharmakāya* of truth (realisation of *śūnyatā*) and the *dharmakāya* of expediency (*upāya*, purpose and means to salvation of others and realisation). The twenty-nine adornments of the Pure Land are produced as the *dharmakāya* of expedient means to save all beings.

According to Vasubandhu, if a person practises the 'Five Spiritual Gates', he can obtain the merits of the Five Gates, viz., the Gate of Approach, the Gate of Great Congregation, the Gate of Premise, the Gate of the House, and the Gate of Strolling in the Garden and Forest. The first four perfect the merit of ingress and the fifth the merit of egress. The first is so called because birth is gained in the Pure Land; the second because one becomes one of the members of the great congregation in the Pure Land; the third, because one can enter the premise of the Lotus World (Pure Land); and the fourth, because one enters the Pure Land and enjoys many a pleasure of the perfect enlightenment. The fifth is called 'of egress' because with great compassion one incarnates in the garden of birth and death to save all suffering beings. Thus, one can attain perfect enlightenment.

This work was translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci in 529 A.C. (or in 531) under the title *Wu-liang-shou-ching-yu-po-t'i-shê-yüan-shêng-chi* (無量壽經優波提舍願生偈 *Taishō*, No. 1524) in one fascicle. This is sometimes called *Wang-shêng-lun* (往生論) or *Tsing-tu-lun* (淨土論).

T'an-luan (476—542 A.C.) wrote the commentary the *Wu-liang-shou-ching-yu-po-t'i-shê-yüan-shêng-chi-chu* (無量壽經優波提舍願生偈註 *Taishō*, No. 1819). His commentary, too, is very important in Pure Land Buddhism. Later, many commentaries and treatises were written on this work and on T'an-luan's commentary also. The catalogue volume of the *Taishō* Tripiṭaka, records sixty-four commentaries and treatises on this work. Many monks, including Tao-ch'ao (562–645),

Shan-tao (613–681) and Shinran (1174–1262), quote from this work and discuss its contents.

The Jōdo shū, a Japanese sect of Pure Land Buddhism, admires Vasubandhu because of this work and places him as the third in the line of the eight patriarchs, Aśvaghoṣa being the first and Nāgārjuna the second, or as the first in the line of the five patriarchs of its own sect. In the Jōdo-shin shū, another school of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan, Vasubandhu occupies the position of the second patriarch, Nāgārjuna being the first, in the line of its seven masters.

K. TMR.

APARIŚROTAVĀHANA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 139).

APARITṚṢITA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 141).

APARIVARTYA SŪTRA, a Sanskrit work. See AVAIVARTACAKRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

APARYANTABHADRA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 443, 9). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

APĀSĀDIKA SUTTA, two suttas bearing the common title of *Apāsādika* (var. Appasadika), occurring in succession in the *Akkosaka Vagga* of the *Pañcaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 255–6). They each deal with five dangers open to one with a troubled mind and, *vice versa,* with the advantages to one whose mind is at peace.

L. R. G.

APASMĀRA-GRAHA-NIRMOCAKA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a text extant in its Tibetan version in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Brjed-byed-kyi gdon-las thar-par-byed-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3813).

The work the authorship of which is ascribed to Ye-śes rdo-rje (Jñānavajra), deals with a cure for epilepsy.

After the formula of salutation addressed to Vajrapāṇi it states that those who wish to be rid of epilepsy should know the time of its on-coming and the symptoms. Mornings and evenings of the second, fourth, ninth and twelfth days in that part of the month in which the phases of the moon increase and the twenty-ninth day of the month falling in the dark half of the month are specified as the times during which hot-tempered people are susceptible to attacks of epilepsy. The symptoms cited are as follows : letting out froth from the mouth, fainting, perspiring, dizziness and falling on the ground. As part of the treatment, an initial offering of various kinds of incense, flowers, roots of the *devadāru* (juniper) and *uśīra* (*andropogon muricatus*) trees and cooked rice is recommended, after which the patient is to be bathed, and a medicine applied. The ingredients to be used for the preparation of this medicine are given, viz., an ounce each of three kinds of grains, black pepper, long pepper and ginger ; a hundred bulbs of garlic ; a thousand white mustard seeds and equal portions of *tāla* (palmyra) seeds and root of the *bilva* (wood-apple) tree. These are to be ground with goat's urine, and four handfuls of the mixture are to be boiled in sixteen handfuls of the urine.

R. H.

APASSENA, name for Ārakkhadāyaka (q.v.) thera in a previous birth as a king.

APATHY (*thīna*), as mental indolence (*cittassa akammaññatā : Dhs.* 1156), one of the five hindrances or obstacles to ethical perfection. See NĪVARAṆA.

APATRĀPYA (Pali : *ottappa*), fear of blame and consequences, which prevents one from doing an evil action as an external cause, always combined with the intrinsic shame of moral impurity (*hrī* ; Pali *hiri*). See ANOTTAPPA and OTTAPPA.

ĀPATTI, offence against monastic discipline, transgression of rules (*sikkhāpada*) of discipline (*vinaya*). There are two media by which a monk or a nun may commit an offence, namely, the medium of bodily action and that of speech (*Vin.* V, 118). Killing a living being comes under the former category, whereas telling a lie comes under the latter. Some of the offences, killing, for instance, and lying, are ethically wrong (*pakati-vajja*), while others, such as taking meals after noon, etc., are only legally wrong (*paññatti-vajja*), because they are prohibited to monks and nuns (*KhpA.* 23, 4).

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* has two divisions of *āpatti*, one division having five groups (*pañca-āpattikkhandha*) and the other seven (*satta-āpattikkhandha*) (*Dhs.* §§ 1329–32). The *Atthasālinī* explains the former category as consisting of *pārājikā*, the gravest offence involving defeat, the complete destruction, of the noble life of the offender; *saṅghādisesa*, an offence which requires suspension from the Order and which can be decided only by an act of the Order in assembly (*saṅghakamma*); *pācittiya*, an offence requiring expiation; *pāṭidesanīya*, an offence requiring confession: and *dukkaṭa*, a mere wrong-doing, a kind of slight offence. The other division consists of the five groups of the first division together with *thullaccaya*, grave offence and *dubbhāsita*, offence of wrong speech (*DhsA.* 394).

The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavastu* also has five groups of *āpatti*, namely, *pārājikā*, *saṅghāvaśesa* (*saṅghādisesa*), *pātayantika* (*pācittiya*), *pratideśanika* (*pāṭidesanīya*) and *duṣkṛta* (*dukkaṭa* : *GM.* III, 3, 109–10). The first four divisions are found also in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, 103 ff.). The word *pātayantika* is also spelt as *pāyattika*, *pāpattika*, and *prāyaścittika*.

The *pācittiya-āpatti* (*pātayantika*) is of two kinds, namely, *nissaggiya-pācittiya* or *naiḥsargika-pātayantika* and pure *pātayantika* sometimes called *śuddha-pātayantika*. In Pali, the latter is just called *pācittiya*.

All these *āpattis* are divided into three general categories of two subdivisions each, namely, (1) *duṭṭhullā āpatti*, grave offences, i.e., *pārājikā* and *saṅghādisesa*, and *aduṭṭhullā āpatti*, offences which are not grave, i.e., the other five groups (*Vin.* IV, 31; *VinA.* IV, 886); (2) *garukā āpatti*, major offences, and *lahukā āpatti*, minor offences; and (3) *sāvasesā āpatti*, partial offences, offences that can be done away with and *anavasesā āpatti*, complete offences, offences that cannot be done away with (*A.* I, 87–8; *Vin.* I, 354; II, 88; V, 115).

Three methods are prescribed for 'rising up' from an offence already committed (*āpatti-vuṭṭhāna*); they are *parivāsa*, living under probation, *abbhāna*, rehabilitation of a monk who has undergone a penance for an expiable offence and *mānatta*, a sort of penance attached to the commission of a *saṅghādisesa* offence (*Vin.* III, 112; IV, 225); these methods apply to all but *pārājikā* offences.

There are Vinaya rules (*sikkhāpada*) corresponding to all these offences.

See also SIKKHĀPADA, VINAYA.

U. K.

ĀPATTIDESANĀVIDHI, the title of two different works extant in their Tibetan translations in the Dbu-ma (*Madhyamaka*) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Ltuṅ-ba bśags-paḥi cho-ga* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 103, Nos. 5368 and 5369). The authorship of No. 5368 is credited to Devaśānti and the translation is attributed to Dīpaṅkara-śrījñāna and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba. The work deals with the procedure of confession of ecclesiastical offences (*āpatti*, q.v.). The offender should recite a formula two or three times in which he beseeches the community of monks to forgive him the offences of body, speech or mind, committed through passion (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), ignorance (*moha*) or avarice (*mātsarya*). Similarly, he should request the community of monks to forgive the offences of his preceptors, teachers, parents, all beings of the ten directions, etc. The text also contains a list of the offences.

The authorship of the second *Āpattideśanāvidhi* in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (No. 5369 referred to above) is credited to Dpal Mar-me mdsad ye-śes (Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna) and the translation is attributed to Dpal Mar-me mdsad ye-śes and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba. The work is similar in content to the previous text. The offender is required to recite a statement three times, confessing his offences in the presence of all Buddhas, Vajradhara and the like, and the bodhisattvas residing in the ten directions. The formula of confession contains an enumeration of offences of body, speech or mind, occasioned by the overpowering nature of passion, hatred or ignorance. Some of those listed are the ten sinful deeds (*daśākuśalakarma*), the five worst sins (*pañcānantaryakarma*) and those coming nearest to them, the transgression of the code of rules called the *prātimokṣa*, the disregard of the teachings of the bodhisattvas and the violation of solemn vows given in the secret religious instructions (Tib. *gsaṅ sṅags*, Skt. *guptavāda*).

A fragment of a text called *Ltuṅ-ba bśags-pa* (*Āpattideśanā*) occurs among the Tun-huang Mss. (No. 316, 2 in the *Catalogue of Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang published by the Commonwealth Relations Office*, 1962).

R. H.

ĀPATTI SUTTA, the first two suttas of the *Āpatti Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, p. 239).

The first was preached by the Buddha to Ānanda in the Ghosita Park near Kosambī. Ānanda had said that he was unable to settle a dispute

(*adhikaraṇa*) that had arisen among the bhikkhus, since Bāhiya was in favour of dissension in the Order and Anuruddha being Bāhiya's friend did not want to interfere in the matter. Thereupon the Buddha said that he should not have depended on Anuruddha to interfere in disputes, for he was by temperament unfit for such action. Further, it was the duty of Ānanda, Sāriputta and Moggallāna to have attended to that matter. The Buddha then proceeded to discourse to Ānanda on the four probable reasons for a monk to be desirious of creating dissension of the Order (*saṅghabhedana*).

A wicked monk who is immoral, of a wicked nature, impure, of suspicious behaviour, and of covert deeds, who has wrong views, who is a wrong liver, and who is desirous of gain and honour, wishes for dissension in the Order, since he is of opinion that when the bhikkhus are united they could harm him.

The second *Āpatti Sutta* (*A*. II, 240–3) was preached at the same place to the bhikkhus. The Buddha explains the four kinds of offences: they are the *pārājikā dhamma* (matters of grave offence), *saṅghādisesa-dhamma* (matters calling for a decision of the Order), *pācittiya-dh°* (matters calling for expiation), and *paṭidesanīyaka-dh°* (matters requiring confession). Each one of them is explained in detail with examples.

I. K.

ĀPATTI VAGGA, the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 239–46), containing ten suttas on various subjects. This vagga was preached by the Buddha while staying near Kosambī in Ghosita Park. The first three suttas are rather long and the rest are short. For the first two suttas see ĀPATTI SUTTA.

In the third sutta the Buddha says that a holy life is lived for the sake of the training of further wisdom, of the essence of release and of the essence of mindfulness.

The fourth sutta discusses the postures of petas who lie flat on their backs, of the luxurious who lie on their left side, of the lion who lies on his right side and of the Tathāgata who enters on and abides in the fourfold trances (*jhāna*), putting an end to all sensual pleasures (*kāma*).

The fifth sutta mentions the four persons who are worthy of a relic mound (*thūpāraha*). They are a fully enlightened one, a paccekabuddha, a disciple of the Buddha, and a world-ruler (*cakkavatti-rāja*).

In the sixth sutta the Buddha declares that there are four states which develop one's wisdom (*paññā*), namely, the association with a good man, hearing of the good doctrine, fixing one's attention with a purpose, and living in accordance with the Dhamma.

The next four suttas deal with the various modes of speech both noble (*ariya*) and ignoble (*anariya*). According to the Buddha there are eight modes of noble speech and eight ignoble. In the seventh and the ninth suttas the Buddha explains ignoble speech, namely, speaking of things not seen as seen, and seen as not seen, etc. The eighth and the tenth suttas are devoted to discussions on noble speech which is the opposite of ignoble speech.

I. K.

APĀYA. The word *apāya* (Skt. *apāya,* from *apa*+ *i*) 'going away', is used in the Pali Buddhist literature with several meanings. It stands for separation and loss as in *piyāpāya* (*Dhp.* 211), loss of property as in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 181), a leakage or outflow of water (*D.* I, 74), and a falling away in conduct (*D.* I, 100). In its best-known meaning, however, it stands for a state of suffering after death, in many respects equivalent to the notion of purgatory or hell. Nevertheless, it is difficult to trace any evidence in early Buddhist literature that it connoted any particular location as is associated with the medieval European notion of hell, which was believed to be underground.

Throughout the Nikāya literature, *apāya* is referred to as a state of suffering that comes in the form of retribution for acts of evil. The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*D.* I, 82) gives three causes for rebirth in this state, namely, the reviling, in act, speech or thought, of the Noble Ones (*ariya*), holding of wrong views, and acquiring the demerit of acts which result from wrong views. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I. 55), when the Buddha is asked why beings are born in this state, he replies that it is due to their unrighteousness and crookedness. In the same nikāya (I, 56) answering the brāhman Jāṇussoṇi, the Buddha says, cryptically, that the cause is commission and omission (*katattā ca akatattā ca*). Asked to explain further, he says that the commission in act, speech or thought, of immoral acts and the omission, in act, speech or thought of moral acts, lead to the state of *apāya*.

In the same context, relating to Ānanda the consequences of the commission of immorality,

he mentions guilt ('the self upbraids the self'), blame by the wise, loss of reputation, insanity, and after death *apāya*.

Those who are elated by gains and favours as well as those who are moved by loss and lack of favours are also subject to this plight (*S*. II, 232).

No one but a stream-winner (*sotāpanna*) can claim to be free from rebirth in the four unhappy states, viz., hell (*niraya*), the womb of an animal (*tiracchāna-yoni*), the realm of ghosts (*pettivisaya*) and the state of *apāya* (*A*. IV, 405). The world with its gods and men is enveloped, 'tangled like a ball of thread', unable to cross over *apāya* which is compared to an ocean of ruin and destruction (*S*. IV, 158). Not even a king, roller-of-the-wheel (*cakkavattin*), can, without virtue, cross it (*S*. V, 342). Nor can prayer help (*S*. IV, 313), nor ritual (*D*. I, 101).

It is the privilege of Buddhas, as Sāriputta points out (*D*. III, 111), and of arahants, according to the Buddha himself (*D*. I, 82), that when they have reached the meditative state of reminiscence, they see in contemplative vision the passing away and rebirth of beings in both heaven and *apāya*—all faring according to their deserts. See further NIRAYA, PETALOKA.

B. J.

APĀYAJAHA, name of a bodhisattva (*Mmk*. 40.13; 63.5; 111.8; 425.19).

APĀYAMUKHA, a term originally used in the sense of exit as opposed to *āyamukha* which meant entrance. In these senses the two terms occur in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* with reference to the sluices of a lake that admit water and drain it out.[1] While retaining the underlying comparison, the two terms have been employed in the same passage with reference to wealth in order to indicate causes leading to the loss of wealth or increase of it, respectively. Four such causes leading to the loss of wealth are mentioned: namely, yielding to one's passion (*dhutta*) for women, drink, gambling and bad friends; and, conversely, the fourfold control of these passions is mentioned as leading to increase of wealth.

In the *Dīgha Nikāya*[2] six causes of loss are mentioned which include not only the four already indicated but two others as well. These comprise (1) addiction to liquors that result in intoxication and heedlessness, (2) street walking at unusual hours, (3) frequenting theatrical performances, (4) gambling, which results in heedlessness, (5) association with bad friends, and (6) laziness.

The commentaries regard these as causes for loss of wealth because they not only exhaust wealth already accumulated but also beget nothing new.[3]

This term has also been often employed in the plural as *apāyamukhāni* and then generally explained commentarially as causes of ruin (*vināsa*)[4] or as occasions of ruin (*vināsassa ṭhānāni*)[5]. Such causes of loss are, however, not confined to wealth only. The *Dīgha Nikāya*[6] has also mentioned four causes of loss in regard to the acquisition of supreme knowledge and conduct (*vijjā-caraṇa-sampadā*):

(1) A recluse or brahman without ever having attained supreme knowledge and conduct might go into the forest vowing to live only on fruits that have fallen of themselves, or (2) to live only on bulbs, roots and fruits, or (3) he might build himself a fire hall and serve the fire god, or (4) he might build himself a four-doored alms-house at a junction where four roads meet, and dwell there with the hope that he would entertain any recluse or brāhman who passed by.

It is also significant that the notion of *apāyamukha* seems to have been more or less synonymous with that of *parābhava-mukha* which means cause of defeat or ruin. Many such causes of defeat are mentioned in the *Parābhava Sutta*, as for instance, not supporting one's aged parents while one has resources, deceiving people by falsehood, selfish enjoyment of one's riches, and squandering all that one gets on women, drink and dice[7].

H. S. C.

APĀYAPRAMATHANA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū*. 443. 1-2. The first edition reads Upāyapramathana, *BHS*. s.v.). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

APĀYA SUTTA, a short discourse in prose, concluded with three stanzas, on two types of people who are doomed to downfall and rebirth

1 *A*. II, 166; IV, 283.
2 *D*. III, p. 182.

3 *DA*. III, pp. 944-5.
4 *DA*. I, p. 268.
5 *AA*. IV, p. 139.
6 *D*. I, pp. 100-102.
7 *Sn*. pp. 18 ff.

in hell (*apāyikā nerayikā*), viz., one who claims to be a saint although leading a godless life (*abrahmacārī*) and one who harasses another who leads a saintly life by accusations of moral lapses (*It.* pp. 42–3, sutta 48).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀPĀYIKA SUTTA, the first sutta of the *Āpāyika Vagga* of the *Tika Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 265).

The Buddha explains to the bhikkhus that there are three persons who will be born in purgatory unless they give up their evil habits: he who claims to lead a holy life while leading an impure life; he who falsely charges with immorality a person who leads a very holy life; and he who becomes intoxicated with lusts by preaching and holding the view that there is no fault in sensuality (*kāma*).

I. K.

ĀPĀYIKA VAGGA, the twelfth chapter of the *Tika Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 265) consisting of ten suttas dealing with various topics and addressed to the bhikkhus.

For the first sutta see ĀPĀYIKA SUTTA.

The second sutta deals with three persons who appear only rarely in this world, namely, a fully enlightened one, a person able to expound the Dhamma taught by the Buddha, and one who is mindful of benefits and is grateful. The third sutta says that it is difficult to find one who is easily measured (*suppameyya*), one whom it is hard to measure (*duppameyya*), and one who is immeasurable (*appameyya*).

The fourth sutta explains the three sorts of persons who are reborn in the company of the devas (gods) in the various spheres of infinity of space (*ākāsa*), of consciousness (*viññāṇa*) and of nothingness (*ākiñcañña*).

The fifth sutta mentions the threefold failures (*vipatti*), and three successes (*sampadā*): the failure in morals (*sīla*), in mind (*citta*), and in view (*diṭṭhi*). A person is reborn in hell after death, due to these three failures. On the other hand, the three successes are the opposites of these failures and it is due to them that one is reborn in heaven after death. The sixth sutta merely repeats the first section of the previous sutta. In the seventh sutta, which repeats the fifth sutta, there is a variation in detail. In place of failure and success in mind (*citta*), the latter mentions failure and success in livelihood (*ājīva*).

The eighth sutta explains three forms of purity (*soceyya*), namely, purity of body, of speech and of mind. The ninth sutta is only a repetition of the eighth sutta, but it gives a detailed explanation on the purity of mind. The last sutta speaks of three perfections (*moneyyāni*), namely, perfection in body, speech and mind, and says further that perfection in mind could be attained by the destruction of the *āsavas*. This *vagga* ends without the usual table of contents (*uddāna*), and thus the individual suttas have no titles. But it is obvious that this *vagga* has derived its title from the subject matter of the first sutta, which is the only one in this chapter to deal with downfall (*apāya*).

I. K.

APĀYIMHA VAGGA, the ninth chapter of the *Eka Nipāta* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* consisting of ten jātakas (Nos. 81–90) and deriving its title from *apāyimha*, the first word in its first jātaka (*J.* I, 360–79).

APERTURE, limited space, opening (*paricchinnākāsa*), used as a device (*kasiṇa*) for concentration in the development of mental absorption (*jhāna*). See KASIṆA.

APEYATANA, a temple in Burma, traditionally assigned to king Kyanzittha, 1084–1112 A.C. (*The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, p. 108). An inscription on the wall of the temple and datable, palaeographically, to the fifteenth or the sixteenth century, states that the temple was built by the chief queen of king Kyanzittha and its name was Aperatana. It is said to have been constructed at the spot where Apeyatana, his queen, waited for him when he was in exile to escape the wrath of his father Anawrahta. The monastery is also known by several other variations of the name, such as Ameyadana, Apeyadana, Abeyadana and Abhayadana.

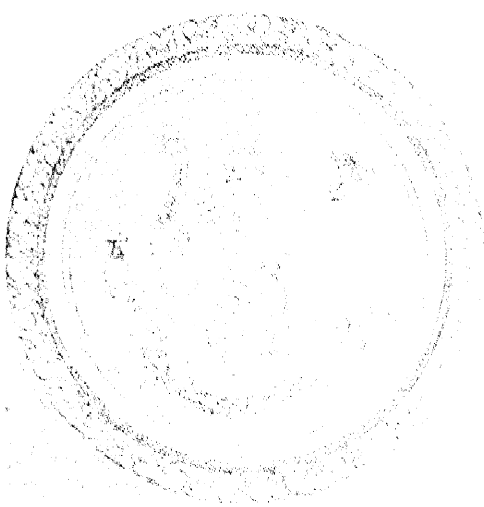
The temple is a square building with an inner chamber surmounted by a stūpa. Inside the chamber is a large image of brick, of a seated Buddha. The main interest of the temple lies in the paintings with which the inside walls of the temple are decorated (see Vol. II, Plates I, II). These paintings represent, mainly, the divinities of the Mahāyāna pantheon (*ASIAR.* 1930–1934, 43 f.).

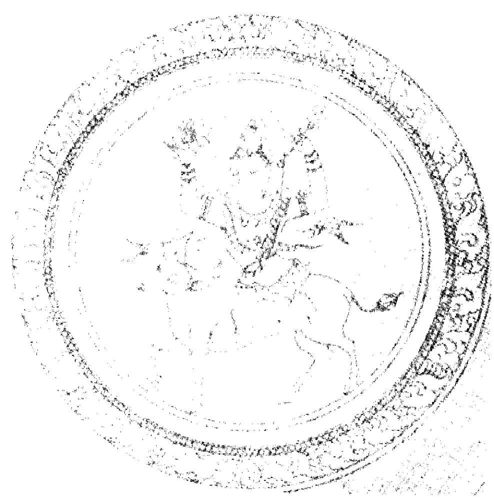
On the inner face of the outer wall of the temple are many figures of Mahāyānistic gods and goddesses, both in their peaceful and fierce forms, as well as



(*by courtesy of the Archæological Department, India*)

APALĀLA, the nāga king, converted by the Buddha, as represented in a relief from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.





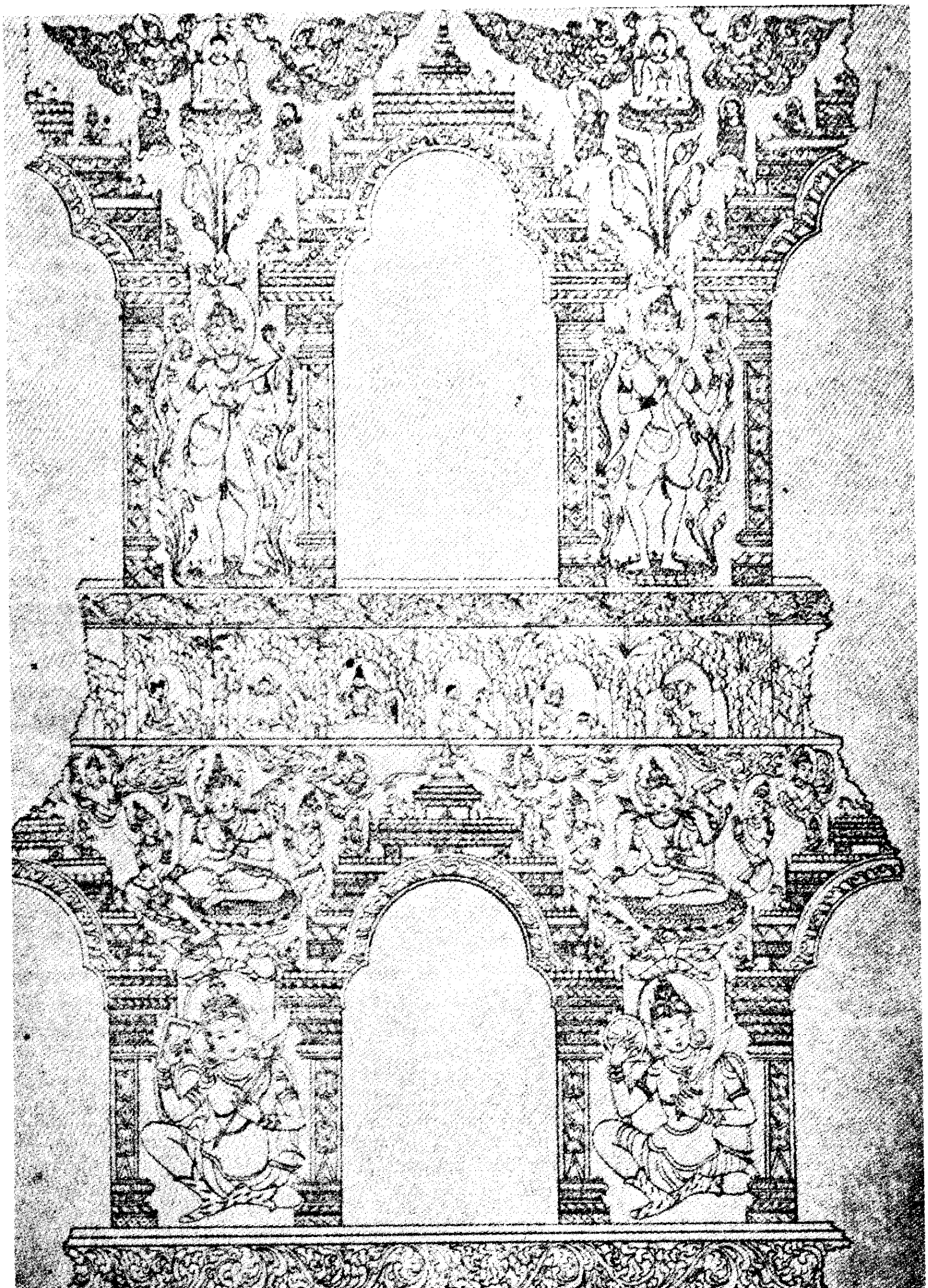
(*by courtesy of the Archæological Department, Burma*)

APEYATANA TEMPLE, Myinpagan, Pagān, Burma.

Wall painting in outline, depicting Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, the latter with two snakes.

Wall painting in outline, depicting Śiva on his bull.

PLATE II



(by courtesy of the Archæological Department, Burma)

APEYATANA TEMPLE, Myinpagan, Pagān, Burma. Outline of a wall painting on the western portion of the south wall.

images of bodhisattvas. The bodhisattva images are in three rows, one above the other. The images of the lowest row are in the *ardhaparyaṅka* posture each with a *makuṭa*, a crown, ear-rings and other bodhisattva-ornaments and felt boots. The images in the middle row are in the *lalita-mudrā* on double lotuses with the right leg pendant and the foot resting on a lotus. The right hand is resting on the right knee with the palm in the *varada-mudrā*. The left hand is brought to the breast in the *abhaya-mudrā*. Each image is worshipped by two gods, one seated on either side. In the uppermost row, the images stand on lotuses with the outer hand raised and holding a ring. The other hand is placed on the breast with a weapon in it. All these images in the three rows are in non-tantric form and they are all devoid of any legend. Judged by the attributes in their hands they may be identified with Vajrapāṇi, Padmapāṇi, Avalokiteś-vara and Mañjuśrī, or they may even represent Avalokiteśvara in his various forms.

Amidst the other paintings on the walls of the temple are figures of the Buddha, paintings of gods and goddesses, monks, ascetics and kinnaras. Isolated scenes, presumably from jātakas, appear amidst them but their identification has not been possible. A series of five such scenes has been identified as depicting some scenes from the *Ummagga Jātaka*. They depict an ascetic who was enticed by a kinnarī in order to induce him to kill a blood-sucking spider. These scenes from the jātakas are Hīnayānic in character.

Some of the paintings of the temple are tantric in character. One of them depicts a goddess holding snakes in both hands. Another figure, a god, is depicted with a terrific expression showing a row of fangs and with snakes as wristlets and bangles, and a garland of human heads as the necklace. A god holding a human skin across his back and another standing on a corpse are others of that type. The goddess with six arms carrying a ring, a knife, a bow, an arrow, a head and a sword, and with a garland of heads round her neck, also belongs to the same order.

Gods like Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa are also depicted on the walls. Brahmā is on a goose, Śiva on a bull (Vol. II, Plate I), and Viṣṇu on a *garuḍa* bird (*ASIAR*. 1930–34, 181 ff.).

The Apeyatana temple is one of the early Buddhist monuments of Burma. Its discovery and preservation in 1930 has facilitated the study of Buddhism in Burma of that period.

H. R. P.

APHEGGUSĀRA, a work referred to in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (48) as being composed in Haṃsavatī in Burma about the fourth century A.C. The work is said to contain discussions on abhidhamma topics. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* is silent about its author.

W. G. W.

APHEGGUSĀRA-DĪPANĪ, a book composed at Haṃsavatī, probably by Mahāsuvaṇṇadīpa, teacher of queen Sīvalī. In Nevill's MS. Catalogue in the British Museum it is described as an *anuṭīkā* dealing with matter in the ***Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*** (Bode. *Pāli Literature of Burma*, 36, n. 2).

W. G. W.

A-PHREṄ KA-PHREṄ BDE MCHOG ḤKHOR-LOḤI RNAL-ḤBYOR CHEN-PO BSGOM-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation in Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See SAMBARACAKRĀLIKĀLI-MAHĀ-YOGA-BHĀVANĀ-NĀMA.

A-PHREṄ KA-PHREṄ-GI SṄAGS-KYI RIM-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation in Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See ĀLIKĀLI-MANTRA-JÑĀNA-NĀMA.

APILĀPIYA, name for Tikaṇḍipupphiya (q.v.) thera in a previous birth, as a king.

A-P'I-TA-MO-CHIEH-SHEN-TSU-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHARMA-DHĀTUKĀYA-PĀDA-ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-CHI-I-MÊN-TSU-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHI-DHARMA-SAṄGĪTI-PARYĀYA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-CHÜ-SHÊ-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHARMA-KOŚA-ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-CHÜ-SHÊ-LUN-PEN-SUNG, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHARMA-KOŚA-(ŚĀSTRA-)KĀRIKĀ.

A-P'I-TA-MO-CHÜ-SHÊ-SHIH-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHI-DHARMA-KOŚA-(VYĀKHYĀ-) ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-FA-CHIH-LUN (*Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra*), a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-FA-YÜN-TSU-LUN (*Abhidharma-dharma-skandha-pāda-śāstra*), a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See DHARMA-SKANDHA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-FEN-LEI-TSU-LUN (*Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-śāstra*), a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See PRAKARAṆAPĀDA.

A-P'I T-A-MO-KAN-LU-WEI-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHI-DHARMĀMṚTA-(RASA-)ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-MING-CHING-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHI-DHARMA-PRAKĀŚA-SĀDHANA-ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-P'IN-LEI-TSU-LUN (*Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-pāda-śāstra*), a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See PRAKARAṆA-PĀDA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-SHIH-SHEN-TSU-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHARMA-VIJÑĀNAKĀYA-PĀDA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-SHUN-CHENG-LI-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHARMA-NYĀYĀNUSĀRA.

A-P'I-TA-MO-TA-P'I-P'O-SHA-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHARMA-MAHĀ-VIBHĀṢĀ.

A-P'I-TA-MO-TSANG-HSIEN-TSUNG-LUN, a translation into Chinese from the Sanskrit text *Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-śāsana-śāstra*, also known as *Abhidharma-samaya-pradīpikā-śāstra* (q.v.).

A-P'I-T'AN-HSIN-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHARMA-HṚDAYA-ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-T'AN-KAN-LU-WEI-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHAR-MĀMṚTA-(RASA-) ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-T'AN-PA-CHIEN-TU-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHAR-MĀṢṬAGRANTHA.

A-P'I-T'AN-P'I-P'O-SHA-LUN, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHIDHAR-MA-VIBHĀṢĀ-ŚĀSTRA.

A-P'I-T'AN-WU-FA-HSING-CHING, a translation into Chinese from a Sanskrit text. See ABHI-DHARMA-PAÑCA-DHARMA-CARITA-SŪTRA.

APKṚTSNA, a *samādhi* or a concentration of both mind and body attained through the deep meditation performed by means of concentration on water (*ap*). It is possessed by the bodhisattva Gadgadasvara who lives in the world system (*lokadhātu*) called Vairocanaraśmipratimaṇḍita (*Sdmp.* p. 353). See also ĀPO-KASIṆA.

U. K.

ĀPO-DHĀTU, water-element, as one of the mahābhūta. See BHŪTA.

APOHASIDDHI, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation under the title *Sel-ba grub-pa* in the Hetuvidyā (Tshad-ma) sūtra-commentary (Mdo-ḥgrel) section of the Tengyur. The work is credited to the authorship of Śaṅkarānanda. Manoratha of Kaśmir and Dhīmatprajña (Blo-ldan śes-rab) translated the work into Tibetan (*Cordier*, III, p. 453, No. 20 ; *TM.* No. 4256).

E. H. P.

ĀPO-KASIṆA, an aid to concentration by means of which a state of mental absorption (*jhāna*) may be obtained. There are ten devices (*kasiṇa*), four of which are based (*kammaṭṭhāna*) on the four elements (*bhūta*, q.v.). These four elements are represented and visualised as follows : extension and solidity by earth (*paṭhavī*), cohesion and saturation by water (*āpo*), heat and temperature by fire (*tejo*), motion and oscillation by air (*vāyo*).

Āpo-kasiṇa, then, is a device using the element of water to concentrate one's thought ; and physical water becomes the material object of concentration by fixing one's gaze on this particular object. In preparing the object of concentration (*parikamma-nimitta*) one should use a bowl or pot filled brimful with clean and colourless water (*Vism.* v, § 3, p. 138) for any contamination or colouring would merely distract the mind. But, it is immaterial whether water is collected from rain (*ambu*), from dew (*vāri*), from flowing water (*udaka*), from running water (*salila*) or stagnant water (*āpo*), as long as it is clean and colourless. The bowl or pot should be filled with water to the brim, lest the reflection of the upper edge of the bowl be seen in the water.

Just as in the case of other meditation-devices, the bowl of water should not be placed in the middle

of a courtyard, but in a remote place which can be screened off, inside a dwelling or under an overhanging rock (ibid. iv, § 24, p. 100). Its size should be not more than a span and four fingerbreadths, i.e., 12 inches, in diameter.

After having thus prepared the object of concentration one should sweep the place around and have a bath, so that one feels cool and comfortable. Facing the bowl of water at a distance of slightly less than four feet (2½ cubits), one should prepare a low stool of about one foot in height. Seated on the stool one should next prepare the mind by concentrating for some time on the special qualities of the Buddha, his teaching and his Order of monks, leading a life of renunciation, till there arises a longing to escape from sense desires which is the only means to solve all conflicts and problems. After this when the mind is calmed and disinterested, the eyes should be opened moderately and their gaze fixed on the object : water.

Every little detail of instruction has its proper significance as explained by Buddhaghosa : if one sits too far off, the meditation object is not distinct ; if one sits too near, the faults of the object become apparent and cause distraction ; if one sits too high, one has to bend the head and neck low down in order to view the *kasiṇa* ; if one sits too low, the knees will begin to ache (ibid. iv, § 26, p. 101).

Thus prepared in mind and body, no attention should be given to the qualities of the object, water, but just the general concept should be reflected on, and brought before the mind's eye a hundred times, a thousand times, and even more than that, until the concept is established, whether the physical eyes are open or shut. This is called the arising of the learner's sign (*uggahanimittaṃ uppajjati*: ibid. iv, § 29, p. 101).

From now on the material device (*kasiṇa*) has served its purpose, and further concentration should be developed on the mental image thereof which with the approach to the contemplative stage (*upacāra-samādhi*) unfolds into the transformed after-image or counter-sign (*paṭibhāga-nimitta*), which forms the basis of mental absorption. See **JHĀNA**.

H. G. A. v. Z.

APPAKA SUTTA of the *Kosala Saṃyutta* (*S.* I, 73 f.) states how king Pasenadi of Kosala told the Buddha that in his view most people, when they acquire great wealth, become intoxicated thereby and indulge in greed of sense-desires, and misconduct themselves, whereas only a few (*appaka*) would not be so. The Buddha agrees and utters a stanza in confirmation.

The sutta is named *Pamāda Sutta* in the *Sutta Saṅgaha* (p. 197).

H. R. P.

APPAMĀDA, diligence, earnestness, heedfulness, lit. non-laxity, is considered in Buddhism as the foundation of all spiritual progress. "All wholesome mental qualities (***kusala-dhamma***) are rooted in diligence (***appamāda-mūlaka***), are united in zeal (***appamādasaṃsaraṇa***) and heedfulness is among them the most important" (***appamādo tesaṃ dhammānaṃ aggam akkhāyati: A.*** V, 21).

Illustrations showing this importance are not lacking. It towers over all other mental qualities, like the Buddha over all other beings, like the elephant's footprint over those of all others, like the main beam of a house over all rafters, like the scent of sandal-wood and of the jasmine flower over all other perfumes, like a world-ruler over all princes, like the moon at night over all stars, like the ocean over all the water of the rivers (loc. cit.).

The commentary (*DA*. I, 104) explains *appamāda* as the presence of mindfulness (***satiyā avippavāsa***) which is the one and only way (***ekāyana magga***) that leads to purification and realisation (*M.* I, 55). It is called the way to the deathless (***amatapadaṃ: Dhp. v.*** 21) ; and one who delights in vigilance (***appamādarato***) is not liable to fall (***abhabbo parihānāya***) but is as though in the presence of emancipation (***nibbānass'eva santike***: ibid. *v.* 32).

Its supreme importance, however, is shown in the fact that this was the final exhortation of the Buddha, just before he departed from all existence in saṃsāra : "Impermanent is all that is conditioned. Strive to accomplish your aim with diligence" (*appamādena sampādetha: D.* II, 120).

Hence, the wise praise diligence in virtuous deeds (*appamādaṃ pasaṃsanti puññakiriyāsu paṇḍitā: It.* p. 16).

H. G. A. v. Z.

APPAMĀDA SUTTA. There are fourteen suttas by this name, of which nine appear in the *Saṃyutta*, four in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and one in the *Itivuttaka*. (1) The Buddha, in answer to a question by Pasenadi, king of Kosala, says that diligence is the one quality that acquires and keeps welfare both in this life and in the next (*S.* I, 86).

(2) A dialogue between the Buddha and Pasenadi, king of Kosala (*S.* I, 87), where the Buddha reports to the king a previous discussion he had had with Ānanda : The whole of this life in religion consists in righteous friendship. A monk in friendship with the righteous is expected to follow the Noble Eightfold Path ; and it is because the Buddha himself is the best of good friends that beings are delivered from suffering. It is the duty of the king to become a good friend ; in order to be such, he must be diligent. When the king is diligent all his subjects will also be diligent, with the result that his life, his women, his wealth, all will be guarded and safe.

(3) The Buddha says that those recluses and brāhmans who do not know the nature, the origin, the cessation and the path leading to the cessation of decay and death, of birth, becoming, clinging, craving, of sensations, sense contact, of the six spheres of sense contact, name and form, of consciousness and of mental formations, must be diligent (*S.* II, 132).

(4) The Buddha says that diligence is the harbinger of the arising of the Noble Eightfold Path, just as the dawn is the forerunner of the arising of the sun (*S.* V, 30).

(5) The same sutta is repeated (ibid. 32).

(6) Diligence is the most useful factor for the arising of the Noble Eightfold Path (ibid. 33).

(7) The same sutta is repeated (ibid. 35).

(8) There is no other factor except diligence that is conducive to the arising of, and the progress in, the Noble Eightfold Path (ibid. 36).

(9) The same sutta is repeated (ibid. 37).

(10) The Buddha advises monks to be diligent on four occasions, i.e., in giving up evil deeds, words and thoughts, and wrong views, and in cultivating their opposites (*A.* II, 119).

(11) The Buddha, in answer to a brāhman's question, explains in six similes that diligence is the quality which, if developed, brings success both in this world and in the next (*A.* III, 364).

(12) A deity visits the Buddha at Jetavana and mentions seven things which lead away from ruin, namely, respect for the Teacher, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha, the training, concentration of the mind, diligence and goodwill. The Buddha reports the incident to the monks (*A.* IV, 27–8).

(13) The Buddha explains to monks in nine similes that diligence is the basis and highest quality among all good qualities (*kusala dhamma*), just as the Tathāgata is the highest among all beings (*A.* V, 21–2).

(14) Name given in the *Suttasaṅgaha* (199) to a sutta quoted from the *Itivuttaka* on the value of diligence (*appamāda*). It is said in this sutta that a person would be benefited in this world as well as in the next, if he is diligent (*Ubbo-attha Sutta : It.* 16).

U. K.

APPAMĀDA VAGGA, the tenth chapter (*vagga*) of the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 135). It contains the following ten suttas : (1) *Tathāgata*, (2) *Pada*, (3) *Kūṭa*, (4) *Mūla*, (5) *Sāra*, (6) *Vassika*, (7) *Rājā*, (8) *Candimā*, (9) *Suriya*, (10) *Vattha*. The title of the vagga is derived from *appamāda* meaning 'earnestness' (Woodward, *Kindred Sayings*, V, p. 115). See under relevant headword for each sutta.

Another *Appamāda Vagga* occurs in the same *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* in an extremely condensed form, obviously intended for repetition and memorising. Mere titles of 10 suttas are given, "to be developed under the title of lust" (*rāgavasena vitthāretabbo : S. V*, 138).

B. J.

APPAMĀṆĀBHA, a class of gods who form one of two sub-groups of the genus Ābhā deva, the other being the Parittābha. The Appamāṇābha are mentioned in the *Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta* (*M.* III, 99) and the *Anuruddha Sutta* (*M.* III, 145), the latter going into a detailed discussion regarding their characteristic quality of luminosity, which, in contrast to that of the other sub-group, is boundless or infinite. The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (p. 22) places them in the second jhāna plane of the Rūpaloka, while this work and the *Kathāvatthu* (p. 207) calculate their life-span as lasting for four great aeons (*mahākappa*). The *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā* (p. 520) also mentions the Appamānābhā devā. See ĀBHĀ DEVĀ.

B. J.

APPAMĀṆASUBHA, a class of gods mentioned in the *Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta* (*M.* III, 102). They apparently belong to the Subhā genus (s. v. ĀBHĀ DEVĀ), with the *Paritta-subhā* as the other sub-group, but they are significantly absent from the parallel list in the *Anuruddha Sutta* (*M.* III, 147). The *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (p. 22), the *Kathāvatthu* (p. 207) and the *Sammoha-vinodanī* (*VbhA.* 520) calculate their life-span as being thirty-two great aeons (*mahākappa*) in

duration. The first mentioned of these commentarial works further places them in the third jhāna plane of the Rūpaloka. See further ĀBHĀ DEVĀ.

B. J.

APPAMAÑÑĀ, the four Boundless States, namely, loving-kindness (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), altruistic joy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*). See BRAHMA-VIHĀRA.

APPAMATTA VAGGA, the nineteenth chapter of the *Eka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 35–8). Just as in Jambudīpa trifling (*appamattaka*) are the pleasant parks and the pleasant lakes while much more numerous are the thorny brakes and inaccessible mountains, similarly, very few are those who will comprehend the doctrine and attain salvation while many more are those who will not so attain.

This chapter in two sections gives various other combinations contrasting the few who would fare well with the many who would fare badly. Thus, few are those men who would be reborn as human beings while many are those who would be born in the states of woe, etc. It seems likely that most of the combinations have developed round the kernel of the original combination and are of a later date.

L. R. G.

APPAMATTA SUTTA. See ASAMATTA SUTTA.

APPAMATTEYYA SUTTA. See MATTEYYA SUTTA.

APPAMEYYA SUTTA, the third sutta of the *Āpāyika Vagga* of the *Tika Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 266).

In this sutta the Buddha addresses the bhikkhus and says that there are three sets of persons who are hard to be found in this world, namely, he who is easily measured (*suppameyya*), he whom it is difficult to measure (*duppameyya*), and he who is immeasurable (*appameyya*).

The Buddha further explains that a monk who has put an end to all mental intoxicants (*khīṇāsava*) is called 'immeasurable' (*appameyya*).

I. K.

APPAṂ SUPATI SUTTA of the *Rāja Vagga* of the *Pañcamaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 156) speaks of five individuals who sleep little at night, and keep awake for the greater part. They are: the woman who longs for a man, the man who longs for a woman, a thief who harbours the idea of stealing, people who are engaged in the work of the state and the monk who longs for release from bondage.

W. G. W

APPANĀ (Skt. *arpaṇa*), fixing of the mind in the state of ecstatic meditation (*jhāna*). In the process of concentration (*samādhi*) it is distinct from and succeeds neighbourhood or access-concentration (*upacāra-samādhi*) which is the final stage from where mental absorption (*jhāna*) is attained. The attainment of absorption itself is then the beginning of ecstatic concentration (*appanā- samādhi*). Hence, it is the most important step in the entire process of mind-culture (*bhāvanā*), which opens up a new type of mental life, in which the mind penetrates with mental application (*appanā-vitakka*) into the inner nature of the object of contemplation. A gradual dispensation with the constituents of the lower stages of mental absorption (application through discursive thought: *vitakka-vicāra*; spiritual joy: *pīti*; well-being: *sukha*) leads to a state of equanimity (*upekkhā*) and the fullest development in mental absorption.

Appanā, although applied to the entire process of concentration (*samādhi*) and absorption (*jhāna*), is primarily intended for the *vitakka*-factor in the initial stage of absorption, for it is this factor of discursive mental application (*vitakka*) which inserts (*appeti*) the mind, as it were, into the object of thought. An intensified form *vyappanā*, focussing, is used together with *appanā*, fixation of thought (*Dhs.* I, § 7; *DhsA.* 142 f.).

Buddhaghosa frequently links the terms fixation and absorption together, e.g., *ekacittakkhaṇikaṃ appanā-jhānaṃ*, rapt meditation on a concept induced by the momentary flash of a thought. Thus the orthodox view (*Kvu.* 458) upholds against the Sabbatthivādins and the Uttarāpathakas that concentration is involved in each momentary unit of consciousness, from which some heterodox teachers concluded that one could win the ecstasy of concentration (*appanā-samādhi*) on the actual occasion of any sense-cognition, even at the very moment of thinking immoral thoughts.

The term *appanā* is also used in an altogether different connection, although maintaining the

meaning of fixation, in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, where "throughout Book I, in the case of each inquiry which opens up a new subject, the answer is set out on a definite plan called *uddesa*, exposition, and is rounded off invariably by the *appanā*, or emphatic summing up" (*Psychological Ethics*, Introd. by C. A. F. Rhys Davids, p. xxviii).

H. G. A. v. Z.

APPĀṆAKA JHĀNA, a form of ecstatic meditation where breathing is held up in order to stir up unsluggish energy and to set up unmuddled mindfulness. The Buddha after his great renunciation practised it during the period of self-mortification with the above aim in view, stopping breathing-in and breathing-out through the mouth, nose and ears. As he practised it he saw its ills, such as the exceedingly loud noise of winds escaping by the auditory passages, such winds renting inside the head, severe headache and fierce heat in the body. In addition, as he practised it, his body was turbulent as he was striving against the pain it caused (*M.* I, 243 ff. ; II, 212 ; *J.* I, 67 ; *Mhvu.* II, 124). In the foregoing passages the Buddha has obviously discouraged this form of meditation as useless.

H. R. P.

APPAṆIHITA-VIMOKHA-MUKHA (Skt. *apraṇihita-vimokṣa-mukha*), gateway to desireless liberation, is one of the three gateways to liberation (Cp. *animitta-vimokha-mukha* : *M.* I, 297 ; *Ps.* II, 48 ; *Vism.* 564 ; *Dhsmg.* 15 ; *Laṅk.* 163 ; *Gvyū.* 472 ; *Lal.* 7).

Buddhaghosa identifies the gateway to desireless liberation with the contemplation on pain (*dukkhānupassanā* : *Vism.* 564).

When one contemplates pain, one's faculty of concentration (*samādhindriya*) becomes predominant, and with its predominance, insight reaches its culmination and settles down firmly in the contemplation of pain. This faculty of concentration thus strengthened brings about the entry upon the state of the gateway to desireless liberation. This gateway leads to the outlet from the world, that is to say, to the stirring up of the mind with respect to all formations and to the entering of consciousness into the desireless element (*appaṇihita dhātu*) which is Nibbāna (*Ps.* II, 48 ; *Vism.* 564). See also VIMOKKHA.

U. K.

APPARITIONAL BIRTH, or spontaneous birth. See OPAPĀTIKA.

APPASSUTA SUTTA (1), the eleventh sutta of the *Peyyāla Vagga* of the *Mātugāma Saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, 242).

The Buddha, while staying near Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove (*Veḷuvana*) at the Squirrels' Feeding-ground (*Kalandakanivāpa*), explains to Anuruddha the five qualities which lead a woman to be reborn in purgatory, namely, faithlessness (*assaddhā*), shamelessness (*ahirika*), unscrupulousness (*anottāpa*), small knowledge (*appassuta*) and weak wisdom (*duppaññā*).

I. K.

APPASSUTA SUTTA (2), the sixth sutta of the *Bhaṇḍagāma Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 6 f.).

The Buddha, while staying among the Vajjians at Bhaṇḍagāma, tells the bhikkhus about four classes of persons existing in this world.

There are two sets of people, some of small learning, others of wide learning who have only a small knowledge of the nine divisions (*aṅga*) of the Buddhist texts and do not live in accordance with the Dhamma.

On the other hand, there are two other sets of persons, namely, those who have little learning, and those who have a wide knowledge of the nine divisions of the Buddhist texts mentioned above, and who profit by their learning by knowing the texts with their meanings and by living in accordance with the Dhamma.

I. K.

APPASSUTA SUTTA (3), a group of two suttas with a common title (*appassuta*) contained in the second chapter of the *Dhātu Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 164–5). In the *uddāna* (the list of titles at the end of the chapter) this group is referred to as *Dve Appassutena*. However on the analogy of the preceding suttas, e.g., *Anotappamūlakā tīni*, the corresponding title for this should be *Appassutamūlaka*.

In this pair of suttas one finds a restatement of the contents of some of the suttas of the same chapter and the next, all of which centre round the fact that people of similar disposition are drawn together. The Buddha declares that beings come together according to their nature ; thus, the uneducated associate with the uneducated, the wise with the wise, and so on.

This group of suttas was preached by the Buddha when he was staying at Sāvatthi. The two are very similar, both beginning with *appassuta* (the uneducated)—hence the title. The only difference is that in the second sutta *muṭṭhasatino* (the muddleminded) and their opposites *upaṭṭhitasatino* (the attentive) are substituted for *kusītā* (the indolent) and *āraddhaviriyā* (the energetic) of the first sutta.

L. R. G.

APPAṬIVĀNI SUTTA, a sutta (*S.* II, 132) where the Buddha says that by him who knows not birth and becoming. grasping, craving, feeling, contact. etc., there must be no turning back in the search for knowledge.

U. K.

APPAṬIVEDHĀ SUTTA, a sutta (*S.* III, 261) where the Buddha, in answer to a question by the paribbājaka Vacchagotta, says that diverse views (as to whether the world is eternal or not, finite or not ; whether life and the body are identical or not, and whether the Tathāgata exists after death or not) arise for want of perception of the five groups of existence.

U. K.

APPAṬIVIDITĀ SUTTA. A deity visits the Buddha and utters two stanzas : " They who have never grasped the truth of things are led astray among other creeds. Now that the Buddha has appeared in the world, it is time for them to grasp the truth. They who have done so are not led astray " (*S.* I, 4).

U. K.

APPEARANCE AND REALITY. There will be hardly anyone who has not experienced from time to time that things are not always what they appear to be. Such experience is the realisation of an illusion, which results in making a distinction in things as they appear to be and as they really are. The causes of such illusion and delusion which mistake the appearance for the reality may be touched upon here later, but will be fully dealt with elsewhere. See AVIJJĀ.

This distinction between appearance and reality, and the search for reality have engaged most philosophers throughout the ages in the East and in the West and made them arrive at the most divergent conclusions. Ancient Vedānta believed that everything, every experience, was an illusion (*māyā*), a deception of reality ; and the realisation of the non-dualistic (*advaita*) nature of the cosmos as the absolute Brahman is the emancipation from the illusion of a separate existence (*ātman*).

Various idealistic schools of western philosophy, particularly Kant's transcendental idealism, which takes the standpoint that consciousness embraces all experience, Berkeley's subjective idealism, leading to a trans-subjective and theological reality, and Hegel's synthetic idealism, which merges the world of subjective consciousness in the universal consciousness, led to many theistic, pantheistic and pessimistic developments and interpretations, some maintaining that reality is the only existence, others denying the very existence of reality, some denying the reality of phenomena, the reality of existence, others giving reality to the ideas themselves.

Without entering here into the merits and values of the various systems, it is obvious that the point of dispute is a crucial one and cannot be ignored.

When speaking of appearances or phenomena it is commonly understood and taken for granted that they are aspects or forms of something else, the underlying substance, the unknown essence which is the real thing, the thing in itself. But the Buddha's view of appearance and reality is the very denial of such substance, which, however, is not a denial of reality. As long as the search for reality is a quest for the ideal, it remains unreal, because the problem exists only in the mental approach. In predetermining that reality must be absolute and must be distinct from appearances and phenomena, the answer to the problem has already been fixed, and the search for a solution becomes unreal.

To the Buddha, reality meant " the state of being such " ; and the penetration thereof (*tathattāya ca paṭipajjanti : D.* I, 175) is the attainment of emancipation. Realisation (*abhisamaya*) exists in knowledge of things as such (*yathābhūtañāṇa : S.* V, 144). Complete perfection is found in one's own true nature (*pariniṣpanna-svabhāva : Laṅk.* 132, 227, 348). And if this actual nature is impermanent (*anicca*), there is also conflict in impermanence (*anicce-dukkha*), and conflict itself is without base (*dukkhe-anattā : A.* IV, 465). Such is the actual nature of the cosmos in flux, of the flowing rive. of life, of the individual process of action and personality.

It should not be thought that this problem about appearance and reality remained unobserved in the early centuries of Buddhist thought. For, the school of the Sarvāstivādins broke away from the original Sthaviras, probably during the reign of Asoka at the conclusion of the council of Pāṭaliputta, with their main thesis that everything, past, present and future, exists (*sarvam asti*). Real existence was attributed by them to dreams, to sounds, to reflected images in water or in a mirror. Although the concept of individuality (*satkāya-dṛṣṭi*) was considered heretical, it had according to them a real object, viz., the five bodily and mental aggregates of clinging (*pañcūpādānaskandhā*), which are taken for the self (*attā*). It is clear that the Sarvāstivādins did not subscribe to the soul-theory as a permanent entity and ultimate reality, but for them, as for all early Buddhist schools, the ultimate factors of individual life, i.e., body and mind with its sensations, perceptions, volitions and consciousness, were real phenomena. In other words, for them appearance was reality, but there was no reality as a substance, underlying and supporting the phenomena.

Such was not the view of the Puggalavādins who maintained that a person exists in the sense of a real and ultimate entity and who were refuted in an eightfold argument (*Kvu.* i, 1). The use of popular terms in their conventional sense, such as individual (*puggala*) and self (*atta*), does not confer on them an ultimate and philosophical meaning as entity and substance or soul.

In not sufficiently recognising this fact, meanings have been attributed to terms, which are contradictory to the main tenets of the doctrine. "These are merely names (*loka-samaññā*), expressions (*loka-niruttiyo*), turns of speech (*loka-vohārā*), designations in common use in the world" (*loka-paññatiyo : D.* I, 202), said the Buddha to Citta. When, therefore, reality is mentioned it is not as an absolute and permanent entity or substance, but as the actuality of phenomena or appearances which are by nature impermanent. And thus, the Buddha denied the existence of reality as an entity, but accepted the reality of phenomena, i.e., the actuality of appearances. A desire for continued existence has beclouded the mind and substituted an abiding reality for a phenomenal actuality, whereby a sensory illusion forms the basis for a mental delusion (*moha*).

The real is the fact (*sat-ya*), which is the word for truth (*sacca*). And thus, reality is the factual nature of things and events, and not a stagnant entity, unseen, unknown and unknowable. Motives and values are not real, as they are attributes which are not inherent qualities.

And thus, the concept of reality as the actuality of mere phenomena stands between the two extreme views of permanent existence and nihilism.

There is no doer of a deed
Nor anyone to reap its fruit.
Phenomena alone flow on
And this the only view that's good.

(*Kammassa kārako n'atthi,*
vipākassa ca vedako,
suddhadhammā pavattanti,
ev'etaṃ sammadassanaṃ : Vism. xix, § 20, 517)

H. G. A. v. Z.

APPELLATION, description, manifested notion or concept. See PAÑÑATTI.

APPENDANT (*kiñcana*), the evil 'something' that sticks or adheres to the character of a man, and which he must get rid of, if he wants to attain to a higher moral condition (*PED.* s.v. *kiñcana*). It is defined as the three impurities of lust (*rāga*), hate (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha : D.* III, 217). Its opposite, 'without attachment' (*kiñcanaṃ n'atthi*), is used as an attribute of an arahant (*Dhp.* 421).

H. G. A. v. Z.

APPERCEPTION, a phase in the process of thought, at which stage perceptive awareness becomes volitional and karmically productive consciousness. See JAVANA.

APPICCHATĀ, state of being satisfied with few possessions, of desiring little or nothing, a characteristic of the true spirit of renunciation in a monk. See CONTENTMENT.

APPIHĀ (var. Ambasuppiya, Ambihā), a sāmaṇera who lived in the Suvaṇṇakuṭi in Dakkhiṇagiri vihāra, at Anurādhapura (Ceylon). It is said that on the day after his ordination his mother prepared seats for eight monks. By the power of *iddhi* (psychic power) sixty-eight thousand bhikkhus were able to sit there. This story is related to illustrate the power of *iddhi* that prevailed in connection with the construction of the relic chamber of the Mahā Thūpa in Anurādhapura (*MhvA.* II, 552).

L. R. G.

APPLICATION. Sustained application of mind (*vicāra*) is an essential factor in the discursive functioning of the mind which together with applied thought (*vitakka*) is only discarded in the second stage of mental absorption. See JHĀNA.

APPLICATIONS OF MINDFULNESS (*satipaṭṭhāna*), the four methods of attendance (*upaṭṭhāna*) on mindfulness (*sati*) or awareness as regards the body (*kāya*), feelings (*vedanā*), thought (*citta*) and mental objects (*dhamma*). They are said to be 'the only way that leads to the attainment of purity, to the overcoming of sorrow and lamentation, to the end of pain and grief, to the entering of the right path and to the realisation of Nibbāna' (*D*. I, 290; *M*. I, 55-6). They are four contemplations relating to the five aggregates of existence (*pañcakkhandha*), leading to insight into the unsubstantiality of all phenomena. For details see SATIPAṬṬHĀNA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

APPLIED THOUGHT (*vitakka*) together with sustained application (*vicāra*) constitutes the discursive functioning of the mind, which is only discarded in the second stage of mental absorption. See JHĀNA.

APPREHENSION comprises the turning of the mind towards the stimuli at the sense doors (*pañcadvārā- vjjana*). It is the reaction of the mind which attends to or apprehends the object that impinges on the fivefold door of the senses. The two other elements of apprehension are the two recipient elements of representation (*sampaṭicchana*) and of examination (*santīraṇa*). This triple faculty of apprehension (*manodhātuttika*) is capable of taking part only in a presentative (but never in a representative) cognition (*Compendium of Philosophy*, a translation of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, London. 1910, p. 108, n. 3). See ĀVAJJANA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

APRAKĀRA, a *samādhi* or a concentration of both mind and body mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB*. XIII, 9) wherein one does not conceive even the form of all phenomena (*dharma*). Its literal meaning is 'formless' (*Śspp*. p. 1421).

U. K.

APRĀKṚṢU (var. Aprāptiṣu), a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu*. I, 141). Edgerton, while admitting that what was meant is not clear to him, says that Senart's emendation of this name into Aprakṛṣṭa is not plausible.

APRAMĀṆĀBHA, a class of Rūpāvacara-gods in the second *dhyāna-bhūmi*. See APPAMĀṆĀBHA.

APRAMĀṆAGUṆASĀGARAPRABHA, a Tathāgata in the north-western quarter, in the world-region (*lokadhātu*) Gandhālaṅkāraruciraśubhagarbhā. Along with the circle of all attendant bodhisattvas headed by the bodhisattava Asaṅgakāyaraśmitejomati, he comes within the range of the eyes of the guild-leader (*śreṣṭhin*) Muktaka who strives for and accomplishes the Tathāgata-salvation named Asaṅgavyūha. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*, where reference is made to this Tathāgata, Muktaka, being approached by the youth Sudhana who has come to him for instruction in the course of conduct of bodhisattvas, mentions the Tathāgata Apramāṇaguṇasāgaraprabha in enumerating the names of ten Tathāgatas in ten world-regions in the ten directions, headed by whom the Tathāgatas, the worthy-ones (*arhat*), the fully-enlightened-ones, come within the range of his vision (*Gvyū*. 81).

T. R.

APRAMĀṆA-PARAMOPĀYA, the Sanskrit title of a text restored according to a Mongolian index corresponding to the Tibetan title *Thabs mchog-dpag-gis mi lan-pa*. According to the same index, the text, the authorship of which is ascribed to Vimala, occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section. However, it is not preserved in the Sde-dge edition (*TM*.) or in the Peking Edition of D. T. Suzuki.

R. H.

APRAMĀṆA-ŚUBHA, a class of Rūpāvacara-gods in the third *dhyāna-bhūmi*. See APPAMĀṆASUBHA.

APRĀPTI, non-attainment (Tibetan : thob-pa-med-pa ; Chinese : wu-so-tê 無所得). All dharmas are void, so no dharmas can be attained.

The *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya Sūtra* (*SBE*. XLIX, Part ii, pp. 153 f.) says, " O Śāriputra, form here is emptiness, and emptiness indeed is form. Emptiness is not different from form, form is not different from emptiness. What is form that is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form. The same applies to perception, name, conception and knowledge.

" Here, O Śāriputra, all things have the character of emptiness; they have no beginning, no end, they are faultless and not faultless, they are not imperfect and not perfect. Therefore, O Śāriputra, in this emptiness there is no form, no perception, no name, no concepts, no knowledge. No eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, no mind. No form, sound, smell, taste, touch, objects.........There is no knowledge, no ignorance, no destruction of knowledge, no destruction of ignorance, etc., no destruction of decay and death ; there are not the Four Truths, viz., that there is pain, origin of pain, stoppage of pain and the path to it. There is no knowledge, no obtaining (of Nirvāṇa). "

The *Ta-p'in-pan-jo-ching* (大品般若經 *Taishō*, No. 223) says " Since the beginning of the religious life, a bodhisattva must learn the law of voidness and of non-attainment. The bodhisattva practises charity, morality, humility, assiduity and concentration owing to his achieving the law of non-attainment ....non-attainment is the aspect of *prajñāpāramitā* ; non-attainment is the aspect of *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* ; and non-attainment is the attitude of the practitioner of *prajñāpāramitā* " (op.cit. Vol. 8, p. 373).

These sentences indicate that as all dharmas are void ultimately, there are no differences like five skandhas, twelve āyatanas, eighteen dhātus, twelve-fold causation, Four Noble Truths, and so on. A bodhisattva must try to realise this law in his religious life.

On the differences between non-attainment and attainment the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (大般涅槃經 *Taishō*, No. 374) states that as bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas have not the four misleading views (*nitya-viparyāsa, sukha-viparyāsa, śuci-viparyāsa* and *ātma-viparyāsa*), they are unhindered, and they are called non-attained. If someone clings to the different aspects of many dharmas, then he falls into these misleading views. But if all differentiations are left behind and no dharmas are clung to, it is called non-attainment.

So, the reality of dharmas itself is called non-attainment. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* says that the reality of dharmas is called non-attainment, because there can be no special aspects in it (*Taishō*, Vol. 25, p. 197).

K. Tmr.

APRASAHAPRAKĀŚA-NĀMA, the Sanskrit title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Rab-tu mi gnas-pa gsal-bar ston-pa shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 68, No. 3079). The authorship of the work is credited to Gñis-med rdo-rje (Advayavajra). Vajrapāṇi and Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal (Jayaśīla according to *Cordier*, II, p. 214, No. 20) are given as the names of the translators.

The text, which begins with a salutation to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta, contains eleven stanzas. The first of these states that the knowledge set out in the work, a heritage coming from the Buddha, conformity to which promotes the welfare of all beings, is to be desired by all. The stanzas that follow contain statements on the evil effects of lust (Skt. *kāma*, Tib. *ḥdod*), the incomprehensible nature of all substances (Skt. *dharma*, Tib. *chos*), the doctrine of *śūnyatā* (the illusory nature of things) and the like.

R. H.

APRATIHATAGUṆAKĪRTIVIMOKṢAPRABHARĀJA, a Tathāgata in the zenith, in the world-region (*lokadhātu*) Lakṣaṇaruciravairocanā. Along with the circle of all attendant bodhisattvas headed by the bodhisattva Asaṅgabalavīryamati, he comes within the range of the eyes of the guild-leader (*śreṣṭhin*) Muktaka, who strives for and accomplishes the Tathāgata-salvation named Asaṅgavyūha. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*, where reference is made to this Tathāgata, Muktaka, being approached by the youth Sudhana, who has come to him for instruction in the course of conduct of bodhisattvas, mentions the Tathāgata Apratihataguṇakīrtivimokṣaprabharāja in enumerating the names of ten Tathāgatas in ten world-regions in the ten directions, headed by whom the Tathāgatas, the ' worthy-ones ' (arhat), the fully-enlightened-ones, come within the range of his vision (*Gvyū.* 81).

T. R.

APRATIHATANETRA, name of a deity (*deva-putra*), one of sixteen guardians of the *bodhimaṇḍala* according to the *Lalitavistara* (*BHS*. s. v.).

APRATIMĀ, the name of Yaśodharā in a previous birth when she was the queen of king Kuśa, who was the bodhisattva in his seventh *bhūmi*. At that time Devadatta was the regional king (*pradeśarāja*), Jaṭhara. Having heard of Apratimā, he demanded her of Kuśa, threatening war if she was not delivered to him. Kuśa posed this problem to his queen. Amidst a flood of tears she assured him that she was

powerful enough, both by physical means and miraculous devices, to defeat Jaṭhara's evil intention. "I would deliver you, my lord, of two such foes as he; my magic power is incalculable, the world is as straw to me. Let the king, therefore, be undismayed, and, wearing sweet-smelling garlands, let him pace his palace-grounds and amuse himself among his thousand women."

When Jaṭhara unsuspectingly came into Kuśa's inner apartment she carried out her plan. She put her right foot over his heart, her left on his ankles and, with the victim in her power, chided him with appropriate words. Jaṭhara cried out to her to spare him; and Kuśa, entering at that moment, pleaded with her to release the man who had now become a suppliant and besought her protection. "Such mercy is the dharma of the good", said Kuśa, the bodhisattva. The incident apparently ended in this manner, for there is no further reference to the three persons under these particular names (*Mahāvastu*, trsl. J. J. Jones, I, pp. 101-3).

D. T. D.

APRATISAṄKHYĀ-NIRODHA (Tibetan: *so-sor-brtags-pa ma-yin-paḥi ḥgogs-pa*; Chinese: *fei-tsê-mieh* 非擇滅), meaning, 'the extinction due to lack of a productive cause', which is, according to the Sarvāstivāda, one of the seventy-five dharmas, and according to the Vijñānavāda, one of the one hundred dharmas.

The Sarvāstivādins classified all dharmas into five groups, the last group being 'the non-conditioned elements' (*asaṃskṛta-dharma*) comprising three dharmas, viz., space (*ākāśa*), extinction through intellectual power (*pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*) and extinction due to lack of a productive cause (*apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*).

The *Ju-a-p'i-ta-mo-lun* (入阿毘達磨論 *Taishō*, No. 1554) says, "There exists a dharma, *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*, which suppresses the production of dharmas which otherwise would arise in the future. This dharma is neither due to the lack of a productive cause nor due to the result of knowledge. When the eye and the eye-consciousness concentrate on one form, the consciousness of other forms, of sounds, of smells, of tastes, and of contacts do not take place. Then, they obtain the *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha* which prevents these kinds of consciousness from taking place, so that they do not occur at all. The lack of a productive cause also is due to the power of this *nirodha*. Thus, the *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha* is an actually existing dharma" (op. cit. Vol. 28, p. 989). The *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra-śāstra* also mentions that this is an existing dharma. All dharmas occur when they come to the present from their position in the future, owing to the combination of productive causes, and at the moment of their occurrence, all dharmas become extinct by passing into the past. But, when a dharma lacks productive causes, the *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha* prevents the occurrence of the dharma, so that the dharma remains at its position of the future for ever and will never take place. The number of *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha* is the same with that of phenomena, because, when one phenomenon does not take place, it is due to an *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*.

The doctrine mentioned above is that of the Sarvāstivāda, and other schools have different doctrines on this. The Sautrāntika states that there is no such existing dharma as *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*; and that it is only a provisional name. Non-occurrence of a dharma, due to the lack of productive causes, is called *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*. According to some early sects, it is defined as the suppression of the roots of evil which would arise in the future, but for the non-existence of those conditions which otherwise would have given rise to them (*Ency. Bsm.* Vol. I, p. 149). According to the Mahāsāṅghika, by *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha* is meant the non-recurrence of a dharma once it has perished. But according to the Vijñānavāda, all non-created elements (*asaṃskṛta-dharma*), one of which is the *apratisaṅkhyā-dharma*, are the aspects of thusness, which is universal, and the *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha* becomes manifested when phenomena do not occur owing to lack of productive causes.

K. TMR.

APRATIṢṬHĀNA-PRAKĀŚA, a Sanskrit work of eleven stanzas written by Advayavajra in the 11th or the 12th century A.C. The Sanskrit text is published in the *Advayavajrasaṅgraha* in which Advayavajra's short works are collected, and edited by M. H. Shastri (*GOS.* XL, p. 48). It is also translated into Tibetan.

Translated into English the title would mean "the publication of the want of basis (of knowledge)" and this basis of knowledge is the full faith in the Buddhas, as taught in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Owing to the extreme brevity of the work some of the ideas expressed evade clear explanation. Yet the contents show that the author's preference is for the Mādhyamika doctrine. It is said that consciousness cannot exist for the past, present or the future and, therefore, it is said that even consciousness is

absolutely without essence (*naiḥsvabhāva*). Owing to the fact that the origin of the *dharmas* is incomprehensible, it is called *śūnyatā* (verses 6-7). These are Mādhyamika ideas.

A. G. S. K.

APREMA-ŚAMANA-GARA-PRAYOGA-HIRAṆYAMAṆI-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan work occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Mi-mthun-pa shi-bar-byed-paḥi rtsi-sbyor dbyig-gi nor-bu shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3853 and *Cordier*, II, p. 351, No. 90). The authorship of the text is attributed to Ye-śes rdo-rje (Jñānavajra).

According to the injunctions set out in this text, he who wishes to settle quarrels and disputes should enter a thick forest, draw a four-spoked magic circle (*maṇḍala*), invite the gods to be present, request them to be seated, perform the consecration ceremonies and the like, make offerings, sing songs of praise and recite incantations for seven days and seven nights. Further ritual is prescribed, during the course of which white mustard seed, oleander flowers (*karabīra*) and ash taken from the premises of a cemetery should be thrown towards the disputants, to the accompaniment of the chanting of spells. These ritualistic performances are said to restore harmony among the contending parties.

R. H.

APRIYĀKHYA, name of a yakṣa, mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* (41-4 : *BHS*. s. v.).

APSARAS, in the earliest Indian conception, a celestial and water nymph whose consort was a gandharva. Later mythology associated her kind with trees, describing them as particularly fond of music. Apsarases are said to have had physical contact with males, both heavenly and human. Although they were primarily associated with gandharvas, it was Indra who was their lord and master (A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*).

In spite of these ideas, the early Buddhists did not incorporate the apsarases in their scheme. But these spirits came in later when the Buddhist pantheon (so-called) was being elaborated. In its formative process apsarases were particularly concerned with two functions, i.e., in the circumstances attending the enlightenment of Śākyamuni and to glorify the Buddha in their own way. In such works as the *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and *Buddhacarita*, they are shown as attendants in the train of the bodhisattva. (See *BiblB.* IX–XX, item 742 with reference to G. Borsani.)

The *Mahāvastu* references (trsl. J. J. Jones) give a picture which could be taken as typical of apsarases. They lived in the Trāyastriṃsa heaven. Thus Gavā, a public laundress, was reborn here as an apsaras in the mansion of a splendid and powerful deva—the good result of her having offered a hempen robe to the Buddha (ibid. III, pp. 299 f.). These nymphs were heavily bejewelled (ibid. III, p. 120) ; they were expert in singing, making music and dancing (ibid. II, pp. 15, 136, 184). In honour of the bodhisattva's entry into the womb of his earthly mother, Māyādevī, they rained down continuous showers of celestial blossoms and aromatic powders (ibid. I, pp. 114, 170). Troops of them performed the tasks of bathing, cleansing, massaging and anointing the body of the expectant mother (ibid. I, p. 116). They offered their services at her *accouchement* (ibid. I, p. 118).

Apsarases wore garlands of land and water flowers, gems and jewels (ibid. I, p. 172). They frequented the heavenly grove of Nandana where Śakra himself came for enjoyment (ibid. II, p. 400). In this is seen the continuance of the Vedic connection between Indra and the apsarases. When men died and were reborn in the celestial spheres as reward for virtuous actions performed on earth, vast numbers of apsarases would be there to greet them and minister to their pleasures (ibid. II, pp. 347, 350). Compare the story of Nanda (*Ud.* p. 22 f.) where Nanda was promised a vast retinue of nymphs if he agreed not to abandon the monk's life. He accepted the offer and later was taunted by his colleagues.

Several jātakas contain information about apsarases. They are generally described as 'dove-footed' (*kakuṭa-pādiniyo*). Sakka had a multitude of them and was constantly getting more as his retinue (*paricārikā* : *J.* II. 93). They lived in the Nandana Grove in Tāvatiṃsa and sang and danced to him and, evidently, as they danced they appeared in diverse hues (*puthu nānattavaṇṇiyo*: cp. *M.* I, 337). They could assume whatever colour they wished. They seem to have been of several grades, some of them goddesses in their own right (e.g., Lājā) and indiscriminately referred to as *devadhītā*, *devakaññā* and *accharā*, while others merely formed part

of the retinue of such goddesses, e.g., *Guttila Jātaka* (*J.* II, 255 ff.). Because of their extraordinary beauty, Sakka would sometimes use them to tempt ascetics, who by their austere practices tended to become too powerful. Thus, Alambusā was sent to tempt Isisiṅga; he succumbed and lay in her arms for three years.

In art the apsarases have been represented, in painting as well as sculpture, in all the known Buddhist lands. (See Vol. I, plate VII; Vol. II, plate IV.) They have also been referred to in literature. They are the Tennin who have been shown in images of the Northern Wei period, especially at the famed caves of Yun-kang and Lung-men in China (See *BiblB.* VI, item 447 with reference to M. Ōguchi).

D. T. D.

APUTTAKA SUTTA (*S.* I, 89) relates the story of a wealthy burgess of Sāvatthi who died intestate. Pasenadi, king of Kosala, visits the Buddha and tells him that he had just finished having the banker's wealth removed to the royal coffers, 'eight millions of gold to say nothing of silver'. And yet the banker ate nothing but sour husk-gruel left over from the previous day and wore only hempen garments. The Buddha says that the mean man who has acquired great wealth does not make the best use of it. Those riches of his, not rightly utilised, are confiscated by kings or robbed by robbers or are burnt by fire or carried away by floods or are appropriated by heirs for whom he had no affection; the riches that are not rightly utilised run to waste, like a lake of clear, cold, delicious, crystalline water, with good shores, but lying in a savage region. None could utilise it. But, on the contrary, a generous man, if he is rich, makes the best use of his riches which may be compared to a lovely lake situated near a village or a city where people can use it.

Another sutta of the same name (*S.* I, 91) contains an account of that banker's past. In a former birth, he had given alms to a pacceka-buddha, Tagarasikhī but later repented and wished that he had given the food to slaves and servants. As a result of the alms given he was born seven times in heaven and seven times as a rich man of Sāvatthi. His repentance made him incline to deny himself enjoyment of sense-desires. Owing to the murder of his nephew in his previous birth, he was childless in this life and he died intestate. After that he was born in Mahā-roruva purgatory.

U. K.

AQUEOUS ELEMENT, an English equivalent of *āpo-dhātu* (element of water). See BHŪTA.

ĀRABBHAVATTHU SUTTA of the *Yamaka Vagga* of the *Aṭṭhaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 334–35) describes eight occasions on which a monk should strive hard to attain and realise states of mind yet unattained and unrealised by him. Before undertaking a task he should strive hard to attain and realise states of mind unattained and unrealised by him, because during the time he spends for the task he would not be able to concentrate on the Master's teaching; he should strive hard in the same way after a task is done, because he would not be able to concentrate on the Master's teaching while the task is being done; similarly he should strive hard before undertaking a journey and after finishing a journey, having partaken of little food, for then his body would be light and pliable; and having partaken of much food, for then his body would be strong and pliable; when he is indisposed with a slight illness, for the illness might grow worse and he would not be able to strive then; and after recovering from an illness through fear that he might fall ill again.

W. G. W.

ĀRABHATI SUTTA of the *Tikaṇḍakī Vagga* of the *Pañcamaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 165–7) mentions five kinds of people: (1) those who commit a fault and repent of the fact but do nothing good, and do not know the emancipation of heart and emancipation through wisdom by which all inflows (*āsava*) are destroyed without a remainder; (2) those who commit a fault but do not repent of what they have done or not done, and who do not know emancipation; (3) those who do not commit a fault, but repent of what they have not done, and who do not know emancipation; (4) those who do not commit a fault nor repent of what they have not done, and do not know emancipation; and (5) those who do not commit a fault nor repent of what they have not done, and know emancipation. A true follower of the Buddha should try to be like the people of the fifth group.

W. G. W.

ĀRĀDA (var Arāḍa), a sage under whom Śākyamuni studied for a time. See under the better known name ĀLĀRAKĀLĀMA.

ĀRADDHAVIRIYA SUTTA, name given in the *Suttasaṅgaha* (pp. 319 ff.) to the *Cara Sutta* (q.v.) of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 13 f.) which is also found in the *Itivuttaka* (pp. 115 f.).

ARAHĀ. See ARAHANT.

ARAHAṂ SUTTA. There are seven suttas by this name, six of which occur in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and the seventh in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya.*

The first sutta is in the *Satti Vagga* of the *Devatā Saṃyutta* (*S.* I, 14–15). A devatā questions the Buddha whether an arahant by speaking of 'I' and 'mine' shows thereby proneness to notions of self or soul. The Buddha denies it and declares that such an arahant thereby only conforms to common usage in such matters. According to Buddhaghosa, the questioner was a forest devatā who had heard the forest dwelling arahants talking thus and who wanted to know whether the arahants had any self-conceit (*māna*) at all (*SA.* I, 51).

The second sutta is found in the *Anta Vagga* of the *Khanda Saṃyutta* (*S.* III, 161). The Buddha tells the monks that an arahant is one who has really seen the arising (*samudaya*) and the ending (*atthagama*) of the satisfaction (*assāda*) in, the misery (*ādīnava*) of, and the escape (*nissaraṇa*) from, the factors of the fivefold clinging to existence (*upādānakkhandha*), viz., body, etc.

The next two suttas occur in the *Suddhika Vagga* of the *Indriya Saṃyutta* (*S.* V, 194). The contents of the two suttas are identical, except for slight variation in detail. The Buddha describes an arahant and declares that a monk who sees the real nature (*yathābhūta*) of, the satisfaction (*assāda*) in, the misery (*ādīnava*) of, the escape (*nissaraṇa*) from, these fivefold controlling powers (*pañcindriya*), namely, the controlling power of faith (*saddhā*), of energy (*viriya*), of mindfulness (*sati*), of concentration (*samādhi*), and of insight (*paññā*), is freed without grasping (*anupādā*). Further, he says that such a one is called an arahant, because of having destroyed the mental intoxicants (*āsava*), lived the holy life, done what had to be done, lifted the burden, gained his own welfare, worn out the fetters of rebirth and been released by perfect insight (*sammadaññā*).

In the fifth sutta occurring in the *Cāpāla Vagga* of the *Iddhipāda Saṃyutta* (*S.* V, 257), the Buddha says that the Tathāgata is called an arahant, a fully enlightened one, by the fact of having cultivated the four bases of psychic power (*iddhipāda*)of which the features are desire, energy, thought and investigation.

In the sixth sutta which occurs in the *Koṭigāma Vagga* of the *Sacca Saṃyutta* (*S.* V, 433) the Buddha declares that the arahants, the fully enlightened ones, have the full understanding of the Four Noble Truths as they really are.

In the last sutta which occurs in the *Devatā Vagga* (*A.* III, 421) the Buddha tells the monks of Daṇḍakappa that the six qualities of sloth, torpor, flurry, worry, disbelief and heedlessness should be given up, if one were to attain arahantship.

I. K.

ARAHAN, generally known as Shin Arahan, a famous monk in Burma with whose assistance king Anawrahta (1044–77) spread Theravāda Buddhism in Upper Burma. (See Vol. II, Pl. III.) Born in a brāhman family he became a Buddhist monk and was known as Dhammadassī. While he was dwelling in a forest in Pugarāma, a hunter took him to king Anawrahta. The monk preached to the king and convinced him of the Dhamma. At this particular time a tantric sect called Ari (q.v.) had become very powerful in Burma and had obtained the support of the kings of the country. Shin Arahan who won the faith of the king took a prominent part in setting the country free of their domination and false doctrines. Henceforth Upper Burma became a Theravāda country (*The Glass Palace Chronicle of the History of Kings of Burma,* 71 ff.). On the advice of Shin Arahan king Anawrahta obtained copies of the *Tipiṭaka* from Thaton in Lower Burma and also holy relics of the Buddha. Learned monks came to reside in the dominion of Anawrahta from this time (ibid. 77 ff.).

Shin Arahan lived for a fairly long period, for he was the adviser of Anawrahta's successors Kyanzittha (1084–1112) and Alaungsithu(1112–67). The Shwezigon pagoda begun by Anawrahta was completed by Kyanzittha on his advice (ibid. 108 f.). He died in the reign of Alaungsithu (ibid. 119). In the Ānanda temple of Pagān is a life-size image of Shin Arahan (D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South East Asia,* 129).

H. R. P.

ARAHAN CEREMONY, a ceremony for showing reverence to arhats.

On the origin of this ceremony the ***Fu-tsu-t'ung-chi*** (佛祖統記 *Taishō,* No. 2035) mentions, that at his parinirvāṇa the Buddha told the



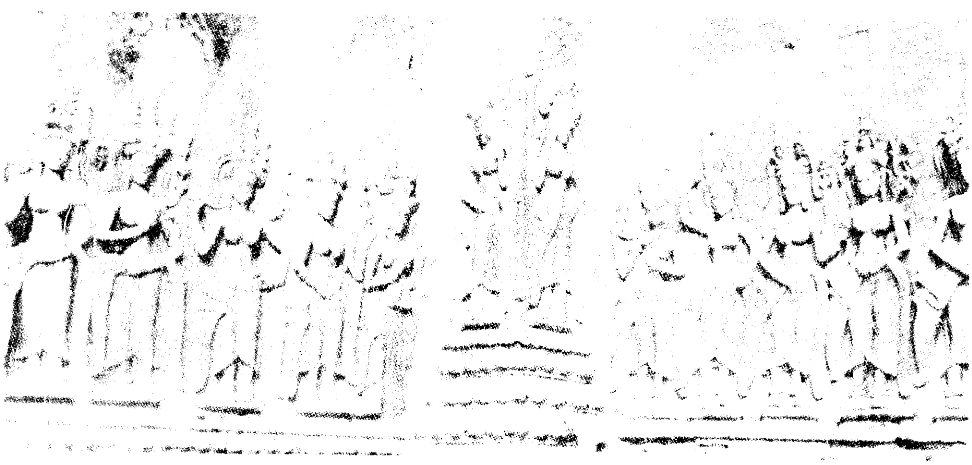
(by courtesy of the Archæological Department of the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma)

ARAHAN, portrait figure of Shin Arahan in Ānanda Temple, Pagān, Burma.

PLATE IV



APSARASES, appearing as mural painting on Sigiri Rock, Ceylon.



(reproduced from the Art and Architecture of India by Benjamin Rowland, 1956

APSARASES, a relief in Angkor Wāt, Cambodia.

sixteen arhats to become true fields of merits (*puṇya-kṣetra*) for their devotees. Accordingly, all arhats prolonged the length of their life with their supernatural power. And they made people give offerings to the monks and went to many places and temples, where they received offerings, without revealing their holiness in order to have the donors obtain splendid results (*Taishō*, Vol. 49, p. 319).

In China, the arahan ceremony was performed from olden times mainly by the Ch'an sect. The *Ching-tê-ch'uan-têng-lu* (景德傳燈錄 *Taishō*, No. 2076) mentions that Ts'ui-wei Wu-hsüeh of the T'ang dynasty showed great honour to arhats. Then, a priest asked him, 'Why do you revere arhats, when Tan-hsia burned a wooden image of the Buddha?' He answered, 'Tan-hsia burned a Buddha image but he did not cling to the burning; I revere arhats but I do not cling to the act of reverence' (ibid. Vol. 51, p. 313). And the *Mi-an-ho-shang-yü-lu* (密菴和尙語錄 *Taishō*, No. 1999) states that arahan ceremonies are performed with as much enthusiasm at present as in the past (ibid. Vol. 47, p. 967). These are indications that arahan ceremonies have been held in China.

In Japan, the arahan ceremony has been performed at many temples since the Kamakura period (1184–1333 A. C.). Eisai (1141–1215), the founder of the Rinzai sect in Japan, wrote in his work, *Kōzen-gokoku-ron* (興禪護國論), that he performed the arahan ceremony at the beginning of every January and made this ceremony also a monthly event. Kōben (1173–1232), the restorer of the Kegon (*Avataṃsaka*) sect, composed 'the method of performing the ceremony for the sixteen arhats' (*Jūroku-rakan-kōshiki* 十六羅漢講式), according to which he performed the arahan ceremony at the Kōzan-ji. During the second year of the Kangen era (1244 A.C.), Kikai, one of the disciples of Kōben, constructed the Rakan-dō or arahan-hall in remembrance of the thirteenth anniversary of the death of his teacher Kōben, and had three priests stay in the hall. Keizan (1268–1325 A.C.) performed the arahan ceremony at the Eikō-ji during the first year of the Gennō era (1319 A.C.) for the first time, and established the ceremonial method. Afterwards he performed the arahan ceremony on the fifteenth day of every month. At the Tō-fuku-ji in Kyōto, when the fifty scrolls on which five hundred arhats were pictured were completed, the arahan ceremony was performed in October of the third year of the Shitoku era (1386 A.C.), when it was decided to revere arhats at the Shushō ceremony which is held in January every year.

K. TMR.

ARAHANT. The word is derived from the root *arh*, to deserve, to be worthy, to be fit, and is used to denote a person who has achieved the goal of religious life (in Theravāda Buddhism).

This word is not purely Buddhistic in origin. In the earliest stages, and prior to its achieving a technical meaning in Buddhism, it was used to describe a person of high standing not necessarily on spiritual or moral grounds. Thus in the *Ṛg-veda* (II, 3. 3) the god Agni is so described. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* uses this term probably in the sense of ruler when it states that "whenever people cook food for some worthy person (arhant) then the attendants about him, the non-royal king-makers, the heralds and headmen, have their share assigned to them" (I. B. Horner, *Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, p. 54). But mostly the term was used to describe religious leaders who were considered to be greatly advanced spiritually, particularly of religious teachers other than orthodox brāhmans. One of the epithets of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, was *arhat* (*SBE*. XXII, p. xix). The Buddha, too, was referred to by this epithet when the general public, including non-Buddhists, spoke about him (e.g., *D*.I, 49). Religious leaders as well as their disciples who took to the religious life in the dispensation of their particular teachers, depended solely on the generosity of the public for their sustenance and the virtuous ones among them were considered as 'worthy' to receive honour, salutations and gifts from the public. Great competition seems to have existed among ascetic groups in their desire to gain the title *arahā* (=worthy) from the public. In the *Cūlasīhanāda Sutta* (*M*. I, 63) we see the Buddha admonishing his disciples to proclaim without fear that real recluses worthy of honour are found only in his Order.

In its usage in early Buddhism the term denotes a person who had gained insight into the true nature of things (*yathābhūtañāṇa*). In the Buddhist movement the Buddha was the first arahant. He was regarded as an arahant, along with other arahants, without any distinction. Thus, after the conversion of the group of five monks (*pañcavaggiya*), the first converts to the teachings of Gotama, it is stated that there were six arahants in the world at the time (*Vin*. I, 14), the Buddha being reckoned one of them. At the outset, once an adherent

realised the true nature of things, i. e., that whatever has arisen (*samudaya-dhamma*) naturally has a ceasing-to-be (*nirodha-dhamma*), he was called an arahant, and with this realisation one is said to have put an end to repeated existence. The Buddha is said to be equal to an arahant in point of attainment, the only distinction being that the Buddha was the pioneer on the path to that attainment, while arahants are those who attain the same state having followed the path trodden by the Buddha.

The arahants are described as *buddhānubuddhā*, i.e., those who have attained enlightenment after the Fully Enlightened One (*Thag.* p. 111). This is brought out very clearly by a simile in the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* (*S.* II, 105–6). A man going about in the forest sees an old road used by the people of yore and, going along it, he sees the remains of an old kingdom. He comes back to the town and tells the people that in such and such a forest he had seen the ruins of a magnificent city, and the people, too, following the road-marks indicated by the man come to the ruined city and see it for themselves. Even so the Buddha was the pioneer on the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*) and having followed this path he reached the city of Nibbāna. Later, coming amidst the people he revealed this path to them, and following this path they, too, attained the goal of Nibbāna. In this respect the Buddha as well as his disciples follow the same path and reach the same goal, and the distinction between the Buddha and the disciples who become arahants is not with regard to the attainment, but with regard to the fact that the Buddha rediscovered the age-old path (*purāṇaṃ añjasaṃ*) to the city of Nibbāna, while the disciples come to the same city having followed the path discovered by the Buddha. The Buddha is, therefore, called the revealer of the path (*maggassa akkhātā*). He is the teacher (*satthā*) who teaches the disciples to attain the same ideal as attained by him.

But, as time passed, the Buddha-concept developed and special attributes were assigned to the Buddha. A Buddha possesses the sixfold superknowledge (*chaḷabhiññā*) ; he has matured the thirty-seven limbs of enlightenment (*bodhipakkhika dhamma*) ; in him compassion (*karuṇā*) and insight (*paññā*) develop to their fullest ; all the major and minor characteristics of a great man(*mahāpurisa*) appear on his body ; he is possessed of the ten powers (*dasa bala*) and the four confidences (*catu vesārajja*); and he has had to practise the ten perfections (*pāramitā*) during a long period of time in the past (see s. v. BUDDHA).

When speaking of arahants these attributes are never mentioned together, though a particular arahant may have one, two or more of the attributes discussed in connection with the Buddha (*S.* II, 217, 222). In the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* (*S.* II, 120–6) a group of bhikkhus who proclaimed their attainment of arahantship, when questioned by their colleagues about it, denied that they had developed the five kinds of superknowledge—namely, psychic power (*iddhi-vidhā*), divine ear (*dibba-sota*), knowledge of others' minds (*paracitta-vijānana*), power to recall to mind past births (*pubbenivāsānussati*) and knowledge regarding other peoples' rebirths (*cutūpapatti*)—and declared that they had attained arahantship by developing wisdom (*paññāvimutti*).

An attempt is made in the Nikāyas as well as in later works to define the content of the attainment of arahantship. The commonest and one of the oldest definitions of an arahant is that he has in him the threefold knowledge (*tisso vijjā*), namely, knowledge of his own previous births, knowledge of the rebirths of others and knowledge regarding the utter cessation of mental intoxicants (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*). Most of the poems in the *Thera-*, *Therī-gāthās* end with the statement "The threefold knowledge have I attained and I have done the bidding of the Buddha" (*tisso vijjā anuppattā kataṃ buddhassa sāsanaṃ* : e.g., *Thag.* p. 9). Other definitions of arahantship are : " Arahants are those in whom the mental intoxicants (*āsava*) are utterly waned " (*khīṇāsavā arahanto : S.* I, 13); one becomes an arahant by the utter waning of lust, hatred and ignorance (*S.* IV, 252) ; arahants are those who have cut off completely the ten fetters (*saṃyojana*) that bind a man to saṃsāra (*Vin.* I, 183) ; an arahant is one in whom seven things, namely, belief in a soul (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), sceptical doubt (*vicikicchā*), belief in vows and ceremonies (*sīlabbataparāmāsa*), greed, hatred, ignorance and pride are not found (*A.* IV, 145) ; he is one who has crossed the sea of saṃsāra (*pāragū*). The word arahant is defined in a fanciful way in some places. For instance in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 280) it is said that an arahant is so called because all sinful evil things are remote (*āraka*) from him. The *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* (105–6) defines the term in the following words: "An arahant is so called because he is remote (*āraka*) from sinful things ; because he has destroyed the spokes (*ara*) of the wheel of saṃsāra ; because he deserves to receive the requisites: food, clothing, etc.(*paccayānaṃ arahattā*), and because he does not sin even in secret (*rahābhāva*).

The attainment of arahantship is expressed in several formulas of which the commonest one says

'destroyed is rebirth, lived is the higher life, done is what had to be done, after this present life there is no beyond' (*Vin.* I, 14, 35, 183; *D.* I, 84). The declaration itself is called "the declaration of knowledge" (*aññā byākaraṇa*: *M.* III, 29). The Buddha has indicated a method of verifying the truth of a disciple's statement when he declares that he has attained arahantship. A few questions have to be posed to him and if he answers them correctly then only should he be taken at his word. The first question is with regard to the four conventions (*cattāro vohārā*). A true arahant does not feel attracted to or repelled by things seen (*diṭṭha*), heard (*suta*), sensed (*muta*), or cognised (*viññāta*) and he is independent, not infatuated, and dwells with an open mind, and thus his mind is well freed with regard to the four conventions. The next question is connected with the five aggregates of grasping (*upādānakkhandha*). The true arahant understands their nature as dependently originated, and he is detached from them, and all the latent biases that arise through attachment to them are destroyed in him. The third question is regarding the six elements (*dhātu*). A true arahant has no notions of 'I' or 'mine' with regard to these elements and all biases that crop up through attachment to them are completely eradicated in him. The fourth question is connected with the internal and external sense spheres (*ajjhattika, bāhira-āyatana*). The mind of a true arahant is free from attachment, desire that is born of these sense spheres, the consciousness born thereof and the things that are known through the medium of this consciousness. The fifth question relates to the vision and insight through which all latent biases such as 'I' and 'mine' are completely cut off. A true arahant should be able to reveal how he attained supreme knowledge, that is that everything has an origin, a cause to its origination, a cessation and a way that leads to its cessation, through which his mind becomes free from thirst for sense pleasure, becoming and ignorance (*M.* III, 29–37).

The discipline of a Buddhist monk is aimed at the attainment of arahantship. There are four distinct stages of attainment as one pursues the discipline from the beginning, namely, the states of the stream-entrant (*sotāpanna*), the once-returner (*sakadāgāmī*), the non-returner (*anāgāmī*) and the *arahant*. A disciple by attaining the state of a stream-entrant does away completely with the mental intoxicant (*āsava*) of false views (*diṭṭhi*) and the intoxicants of lust (*kāma*), becoming (*bhava*) and ignorance (*avijjā*) which produce birth in low states (*apāya*). By attaining the state of a once-returner he does away with mental intoxicants connected with gross (*oḷārika*) sense pleasures and some more cankers of becoming and ignorance. By attaining the state of a non-returner a disciple completely puts an end to all mental intoxicants connected with sense pleasures and also further alleviates the cankers of becoming and ignorance. By becoming an arahant a disciple completely puts an end to all mental intoxicants connected with becoming and ignorance (*Ps.* I, 94).

In the *Mahālī Sutta* (*D.* I, 156—7) a clearer and more precise description of the four attainments is given. According to it one becomes a stream-entrant by overcoming three fetters (*saṃyojana*), namely, belief in an enduring entity (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), doubt regarding the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*vicikicchā*) and belief in the efficacy of mere rule and ritual (*sīlabbataparāmāsa*). One becomes a once-returner by diminishing lust, hatred and illusion (*rāga-dosa-moha*) in addition to overcoming the three earlier fetters, and such a being returns to this world once only and puts an end to the process of birth and death (*saṃsāra*). One becomes a non-returner by overcoming the first five of the ten fetters which belong to the sphere of the senses (*pañca orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni*), i. e., sensuous desire (*kāmacchanda*) and ill-will (*vyāpāda*) in addition to the three fetters mentioned in connection with the stream-entrant and the once-returner. One becomes an arahant by completely doing away with all mental intoxicants (*āsavānaṃ khayā*) having attained the emancipation of heart (*cetovimutti*) and emancipation through wisdom (*paññāvimutti*).

The disciple who undertakes to pursue the path to the attainment of arahantship has to follow a graduated process. Arahantship is the result of understanding the true nature of things (*yathābhūta*) and one can see the true nature of things only through a non-prejudiced mind. To develop a non-prejudiced mind one has to develop concentration of the mind, and this is possible only by a disciplined mind. So the process starts with the practice of virtue (*sīla*) which leads to concentration of the mind (*samādhi*) which ultimately results in true wisdom (*paññā*). In the *Devatā Saṃyutta* (*S.* I, 13) a deity asks the Buddha how a person disentangles the tangle of saṃsāra and the Buddha replies that a wise man, established firmly on virtue, concentrates his mind and develops true wisdom by which he disentangles the tangle of saṃsāra.

In several suttas we find detailed descriptions of how a disciple initiates himself into the dispensation of the Buddha and gradually follows up

the path. A son of a noble family (*kulaputta*) listens to the Dhamma preached by the Buddha and begets confidence in him and decides to follow his teaching. He enters the Order of monks, thereby cutting himself away from all family bonds and making himself free from all activities that keep a layman occupied. He refrains from sinful activities such as harming life, stealing, uttering falsehood, back-biting, slandering etc. and cultivates positive virtues such as loving and pitying all beings, speaking gentle and kind words, speaking the truth etc. He guards the doors of his senses so that his mind is not distracted when objects of sensation come in contact with the sense faculties. He is always alert and mindful with regard to all his activities. He lives content with whatever he gets by way of food etc. When he has cultivated these virtues his mind is ready to embark on concentration. He retires to a lonely spot in the forest or near a mountain cave and sits in a befitting posture to concentrate his mind. He now surveys his mind and cleanses it of all shortcomings and sees to it that all five hindrances to mental cultivation (*nīvaraṇa*), namely, covetousness (*abhijjhā*), ill-will (*vyāpāda*), sloth and torpor (*thīnamiddha*), worry and flurry (*uddhacca-kukkucca*) and doubt (*vicikicchā*) are completely done away with.

When he sees himself completely freed of all these hindrances, he becomes delighted (*pamujja*) and this in turn leads to joy (*pīti*) and this makes his body tranquil (*passaddha*) and he experiences happiness and his mind becomes concentrated. Now he proceeds from the first ecstasy (*jhāna*) gradually up to the fourth. When the mind is brought to a high state of concentration in this manner, in it could be developed the sixfold knowledge (see ABHIÑÑĀ), the sixth being the knowledge of the utter destruction of mental intoxicants (*āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa*). When the disciple has developed the knowledge of the utter destruction of these cankers he has completely understood the true nature of things and for him there will be no more becoming—he is an arahant (*D.* I, 62–84). The arahant is also called *asekha* (q. v.) because his training is complete.

It should be stated that this peak of mental culture cannot be reached quickly. One has to cultivate virtues for a considerable length of time in order to clean the mind of its latent biases. The various methods adopted to purify the mind also vary according to the character of the individual concerned. There are several types of characters discussed in this respect, namely, the passion dominated man (*rāga-carita*), the ill -will dominated man (*dosa-carita*), the ignorance dominated man (*moha-carita*), the faith dominated man (*saddhā-carita*), the intelligence dominated man (*buddhi-carita*) and the reflection dominated man (*vitakka-carita*). The details of the training differ according to the character of the individual (*Vism.* p. 82).

Though it is generally accepted that the path to the attainment of arahantship is a graduated one, there are instances of people who attained arahantship without following all the details, for instance, Suddhodana, Khemā, Mahā Ariṭṭha and many others who attained arahantship even before they entered the Order of monks. There is recognised a type of arahants called the *sukka-vipassaka* and if we accept the view that *sukka* stands for *suddha* (pure or mere) the term then denotes those who attain perfection without ever having attained any of the mental absorptions (*jhāna*). The *Visuddhimagga* (ch. xviii, 503) calls such persons *suddha-vipassanā-yānika* as distinguished from those with " tranquillity as vehicle " (*samatha-yānika*). The *Milindapañha* (trsl. 2, 254) discussing this problem says "there is no realisation of arahantship in one single life without keeping of the vows. Only on the utmost zeal and the most devoted practice of righteousness and with the aid of a suitable teacher is the realisation of arahantship attained." It would thus not be incorrect to say that the Theravāda view regarding arahantship is that the practice of virtue is essential and that even those who follow the *suddha-vipassanā-yāna* can do so because they have practised the virtues in previous births.

Lay life and arahantship. Though there are many instances of persons attaining spiritual development up to the third stage of non-returner, instances are not many of individuals attaining arahantship while yet being laymen. Yasa attained arahantship while being a layman, but he, too, entered the Order immediately afterwards (*Vin.* I, 15–20). Khemā, chief of the Buddha's women disciples, attained arahantship before she entered the Order, but she entered the Order with the consent of her husband Bimbisāra, probably on the same day (*ThīgA.* 126 f.). Suddhodana, the father of the Buddha, attained arahantship a little while before his death (*DPPN.* s.v. Suddhodana). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chap. xvi, 10–11) records that fifty-five brothers headed by the chief minister Mahāriṭṭha attained arahantship in the tonsure hall, while their heads were being shaved prior to being admitted into the Order. In the *Kathāvatthu* (157–8) the question whether a layman can become an arahant is discussed. The point maintained

in it is that what matters is not the external characteristics of a recluse or a layman, and that anybody who is free from the mental fetters and lives a life of complete renunciation could attain arahantship. King Milinda, too, maintains this view and quotes the following words of the Buddha: "I would magnify, O brethren, the supreme attainment either in a layman or in a recluse. Whether he be a layman, O brethren, or a recluse, the man who has reached the supreme attainment shall overcome all the difficulties inherent therein, shall win his way even to the excellent condition of arahantship" (*Miln.* trsl., *SBE.* vol. 36, p. 56), but so far this statement has not been traced in the *Tipiṭaka*. In the *Milindapañha* (ibid. p. 57) again, a question is posed as to why a person should enter the Order if laymen, too, could attain arahantship. In reply it is shown that facilities and opportunities for cultivating the mind are greater if one enters the Order, since monks are not bound up with duties of laymen such as earning to maintain oneself, wife and children and looking after the needs of relatives. In the *Subha Sutta* (*M.* II, 197) the Buddha says that a person, whether he be a layman or a recluse, who leads a virtuous life, ever striving to cleanse the mind of impurities, would progress in the path to liberation.

There is a current belief among the Buddhists of Ceylon that when a layman attains arahantship he should enter the Order the same day or else he would die before the end of that day. Nāgasena, too, confirms this view (*Miln.* trsl. pt. 2, 96). It is difficult to trace from canonical sources any evidence to substantiate this view. The idea developed, probably, from the fact that some laymen who attained arahantship joined the Order immediately after, and some attained arahantship a little while before their death.

Again, if we examine the connotation of the word *anāgāmī* (non-returner to the material world) we obtain more evidence to support the view that arahantship is attainable outside the Order of monks. If an anāgāmī does not attain arahantship in that very existence, he will pass away and will be reborn among the Suddhāvāsa deities, where he will put an end to reiterated existence (see ANĀGĀMIN).

Women and arahantship. The Buddha placed women on a par with men in the capacity of developing the mind to the highest level. A few years after the inauguration of the Order of monks, an Order of nuns, too, was set up with Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, the Buddha's foster-mother, as the first recruit (s. v. MAHĀPAJĀPATĪ GOTAMĪ). The *Vinaya Piṭaka* contains a section of special rules laid down for the guidance of bhikkhunīs. As is obvious, the purpose of the religious life is to attain arahantship. Women, like men, entered the Order in order to realise this state. Nowhere in Buddhist literature do we come across statements denouncing the capacity of women to develop their minds, and in this respect no distinction is shown between men and women. The *Therīgāthā* is full of instances of therīs who had attained arahantship (e. g., *Thīg.* pp. 126, 129, 131 etc.). Māra once attempted to dissuade Somā, a therī, from attaining arahantship saying that she with little brains could not aspire to attain a noble state attained by sages with high mental powers. Somā's reply was that if the mind is properly cultivated so as to develop true knowledge by which one understands the real state of things, womanhood is no barrier to the attainment of arahantship (*Thīg.* 129). Mrs. Rhys Davids in the Introduction (p. xxiv) to her translation of the *Therīgāthā* states that the instances of therīs declaring their attainment of arahantship are more in the *Therīgāthā* than of monks doing so in the *Theragāthā*.

Arahants and Society. When we study the life-history of the Buddha as well as those of his chief disciples who were arahants, it becomes abundantly clear that the Buddha did not expect his disciples to forsake society altogether, before or after the attainment of arahantship. During a period of forty-five years the Buddha was busy doing missionary work among the people. The better part of his day was spent in going about and meeting people and teaching them how to lead better lives. When he met people he did not always speak to them about the misery of life. When he met ordinary people he admonished them to refrain from anti-social activities and to do things which are for the benefit of the many (*D.* III, 180–93). When he met kings and higher ministers he spoke to them of ways and means of good government which would result in the happiness of all concerned. When he came across people who were grieved by various misfortunes, he spoke words of comfort to them (*ThīgA.* 108–17). When he came across criminals he preached to reform them for the benefit of the criminals as well as for the benefit of society (*ThagA.* III, 54–64). He spoke of the duties of children towards their parents and *vice versa*, of the duties of a wife towards her husband and those of a husband towards his wife, and he also spoke of the mutual duties of all people for the better and smoother running of society. When he gathered round him

his first group of disciples, sixty in number and all of them arahants, he dispersed them in all directions asking them to preach the Dhamma for the welfare of the many (*Vin.* I, 21). Chief disciples like Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Kaccāyana and others, following the example of the Buddha, spent all their lives in working for the spiritual upliftment of the masses. The Buddha as well as his disciples lived in society, but they were not of society. They lived lives of complete renunciation, though they depended on the generosity of the public for their sustenance, and worked for their spiritual upliftment. Theirs was a disinterested service. The life of a true disciple of the Buddha is compared to a lotus in the pond (*A.* II, 39 ; *Sn.* p. 101). The lotus bud grows in the mud in the pond, is nourished in it, but it grows through the water, comes above the surface, blossoms out, and is untouched by the water. Likewise the disciple develops into a fully-awakened man, while being in society, but he is not bound by the fetters of social life. He is not carried away by what takes place in it. In the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (*Sn.* 46–7) it is said that if one can stand unmoved (*cittaṃ yassa na kampati*) when affected by the things of the world (*phuṭṭhassa lokadhammehi*) it would be a great blessing.

Though such is the general attitude of a disciple towards society, we see a parallel development in some texts admonishing the true sage (*muni*=*arahant*) to steer clear of society and make a quick escape from saṃsāra. Society is depicted as a very evil place, full of vicious people, the haunt of all viles, and hence the *muni* should have nothing to do with it. He should wander about all alone, far away from society, like the rhinoceros (*Sn.* pp. 6–12).

The Mahāyānists put forward the ideal of the bodhisattva—a being dedicated to the services of humanity, probably as a protest against this development.

W.G.W.

As time went on the word *arhat*, which is the Sanskrit form for the Pali *arahā*, *arahant*, was gradually replaced by the word *śrāvaka* and in later literature, e.g., the *Mahāvyutpatti*, it seems to have disappeared altogether, especially in reference to *bodhi* or enlightenment. And, the word *śrāvaka* seems to be used in a derogatory sense, similar to *hīna-yāna*, inasmuch as *śrāvakas* merely heard their teachers and followed their rules, though sometimes they themselves were preachers. *Śrāvaka-bodhi* came to be used as a synonym of *nirvāṇa* as the ideal of the arhat.

Thus, a contrast came to be established between the arhat, who is content with mere Nirvāṇa, the cessation of the *āśravas*, and the bodhisattva whose ideal is supreme and perfect enlightenment (*anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*). Sanskrit writers frequently compare and contrast the two ideals, even the highest form of Nirvāṇa attained as a *śrāvaka* (*arhat*) being considered inferior to the *sambodhi* attained by a *bodhisattva*. In an interesting passage of the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (pp. 1190-1) it is said that he who tries to persuade a man to be content with the stage of a *śrāvaka* is a bad friend (*pāpa-mitra*) and is doing the work of the Evil One (*mārakarmāṇi*).

The entire sixth chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* is devoted to an elaboration of the idea that the most eminent of the Śākyamuni's disciples including Kāśyapa, Mahākātyāyana and Maudgalyāyana who have won fame as arhats, should continue their spiritual development till they attain Buddhahood. The condition of Nirvāṇa which they have attained as arhats, is represented as belonging to a lower stage.[1] In another chapter (the 8th), the inadequacy of the old ideal of Nirvāṇa is set forth in a speech which the 500 arhats (see below) addressed to the Śākyamuni : " We confess our transgressions, Lord. We have always and at all times thought thus : 'This is our final Nirvāṇa ; we are finally released.' We have been foolish and unwise, we have not known the right way. And why ? Because we have been content with this sort of inferior knowledge, whereas we should have acquired perfect enlightenment through the knowledge of the Tathāgatas." And further on, they are made to say : " We imagined that we had been liberated through the stage of the arhat. We can hardly be said to live inasmuch as we are satisfied with such inferior knowledge. But our aspiration for the knowledge of the Omniscient One has never wholly perished. And the Tathāgata, Lord, teaches us : 'O monks, do not think that this is Nirvāṇa ....'. Having been taught thus, we have today received the prediction about our supreme and perfect enlightenment." The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* says quite categorically that all arhats, who have destroyed the āśravas, must go further and seek the supreme sambodhi.

1 In the gradation of the *bhūmi* or stages of the bodhisattva's career, the bodhisattva in his sixth stage is made the equivalent of an arhat.

The Mahāyānists accuse the arhat of selfishness because he strives only for his own liberation from sorrow instead of working for the liberation and happiness of all beings. They exert themselves only for their own complete Nirvāṇa (*ātma-parinirvāṇa-hetoḥ : Sdmp.* p. 75). The śrāvakas think only of their own good (*svārtha : Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, 53.4). The arhat saves no one but himself. He is like one confined in a dungeon, who, having found a way of escape, hastens to set himself at liberty, while callously leaving his fellow-prisoners in darkness and captivity.

The bodhisattva, on the other hand, is the embodiment of supreme unselfishness. He solemnly dedicates himself to the service of all beings who stand in need of succour, suffering the most atrocious tortures, if necessary, if thereby he may save others from pain and sorrow.

It must be stated, however, that this charge of selfishness made against the arhat, in contrast with the unselfishness of the bodhisattva, is not in accordance with fact. In the first place, the concept of the bodhisattva is not peculiar to Mahāyāna. In the second place, it would be quite incorrect to say that the arhat, as depicted in Hīnayāna, is entirely occupied with his own salvation and is callous of the salvation and sufferings of others.

As has been stated earlier, the word *arhat* means 'one who is worthy' and his worthiness is of a kind that cannot be reconciled with any form of selfishness. "Even as a mother watches over her only begotten child," says the *Sutta Nipāta*, one of the oldest texts of the Theravāda, "so let his heart and mind be filled with boundless love for all creatures, great and small, let him practise benevolence towards the whole world, above, below, across, without exception, and let him set himself utterly free from all ill-will and enmity." And, another text, the *Itivuttaka* (19), says "all the means that can be used as bases for doing right are not worth one-sixteenth part of the emancipation of the heart through love. That takes all those up unto itself, outshining them in radiance and glory."

No selfish being could, therefore, become an arhat. Arhatship consists in a spiritual exaltation that transcends the limitations of temporal individuality. No system which aims at the elimination of the phenomenal ego can be accused of egoism or selfishness. Arhatship is the full realisation of the transcendental self and such self-realisation is far removed from selfishness and, indeed, involves self-sacrifice.

In charging the arhat, therefore, with being over-mindful of his own development and salvation and with ignoring the moral and spiritual well-being of his fellow-men, the Mahāyānists were hardly fair. The arhat, on the other hand, is one who acts in accordance with the principle that each man forms part of a spiritual whole of which all his fellow-men are also parts and that to serve them is to enrich and ennoble his own higher self, while to neglect them would be to impoverish it. Even at the lowest estimate, the arhat is one who seeks and attains an enlightenment for himself so that he might subtract at least himself from the vast burden of sorrow and pain that weighs upon the world. Having done this, he continues the good life for the gain and the welfare of the many, in benevolent activity, although it could add nothing to the reward which he has already won.

After he has won arhatship, up to the time of his death, the arhat lives wishlessly, happy and contented, because his supreme achievement leaves no room for wishes of any kind. According to the *Milindapañha* (pp. 134 ff., 253) he is liable to suffer bodily pain, however, because he cannot control his body. But such pain he bears with equanimity which nothing can disturb.

According to the Theravādins, the acquisition of Nirvāṇa is final and definite and can never again be lost. The Sammitīyas, Vajjiputtiyas, Sabbatthivādins and some Mahāsāṅghikas, however, held that the arhat is liable to fall away. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (v, 59—83) speaks of the nirvāṇa of the arhats as a temporary repose and distinguishes it from the final Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. The Theravādins regard the arhat as being of almost god-like stature but the Mahāsāṅghikas maintained that he was human and he had many imperfections, e.g., that he could still be troubled by demons, have various doubts and be ignorant of many things. The Andhakas said that the arhat could be surpassed in knowledge by others, in opposition to the Vibhajjavādins in whose view the arhat has complete knowledge.

The Pubba- and Apara-seliyas held that the gods of the Māra group (*Mārakāyikā*) could impose physical impurities upon arhats (*Kvu.* i, 2; ii, 2—4; iv, 10; xxii, 1). In many temples in Theravāda countries figures of arhats are found sculptured or painted on the walls, generally with the Buddha as the central figure. Most often it is the two chief disciples of the Śākyamuni—Sāriputta and Moggallāna—who are so represented. In China, however, especially in the more important temples, there are generally to be found two rows of large figures, one along the east, and the other along the west wall. These figures, which are usually numbered and labelled, are

called the eighteen Lohan, the eighteen great disciples of the Buddha. In Korea, in the ancient Buddhist temples, similar figures are to be found, but only sixteen in number. In Japan, similarly, we get the sixteen Rakan and in Tibet the sixteen Sthaviras, occasionally (See Vol. II, Pl. V) eighteen. Lohan and Rakan stand for A-lo-han, equivalent of Arhan or Arhat. The number subsequently increased to five hundred. The story of this development is given in detail in the sections that follow immediately hereafter. (See also Article xvi in the 2nd part of Vol. VII of *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* by Henri Doré, S. J., 1922).

The Mahāyāna literature contains many accounts of arhats found in numerous other worlds, especially in *Buddha-kṣetras* (Buddha-fields), where they function as retinues to the Buddhas there. In such cases their numbers are recorded by the million. See BUDDHA-KṢETRA.

G. P. M.

The Sixteen Arhats. The sixteen arhats were disciples of Śākyamuni Buddha. According to Buddhist texts, they were said to have been entrusted by the Buddha not to enter Nirvāṇa but to stay in this world as the object of worship of the people and the "field of blessedness" to all beings. In ancient translations of Buddhist scriptures, such as in the *Ju-ta-ch'êng-lun* (入大乘論 *Mahāyānāvatāra-śāstra : Taishō*, No. 1634) translated by Tao-t'ai of the Northern Liang period (397—439 A.C.), it is said, "There are the sixteen great śrāvakas, Piṇḍolabhāradvāja, Rāhula, etc., living on the various continents, ... protecting Buddhism." But not all the names of the sixteen arhats are given. Besides that, in the *Mi-la-hsia-shêng-ching* (彌勒下生經 *Sūtra on the Descent of Maitreya : Taishō*, No. 453, a separate copy of the 44th fascicle of the *Ekottarāgama*), of which the translator's name is lost, it is said, "bhikṣu Mahākāśyapa, bhikṣu Cūḍapanthaka, bhikṣu Piṇḍolabhāradvāja and bhikṣu Rāhula, you four great śrāvakas should not enter Nirvāṇa until my Dharma is entirely extinguished." It is also said in the *Shê-li-fu-wên-ching* (舍利弗問經 *Sūtra on the Questions of Śāriputra : Taishō*, No. 1465) by an anonymous translator of the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317—420 A.C.), "After my passing away, the four great bhikṣus, Mahākāśyapa, Piṇḍolabhāradvāja, Cūḍapanthaka and Rāhula, should not enter Nirvāṇa, but stay in this world to propagate my Dharma." Basing his statement on this tradition, Chih-i (538—97 A.C.) of the Sui dynasty remarked in his *Fa-hua-wen-chü* (法華文句 *Analytical Study of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, fasc. ii, *Taishō*, No. 1718) thus · "The Buddha ordered the four great arhats not to enter Nirvāṇa until his Dharma is entirely extinguished." But in explaining this passage, Chan-jan (711—82 A.C.) of the T'ang dynasty said in his *Fa-hua-wen-chü-chi* (法華文句記 *Notes on the Analytical Study of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra : Taishō*, No. 1719), "According to the *Pao-yün-ching* (寶雲經 *Ratnamegha Sūtra*, fasc. vii), the Buddha ordered sixteen arhats to sustain Buddhism and not to enter Nirvāṇa until the coming of the next Buddha. In that sūtra the names of arhats, their places of residence and the numbers of their followers are all definitely stated. Thus, the holy ones took their oath in the presence of the Buddha, saying, 'We shall disseminate and uphold this sūtra with our supernatural powers and shall not enter Nirvāṇa'. Among these sixteen arhats Piṇḍolabhāradvāja and Rāhula are counted, but Mahākāśyapa is not."

Now the *Pao-yün-ching* (*Ratnamegha Sūtra*) has two different versions, the one translated by Mandrasena of the Liang dynasty (506—57 A.C.) and the other by Mandrasena and Saṅghapāla of the same dynasty. But this passage is found in neither of them. At the end of the 7th fascicle of the latter version, however, we do not have the passage about the acceptance and practice of the sūtra, which is the rule common to all sūtras. Perhaps some passage is missing in the extant version, and if that is the case, it is difficult for us to make any definite conclusion. All the existing texts concerning the sixteen arhats are based upon Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Ta-a-lo-han-nan-t'i-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi* (大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記 *Nandimitrāvadāna : Taishō*, No. 2030), that is a record left by the arhat Nandimitra, a native of Siṃhala (Ceylon) about eight hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa.

In the *Ta-a-lo-han-nan-t'i-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi* (*Nandimitrāvadāna*) these arhats are enumerated as follows : The first, Piṇḍolabhāradvāja, and his retinue of one thousand arhats mostly live in Aparagodānīya Continent in the West ; the second, Kanakavātsa, and his retinue of five hundred arhats mostly live in Kaśmīra in the North ; the third, Kanakaparidhvaja (?), and his retinue of six hundred arhats mostly live in Pūrvavideha Continent in the East; the fourth, Subinda(?), and his retinue of seven hundred arhats mostly live in Uttarakuru Continent in the North; the fifth,



(*by courtesy of the Public Relations Department, Victoria and Albert Museum, London*)

THE BUDDHA and the sixteen great arhats with Hva-shang and Dharmatāla, an upāsaka.

PLATE VI

Image of an arhat in pottery, possibly from a temple in Hopei, south of Peking, China, of the Liao-Chin dynasties (10th–13th century).

(by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U. S. A.)





Painting of an arhat, attributed to Kuan-hsin of Western China (832–900), known in Japan as Zengetsu Daishi.

(from the collection of Baron Takahashi, Tokyo)

Nakula, and his retinue of eight hundred arhats mostly live in Jambudvīpa Continent in the South; the sixth, Bhadra, and his retinue of nine hundred arhats mostly live in Tāmara Continent; the seventh, Karīka, and his retinue of one thousand arhats mostly live in Saṃghata Continent; the eighth, Vajraputra, and his retinue of one thousand one hundred arhats mostly live in Porana (?) Continent; the ninth, Śvapāka, and his retinue of nine hundred arhats mostly live in Mount Gandhamādana; the tenth, Panthaka, and his retinue of one thousand three hundred arhats mostly live in Trāyastriṃśa Heaven: the eleventh, Rāhula, and his retinue of one thousand one hundred arhats mostly live in Priyaṅgu Continent; the twelfth, Nāgasena, and his retinue of one thousand two hundred arhats mostly live in Mount Potalaka (?); the thirteenth, Iṅgada (?), and his retinue of one thousand three hundred arhats mostly live in Mount Vipulapārśva; the fourteenth, Vanavāsī, and his retinue of one thousand four hundred arhats mostly live in Mount Vatsa (?); the fifteenth, Ajita, and his retinue of one thousand five hundred arhats mostly live in Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa; and the sixteenth, Cūḍapanthaka, and his retinue of one thousand six hundred arhats mostly live in Mount Nemindhara.

Since the translation of the *Nandimitrāvadāna*, the sixteen arhats have been universally venerated and praised by Buddhists. In the existing manuscripts of the T'ang dynasty found in the Tunhuang Caves, there are still preserved two verses, each consisting of eight lines of seven characters, in praise of the eighth Venerable One, Vajraputra, and the eleventh Venerable One, Rāhula (see the *Tun-huang-tsa-chui* 敦煌雜綴 *Record of Miscellaneous Findings of Tunhuang*). There is also a book known as the *Shih-liu-ta-a-lo-han-yin-kuo-shih-chien-sung* (十六大阿羅漢因果識見頌 *The Verses on the Knowledge of Cause and Effect of the Sixteen Great Arhats*), attributed to an 'Indian Śramaṇa Jñānataka', but the date of the translation is not given. It is prefaced by Fan Chung-yen of the Sung dynasty, who said that during the Ch'ing-li period (1041—8) he once went to Hotung on official duty and passed a night in the Ice Valley Hostelry at Paote, in present Shansi province, where he discovered this book between the beams of the eaves, and thereupon he bade a monk of the Ch'eng-t'ien monastery in the prefectual city to make a copy of it for preservation. In 1048 Hui-chê, a monk of [illegible], produced his copy and said that he had obtained it from a monk named P'u-huan at Wuling, and that he had treasured it for more than thirty years. This book contains seven verses spoken by each of the sixteen arhats to Manoratha on the 'knowledge of cause and effect' as they had personally obtained, making a total number of 112 verses altogether. But judging from its shallowness and crudity, it is undoubtedly a spurious work written by some Chinese people during the Sung dynasty. Nevertheless, the production itself is evidence for the prevalence of the worship of the sixteen arhats among the people of that time. In the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin* (秘殿珠林 *Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*) there is preserved a postscript written by Chiang Ku'ei of the Sung dynasty to a scroll of painting about the sixteen arhats by a T'ang artist, in which these verses were all quoted. This says that the *Shih-liu-ta-a-lo-han-yin-kuo-shih-chien-sung* (*Verses on the Knowledge of Cause and Effect*) was quite popular during the Sung dynasty.

Concerning the pictures of the sixteen arhats, there was a painting by Chang Seng-yu of the Liang dynasty as mentioned in the *Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u* (譜宣和畫 *Record of Paintings of the Hsüan-ho Collection* fasc. II). But it is difficult to ascertain whether it was based on the description of the arhats in the *Ju-ta-ch'üng-lun* (*Mahāyānāvatāra-śāstra*), or on that in the *Pao-yün-ching* (*Ratnamegha Sūtra*) as mentioned by Chan-jan. We know, however, that the sixteen arhats were not yet popularly worshipped by the Buddhists during the Liang dynasty. After Hsüan-tsang translated the *Ta-a-lo-han-nan-t'i-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi* (*Nandimitrāvadāna*) during the T'ang dynasty, Lu Lêng-ch'ieh of the Ch'ien-yüan period (758-9 A.C.) had a special liking for depicting the portraits of the sixteen arhats, and many of his works on this subject are mentioned in the *Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u* (*Record of Paintings of the Hsüan-ho Collection*, fasc. II). The same book, Vol. X, mentions forty-eight pictures of the sixteen arhats by Wang Wei (701—61 A.C.). During the Five Dynasties the productions on this subject were on the increase. Illustrious painters, e.g., T'ao Shou-li of the Southern T'ang (see *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao* 式古堂書畫考 *A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II), Wang Chai-han of the same state (see *Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u: The Record of Paintings of the Hsüan-ho-Collection*, fasc. IV; *Ching-ho-shu-hua-fang* 清河書畫舫 *A Boat of Calligraphy and Painting of Ch'ing-ho*, Vol. V; and *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: A Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. IX), Li Shêng of the Earlier Shu state (see *Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u: The Record of Paintings of the Hsüan-ho Collection*, fasc. III), Chang Hsüan of the

same state (see *Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u : The Record of Paintings of the Hsüan-ho Collection*, fasc. III; *Ch'ing-ho-shu-hua-fang : A Boat of Calligraphy and Paintings of Ch'ing-ho*, fasc. V), and Wang Tao-ch'iu of the Wu-yüeh state (see *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II)—all had works on this theme, and of these artists the foremost one was Kuan-hsin (832—912 A.C.) of the Earlier Shu state (see *Ch'ing-ho-shu-hua-fang : A Boat of Calligraphy and Painting of Ch'ing-ho*, fasc. V; *Ni-ku-lu* 泥古錄 *A Record of Beloved Antiquities ; Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. X). After that, we have Sun Chih-wei (see *Ch'ing-ho-shu-hua-fang : A Boat of Calligraphy and Painting of Ch'ing-ho*, fasc.VI), Li Kung-lin (see *Shan-hu-wang* 珊瑚網 *A Coral Net*, fasc. XXIII; *Yen-chou-szŭ-pu-kao* 弇州四部稿 *The Four Works of Wang Yen-chou*, fasc. CXXXVII; *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II; *Pi-chuan-chu-lin : A Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fascs. IX and X; *Shu-hua-chien-ying* 書畫鑑影 *A Mirror of Calligraphy and Paintings*, fasc. II; *Pao-hui-lu* 寶繪錄 *A Record of Precious Paintings*, fasc. X; *P'ing-chin-kuan-chien-tsang-shu-hua-chi* 平津館鑒藏書畫記 *A Record of the Calligraphies and Paintings Preserved in the P'ing-chin Studio ; Chiang-ts'un-shu-hua-mu* 江村書畫目 *A Catalogue of the Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Kao Kiang-ts'un ; Hao-ku-t'ang-chia-tsang-shu-hua-chi* 好古堂家藏書畫記 *A Record of the Family Collection of Calligraphies and Paintings of Hao-ku-t'ang*, Part I, and *San-ch'in-ko-shu-hua-lu* 三秋閣書畫錄 *A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings Collected in the San-chiu-ko*, Part I), Yen Po-wen, (see *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II), Li Shih-tsê (see *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II), Liang K'ai, (see *Shu-hua-chien-ying : A Mirror of Calligraphy and Painting*, fasc. III), and Sun Pi-ta (see *Pi-chuan-chu-lin : A Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. IX) of the Sung dynasty. The same dynasty produced a number of monk-artists, e.g., Fan-lung, (see *Shan-ku-wang : A Coral Net*, fasc. XXIII; *Yen-chou-szŭ-pu-kao : The Four Works of Wang Yen-chou*, fasc. CXXXVII; *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II; the *Ta-kuan-lu* 大觀錄 *Record of Great Views*, fasc. XIV; the *Chiang-ts'un-hsiao-hsia-lu* 江村消夏錄 *Record of Spending the Summer at Kiang-ts'un*, fasc. I; *Ch'ing-hsia-ho-t'i-hua-chüeh-chü* 青霞閣題畫絕句 *The Verses Written on the Paintings Collected in the Ch'ing-hsia-ko*), Yüeh-p'eng (see *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II), and Hai-lun (see *Pi-chuan-chu-lin : A Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fascs. IX & X) of the same dynasty. During the Yüan dynasty, there were Chao Mêng-fu (see *A Supplement to the Pi-chuan-chu-lin : Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. X) and Ch'ien Hsüan (vid. *Shêng-ching-ku-kung-shu-hua-lu* 盛京故宮書畫錄, *A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings Collected in the Imperial Palace at Shêng-ching*, fasc. III); during the Ming dynasty, Wu Wei (vid. *Pi-chuan-chu-lin : A Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. II), Ch'ou Ying (see *A Record of the Calligraphies and Paintings in the Collection of Kuo-yun-lou* 過雲樓書畫記 fasc. IV; the *Record of Spending the Summer at Kiang-ts'un*, fasc. I; *A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings of the Imperial Palace at Shêng-ching*, fasc. III), Wu Pin (see *Shih-ch'ü-pao-chi* 石渠寶笈 *The Precious Collection of Shih-ch'ü Library*, fasc. III), and Ting Yun-p'êng (see *Shih-ch'ü-pao-chi : The Precious Collection of Shih-ch'ü Library*, fascs. II & III). All these artists had famous works mentioned in the records and catalogues of the successive dynasties.

Concerning the sculptures of the sixteen arhats, the earliest were the images of the sixteen arhats carved by Wu Yen-shuang of the Wu-yüeh state in the Yen-hsia cave at Hangchow. Two of the images are on the interior portion of the right wall, four on the front portion of the same wall, and the other ten on the left wall of the cave. The carving technique of the images is the same. Juan Yüan's *Liang-chê-chin-shih-chih* (兩浙金石志 *Record of Inscription Literature on Metals and Stones in Chekiang*) contains a document from the Yen-hsia Cave entitled 'the Record of Wu Yen-shuang's Merit in Making Buddhist Images'. Wu Yen-shuang was the younger brother of the wife of Ch'ien Yüan-kuan, the king of the Wu-yüeh state. During the Sung dynasty two images were added to the group: one was a monk and the other the well-known 'Monk with a Bag'. But the art was very far inferior to that of the previous sixteen images. Evidently, the statement made in the *Hsien-ch'un-lin-an-chih* (咸淳臨安志 *Topography of Lin-an, compiled under the Hsien-ch'un Period*) that "formerly there were only six stone images of arhats, and the king of

Wu-yüeh, being inspired by a dream, carved twelve more, making a total of eighteen images", is but a forced conclusion.

In view of the paintings and sculptures of the sixteen arhats as surveyed above, we may see that the worship of these arhats was developed during the Five Dynasties, particularly in the south of the Yangtze River, and the number was finally evolved from sixteen into eighteen.

The Eighteen Arhats. The evolvement of the sixteen arhats into eighteen arhats seems to have started in paintings. The earliest known portraits of the eighteen arhats are in a painting by Chang Hsüan of Chin-shui in Chien-chow of the Earlier Shu state. Su Shih of the Sung dynasty obtained this picture at Tan-êrh and composed eighteen verses in their praise (see *Tung-p'o-ch'i-chi* 東坡七集 *The Seven Collections of Su Tung-po's Writings*, Part II, fasc. XX). He has not explicitly stated the names of the arhats. The next one was the picture of the eighteen arhats by Kuan-hsiu. On his return journey from Hai-nan, Su Shih passed by the Pao-lin Monastery at the Ch'ing-yüan Valley, where he saw this picture and wrote eighteen panegyric verses. In each of the verses the name of one of the arhats was mentioned. Apart from the sixteen arhats, the seventeenth one was Nandimitra, i.e., the author of the *Ta-a-lo-han-nan-t'i-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi* (*Nandimitrāvadāna*), and the eighteenth Piṇḍola, who was in fact a repetition of the Piṇḍola-bhāradvāja among the group of sixteen arhats (see *Tung-p'o-ch'i-chi : The Seven Collections of Su Tung-po's Writings*, Part VII, fasc. X). In the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin* (*Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*) of the Ch'ing dynasty there is recorded also a scroll painting of the eighteen arhats by Kuan-hsiu, with three epigraphs by Su Kuo of the Sung dynasty, Chao Mêng-fu of the Yüan dynasty and Tsung-lê of the Ming dynasty, respectively, but none of them mentions the names of the arhats. In the Inscription on the Tablet of the Five Hundred Arhats dated the 4th year of Shao-hsing, (1134 A.C.) during the Sung dynasty, in the Ch'ien Ming court at Kiang-yin, the names of the arhats are given in a list before the names of the five hundred arhats, in which the seventeenth one was also Nandimitra, while the eighteenth was Piṇḍola.

In his *Fu-tsu-t'ung-chi* (佛祖統記 *Records of the Lineage of the Buddha and Patriarchs : Taishō*, No. 2035, fasc. XXXIII), composed in the 5th year of Hsien-ch'un (1269 A.C.) during the Sung dynasty, Chih-p'an refuted the above-mentioned theory under the item " On Making Offerings to Arhats", pointing out that Nandimitra as the author of the *Nandimitrāvadāna* could not be among the arhats who were asked by the Buddha to stay in this world, while Piṇḍola was simply a repetition of the same name. He maintained that the two last arhats should be Kāśyapa and Cūḍapanthaka, the two of the four great śrāvakas who had not been included in the group of sixteen arhats, as mentioned in the *Mi-lê-hsia-shêng-ching* (*Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*).

The Tibetan group of eighteen arhats consists of the sixteen arhats and Dharmatāla, an upāsaka, and the " Monk with a Bag," but this was also a tradition brought from the interior of China. When king Glaṅ-darma of Tibet destroyed Buddhism (in the first year of Hui-chang during the reign of emperor Wu-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, 841 A.C.), six Buddhist masters left Tibet and went to Kham where they were impressed by the general presence of pictures and images of the sixteen arhats in the various monasteries. Particularly interested were Klu-mes and Kruṅ-chuṅ so much so that they made duplicates of the pictures and took them back to Yer-pa in Tibet. These are the famous portraits of the arhats at Yer-pa. Afterwards, two more arhats were added in accordance with the various traditions introduced from the interior. Dharmatāla was said to be a native of Ho-lan Mountain in Kansu province (Ahlagshan Banner). By virtue of his pious devotion to the sixteen arhats, he obtained spiritual response by the vision of the Amitābha Buddha appearing in the clouds every day (see Dalai Lama V, *The Ritual of Making Offerings to the sixteen Arhats*). In the paintings he was always represented as carrying a sūtra-basket on his back with a tiger crouching at his right side. But up to now, only sixteen arhats are mentioned in the ritual of making offerings.

The continued edition of the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin* (*Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*), Book IV, mentions a copy work of " the Eighteen Arhats " done by Chung Yü-tê of the Ch'ing dynasty after the original of Lu Leng-ch'ieh with supplementary figures added by Kuan-hsin. The scroll bears an epigraph in verse written by emperor Kao-tsung in which he asserts that the seventeenth arhat in the posture of subduing a dragon was Mahā-Kāśyapa, while the eighteenth one in the posture of taming a tiger was Nandimitra. These identifications were made by the Lcaṅ-skya Huthukthu of that time. But the tale about the dragon-subduer and the tiger-tamer was a tradition of later development. In the " Record of the Vision

of Arhats in a Dream" in the *Tung-p'o-chi-chi* (*Seven Collections of* [*Su*] *Tung-po's Writings*), the writer says that in the 4th year of Yüan-feng (1081 A.C.), he saw in a temple at Ch'i-t'ing an image of an arhat with a dragon at his left and a tiger at his right side. This shows that during the Northern Sung dynasty it was not yet necessary to have two separate arhats, one represented as conquering a dragon and the other taming a tiger.

If we make a study of the two supplementary images in the Yen-hsia cave carved by the Sun artisan, representing a Buddhist monk and the 'Monk with a Bag', we shall find that the latter was the image of monk Ch'i-t'zŭ of the Fêng-hua county in Ming-chow flourishing under the reign of emperor Chao-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, and he was believed to be an incarnation of Maitreya bodhisattva. Therefore, the image of the other monk must also be a Chinese monk with supernatural powers. According to the *T'ien-t'ai-shan-chih* (天台山志 *Complete Topography of the T'ien-t'ai Mountain*, fasc. X), during the Ch'un-hua period (990—4) of the Sung dynasty, there was a monk by the name of Tao-jung in the Kuang-yen monastery on the T'ien-t'ai mountain, who, owing to his constant practice of meditation and his many supernatural manifestations, was regarded by the people as an arhat. After his death, it was said that some people had identified his likeness in one of the images of the five hundred arhats in the Shou-ch'ang monastery. Thus, the image of that monk in the Yen-hsia cave might have been a representation of this person.

In view of the development of the various theories related above, it may be concluded that the tradition of the eighteen arhats had no scriptural basis, but was a convention gradually stabilised by painters who wished to initiate two extra figures into the original tradition of the sixteen arhats, thus giving rise to the different conjectures and theories about the eighteen arhats. According to the earliest tradition, since the seventeenth in the list of the eighteen arhats was Nandimitra, the author of the *Nandimitrāvadāna*, the eighteenth one ought to be Hsüan-tsang, the translator of that work. But as no decision could be made about Hsüan-tsang as the eighteenth arhat, people put Piṇḍola in his place, thus making a repetition of the same person and leading to a number of variant interpretations, which are extremely puzzling. The result was that the tradition of the eighteen arhats became generally accepted and ever since the Yüan dynasty their images have been as a rule installed in the main shrine-halls of monasteries, while the tradition about the sixteen arhats on the other hand has lost much ground in its popularity.

The painters of successive dynasties who had works on the eighteen arhats, as are mentioned in various records, include Tso Li of the Later T'ang period (see the *T'ieh-wang-shan-ku* 鐵網珊瑚 *The Iron Net Coral* by Tu Mu of the Ming dynasty, fasc. XIII); Kuan-hsiu of the Earlier Shu state (see the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. IX); Li Kung-lin (see the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. III: *Shêng-ching-ku-kung-shu-hua-lu: A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings Collected in the Imperial Palace at Shêng-ching*, fasc. II; *Ku-wu-ch'ên-lieh-so-shu-hua-mu-lu* 古物陳列所書畫目錄: *A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings of the Antiquity Museum*, fasc. V); Chu Ju-wên (see *Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-h'ao: A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. II); Chia Shih-ku (see *Yüeh-hsüeh-shu-hua-lu* 嶽雪書畫錄 *Yo-hsüeh's Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings*, fasc. II) and the monk Hai-lun (see the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*) of the Sung dynasty; Chao Mêng-fu (see the continued edition of the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*), Ch'ien Hsüan (see *Ku-wu-ch'ên-lieh-so-shu-hua-mu-lu: A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings of the Antiquity Museum*, fasc. V), Chang Wo (see *Shêng-ching-ku-kung-shu-hua-lu: A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings Collected in the Imperial Palace at Shêng-ching*, fasc. III) and Fang Fang-hu (see *Ku-fên-ko-shu-hua-chi* 古芬閣書畫記 *A Record of Calligraphies and Paintings Collected in the Ku-fên-ko*) of the Yüan dynasty; Ch'ou Ying (see the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. XX), Wu Pin (see *Shih-ch'ü-pao-chi: The Precious Collection of Shih-chü Library*, facs. III), Ting Yun-p'êng (see *Mêng-yüan-shu-hua-lu* 夢園書畫錄 *A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings of Mêng-yüan*; the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. XII: *Shêng-ching-ku-kung-shu-hua-lu: A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings Collected in the Imperial Palace at Shêng-ching*, fasc. III; *Ku-wu-ch'ên-lieh-so-shu-hua-mu-lu: A Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings of the Antiquity Museum*, fasc. V), Ch'ien Kung (see Tu Mu's *Shih-pai-chai-shu-hua-lu* 十百齋書畫錄 *Catalogue of Calligraphies and Paintings Collected in the Shih-pai-chai*, fasc. XXII), Li Lin (see the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, Part II) and Ch'en Fan (see the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin: Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. VIII) of the Ming dynasty.

The tradition that the sixteen arhats were bidden to stay in this world as defenders of the Dharma inspired Chinese Buddhists with deep veneration for the arhats, and hence brought about another tradition, the tradition of the five hundred arhats.

The Five Hundred Arhats. The tradition of the five hundred arhats is frequently met with in Buddhist scriptures. For instance *Fu-wu-pai-ti-tzŭ-tzŭ-shuo-pên-chi-ching* (佛五百弟子自說本起經 *Sūtra on the Five Hundred Disciples telling their own Nidāna : Taishō,* No. 199) translated by Dharmarakṣa of the Western Tsin dynasty, contains the statement that after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, Mahākāśyapa and five hundred arhats held the first Council to rehearse the Tripiṭaka. In the *Shê-li-fu-wên-ching* (*Sūtra on the Questions of Śāriputra*) it is said that after the destruction of Buddhism by King Puṣyamitra, five hundred arhats revived the teaching. There are many other such traditions concerning the five hundred arhats. In the interior of China during the Eastern Tsin dynasty when Chu T'an-yu was dwelling on the T'ien-t'ai mountain, there was already an age-long tradition about a fine vihāra on a precipitous rock where dwelt the saints who had realised the truth. There was a stone bridge stretching over the chasm, but a protruding rock barred the passage. After an ablution and fasting for several days, Chu T'an-yu succeeded in crossing the bridge and saw a divine monk in the vihāra, where they burned incense and had the mid-day meal together. The divine monk said to Chu T'an-yu, " Ten years after, you shall come here again." Thus he returned. (see *Kao-sêng-chuan* 高僧傳 *The Biographies of Eminent Monks : Taishō,* No. 2059, fasc. XI.) Hence the later tradition about the five hundred arhats at the Stone Bridge monastery. It is said in the " *Inscription on the Tablet of the Five Hundred Arhats* " at the Hua-lin monastery in Kuangtung province that Nakula, who was the fifth one among the sixteen arhats, had a retinue of eight hundred monks, of whom five hundred lived on the T'ien-t'ai mountain and three hundred on the Yen-tang mountain. In the *T'ien-t'ai-shan-chieh* (*Topography of the T'ien-t'ai Mountain*) there is a quotation from the " Record of the Unusual Manifestations of the Five Hundred Arhats in the Fang-kuang Monastery ", saying that " Chüan, a local official of Yung-chia, had painted the figures of the five hundred arhats." During the Five Dynasties, the worship of the five hundred arhats became particularly popular. The Ch'ien regime of the Wu-yüeh state made bronze images of the five hundred arhats in the Fang-kuang monastery on the T'ien-t'ai mountain. In the first year of Hsien-tê (954 A.C.), Tao-ch'ien, with the permission of prince Chung-i of the Ch'ien family, then the ruler of the Wu-yüeh state, removed the images of the sixteen arhats at the Lei-fêng Pagoda to the Ching-t'zŭ monastery and constructed a hall of five hundred arhats. Emperor T'ai-tsung of the Sung dynasty made five hundred and sixteen images of arhats (i.e., the five hundred arhats plus the sixteen arhats), which were placed in the Shou-ch'ang monastery on the T'ien-t'ai mountain in the 2nd year of Yung-hsi (984 A.C.). The edict issued by emperor Jen-tsung of the Sung dynasty about making offerings to the five hundred arhats at the Stone Bridge is still recorded in the *T'ien-t'ai-shan-chieh* (*Topography of the T'ien-tai Mountain*). In the monasteries at various places, a hall for the five hundred arhats was usually constructed. Su Shih has an article on " the Pavilion for the Five Hundred Arhats at the Tzŭ-fu monastery in Tungkuan County, Kuangtung Province ", written in the 3rd year of Yüan-fu, (1100 A.C.) of the Sung dynasty at the request of the monk Tsu-t'ang (see *Tung-p'o-ch'i-chi : The Seven Collections of Su Tung-po's Writings,* Part II, fasc. XX).

There are also traditions at different famous mountains about the arhat cave or the monastery of the holy monks of the Bamboo Grove. There is a Five Hundred Arhat Cave, for instance, at the Sung-shan mountain in Honan province. According to " Record of the Cave of Five Hundred Great Arhats in the Chung-yo Monastery " (also known as " The Inscription on Constructing the Holy Bamboo Grove Monastery ", as seen in the *Supplementary Record of Stone Inscriptions of Pa-ch'ung-shih* 八瓊室鑿石補正 fasc. CVIII) composed by the monk Yu-t'ing in the first year of Ch'ung-ning (1102 A.C.) during the Sung dynasty, it is said that at the beginning of the T'ang dynasty Fa-tsang, a monk of Sze-ch'uan, by virtue of some spiritual response first realised that the Bamboo Grove monastery in the mountain was the dwelling place of the holy monks. Thereupon, Ch'ung-ching, the abbot of the monastery during the Sung dynasty, selected that cave for the site to make the images of the five hundred arhats. The halls for the five hundred arhats that survive today are those of the Pi-yün monastery in. Peking, the Lung-hua monastery in Shanghai, the Kuei-yüan monastery at Hanyang, the Hua-yen monastery at Chungking, the Ch'iung-chu monastery at Kunming, and some other temples.

The painters of successive dynasties, whose chief works on the five hundred arhats have been mentioned in literary records and catalogues, were Chu Yu of the Liang dynasty, whose works were preserved in the 'Chung-hsing-kuan-kuo' of the Sung dynasty; Li Kung-lin of the Sung dynasty (see *C'ing-ho-shu-hua-fang : A Boat of Calligraphies and Paintings of Ch'ing-ho*, fasc. VIII; *Fa-shu-ming-hua-chien-wên-lu* 法書名畫見聞錄 *Record of Standard Calligraphies and Famous Paintings ; Shih-ku-t'ang-shu-hua-k'ao : A Research on Calligraphical and Pictorial Collections of Shih-ku-t'ang*, fasc. III); and Liu Sung-t'ing (see the *Pi-chuan-chu-lin : Grove of Pearls of the Secret Palace*, fasc. X) and Wu Pin (see *Shih-ch'ü-pao-chi : The Precious Collection of Shih-chü Library*, fasc. III) of the Southern Sung dynasty.

As regards the names of the five hundred arhats in the Stone Bridge monastery on the T'ien-t'ai mountain, it is said in a note in "The Inscription on the Tablet of the Five Hundred Arhats in the Ch'ung-fu court of the Lung-hsing monastery at Wu (Hsuanchow)", written by Ch'ung-i in 933A.C., as recorded in the *Pao-k'o-ts'ung-pien* (寶刻叢編 *Collection of Precious Inscriptions*, fasc. XV) that they were derived from the *Fu-chai-pei-lu* (復齋碑錄 *Catalogue of Inscriptions Collected in Fu-chai*). In the *Chin-shih-hsü-pien* (金石續編 *Continued Record of Inscriptions on Metals and Stones*: fasc. XVII), there was also an inscription of the names of the arhats in the Ch'ien-ming monastery at Kiang-yin, engraved in the 4th year of Shao-hsing (1134 A.C.). But neither of these inscriptions is any longer in existence. Nevertheless, the 'Inscription of the Ch'ien-ming monastery' had been re-engraved by Kao Ch'eng-yen in the 16th year of Ch'ung-chên (1643 A.C.) of the Ming dynasty in the magistrate's mansion of Ching county, and his son Kao Yu-szŭ again re-engraved it and the document was collected in the *Chia-hsing-hsü-tsang*-(嘉興續藏 *Continued Edition of the Tripiṭaka of Chia-hsing* : Case No. XLIII). The origin of the names of the five hundred arhats mentioned in this book is unknown, but in all probability they seem to be only a fabrication of the people of the Sung dynasty.

C. Sh.

ARAHANTA SECT, known also by several other names, was the fraternity of Burmese monks who claimed to be in the direct line of descent from Soṇa and Uttara, the two arahants sent to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) by Moggalīputta-Tissa. As they claimed descent from these two arahants, they were known in Lower Burma, according to the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (*IA*. XXII, 154), as Ariyārahanta-pakkha-saṅgha. But later they came to be called Kambója-saṅgha-pakkha after their chief thera in the Dalanagara, whose monastery was situated near a settlement of Cambodian prisoners of war (loc. cit.). The *Sāsanavaṃsa* does not mention any of these names but calls this fraternity Soṇuttaravaṃsa (*Sāsv*. 47).

Theravāda Buddhism was established in Upper Burma by the great thera named Arahan (q.v.), a scion of the Ariyārahanta-pakkha of Sudhammapura (Thaton) in Lower Burma. Since it was established earlier than the Sinhalese fraternities (there were three in Upper Burma and five in Lower Burma), this fraternity was called Purima-gaṇa or Former Order (*Sāsv*. 67 ; *IA*. XXII, 154). The *Sāsanavaṃsa* also refers to it indiscriminately as Arahantagaṇa-vaṃsa (*Sāsv*. 71, 82, 94), Arahanta-thera-gaṇa (ibid. 67) or Arahanta-thera-vaṃsa (ibid 83). It is not clear whether these are variant forms of Ariyārahanta-pakkha as found in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions or are derived from the name of the thera Arahanta. However, there is no doubt about the fact that the Burmese monks, whether they were known as Ariyārahanta-pakkha, or Arahanta-gaṇa, all claimed to be of the same direct line of descent from Soṇa and Uttara. And, unlike the Sinhalese Saṅgha, they remained united as one fraternity.

Neither the *Sāsanavaṃsa* nor the Kalyāṇi inscriptions make any valuable contribution to the reconstruction of the history of this sect. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* has found only a handful of theras of this fraternity whom its author thought fit to mention by name. But it is clear that the Arahantagaṇa existed side by side with the Sinhalese Saṅgha and continued to do its service for the welfare of the religion and receive the patronage of various Burmese kings.

The Kalyāṇi inscriptions (*IA*. XXII, 242) claim that all the monks of Rāmaññamaṇḍala (Lower Burma) received the pure Sinhalese ordination, re-introduced to Burma at the request of king Dhammacetiya. If this claim be correct, then any differences that existed between the Ariyārahanta-pakkha and the Sinhalese fraternities must have been obliterated with the final triumph of the latter. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* (47) says that the Sinhalese ordination introduced in the time of Dhammacetiya was spread throughout Upper Burma (Maramma-raṭṭha) as well. But whether

this is to be taken as a complete triumph of the Sinhalese fraternity over the Arahanta-gaṇa in Upper Burma as well is doubtful.

C. W.

ARAHANTA SUTTA, two suttas (by the same name) of the *Khajjaniya Vagga* in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (III, 82–4). To regard the five aggregates (*khandha*) as impermanent (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and substanceless (*anatta*) is the way to see things as they really are, by right insight. This, in order, leads one to disgust (*nibbidā*), detachment (*virāga*) and deliverance (*vimutti*). Then the knowledge of release arises in him. The one thus released, the arahant, is the highest being in the whole world. Eight verses describing the noble qualities of an arahant are appended to the first sutta.

C. W.

ARAHĀ SUTTA, name of four suttas in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya.* (1) The Buddha says to Rādha that a monk who sees, in their true nature, the origin, the cessation and the satisfaction of, misery in, and escape from the five groups of grasping (*pañca upādānakkhandhā*) is called an arahant (*S.* III, 193).

(2) The Buddha says that a monk who sees, in their true nature, the origin, etc., and cessation of the six sense-faculties (*cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni*) is called an arahant (ibid. V, 205).

(3) also called the *Buddha Sutta* (loc. cit.), where the Buddha says that he fully comprehended the meaning of being enlightened when he came to know, in their true nature, the origin, etc., and cessation of the six sense-faculties.

(4) The Buddha says that a monk who sees, in their true nature, the origin, etc., and escape from the controlling faculty (*indriya*) of ease, that of discomfort, that of happiness and that of indifference is called an arahant (ibid. 208).

U. K.

ARAHATTA SUTTA (1), a conversation between the paribbājaka Jambukhādaka and Sāriputta, where the latter explains the nature of arahantship and the way leading to arahantship. The destruction of lust, hatred and illusion is arahantship, and the Noble Eightfold Path is the way leading thereto (*S.* IV, 252).

U. K.

ARAHATTA SUTTA (2), a sutta where the Buddha says to his monks that six evil qualities—conceit, underrating, overrating, complacency, stubbornness and instability—have to be given up before arahantship is attained (*A.* III, 430).

U. K.

ARAHATTA VAGGA (1), the seventh vagga of the *Khandha Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (III, 73–81). It consists of ten suttas, namely, *Upādiyamāna, Maññamāna, Abhinandamāna, Anicca, Dukkha, Anatta, Anattaniya, Rajanīyasaṇṭhita, Rādha* and *Surādha.* They discuss, from various angles, the nature and the evil consequences of the five aggregates of existence (*pañcakkhandha*).

U. K.

ARAHATTA VAGGA (2), the eighth vagga of the *Chakka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*(III, 429–34). It consists of ten suttas. They each prescribe six qualities that have to be given up and also their opposite qualities that have to be cultivated, if one were to attain arahantship.

U. K.

ARAI, SEKIZEN (新井石禪), a Japanese priest of the Sōtō sect.

He was born in December of the first year of the Genji era (1864 A.C.) at Yanagawa-machi of Iwashiro (present Fukushima prefecture). When he was twelve years old, he became a disciple of Nyozen Arai of the Kōkoku-ji in his native town. In the twelfth year of the Meiji era (1879 A.C.) he entered the Sōtōshū-honkō, the central school of the Sōtō sect. During the fourteenth year of the same era he lived at the Zentoku-ji in the Sugito-machi of the Saitama prefecture, after which he changed over to the Jōshun-in in the same prefecture. In the following year he graduated from the school and travelled through the Tōhoku and Hokuriku areas following Baisen Kurogami.

In 1883 A.C. he lectured on Buddhism at the Jōshun-in and taught Buddhism at the first branch-school of the Sōtō sect in the Saitama prefecture for several years. Six years later, he became the dean of the Sōtōshū-Daigakurin or the University of the Sōtō sect and held the post of professor of the university, concurrently. In 1892 A.C. he stayed at the Daikei-ji in the Niigata prefecture; then,

after three years, he was appointed to the supervision of the Sōtō sect in the Akita prefecture, where he founded a middle school of the Sōtō sect.

After filling the post of abbot of the Settō-an at Ueda, of the Gokoku-in at Nagoya, and of Saijō-ji at Kanagawa successively, he became the chief priest of the Sōji-ji, one of the most important temples of the Sōtō sect, in the ninth year of the Taishō era (1920 A.C.). In the following year, he was given the special title 'Taiyō-shinkan-Zenji' (太陽眞鑑禪師, the Zen priest of true paragon like the sun). Then, he went to Hawaii to attend the ceremony of placing a Buddha image in the Hawaii branch temple of the Sōtō sect and made a journey preaching Buddhism in North America.

He died in the second year of the Shōwa era (1927 A.C.) at the age of sixty-four.

He wrote many works and after his death, the *Arai-Sekizen-Zenshū* (新井石禪全集, the complete works of Arai Sekizen) in twelve volumes and the *Arai-Sekizen-Bukkyō-kōen-zenshū* (新井石禪佛教講演全集, the complete collection of the lectures on Buddhism by Arai Sekizen) were published.

K. Tmr.

ARAJA, one of the three palaces occupied by Dhammadassī, before his attainment of Buddhahood. The other two were known as Viraja and Sudassana (*Buv.* xvi, 14).

ARAJOTTARĪYA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140).

ARAJOVIRAJONAYAYUKTA, a samādhi or a concentration of both mind and body mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 10). Its literal meaning is: "endowed with the method, devoid of defilements." It is misprinted *arajovirajonayukta* in the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (p. 1414); and omitted in the eighth chapter of the same work where samādhis are explained.

U. K.

ARAKA, the bodhisatta born in a former age as a brāhman religious teacher. His story is given in the *Araka Jātaka* (q.v.). He practised the four sublime abodes (*brahmavihāra*). After death he was reborn in Brahmaloka and remained there for seven ages.

A reference is made to Araka in the *Dhammaddhaja Jātaka* (*J.* II, 195) where the bodhisatta recalls how as Araka he had cultivated loving kindness (*mettā*) for seven years, and enjoyed rebirth in Brahmaloka for seven ages.

Araka is also mentioned in the *Sunetta Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 35–6). He is one of seven teachers of old, freed from passion, who taught the way to attain birth in the Brahma world. He had hundreds of pupils and those of them who followed his teaching were born in heaven after death, while the others were reborn in states of woe.

Araka is referred to again in the immediately succeeding sutta, viz., *Araka Sutta* (q.v.), where his advice to his pupils is that this life is very short and full of misery, and therefore, they should engage in good deeds and pursue the holy life (*brahmacariya*). In the *Aṅguttara* no mention is made of his practice of the four sublime abodes (*brahmavihāra*).

L. R. G.

ARAKA JĀTAKA (No. 169). In a former age the bodhisatta was born in a brāhman family and was named Araka. When he grew up he took to the religious life and lived in the Himālayas as a teacher with a great following of sages. He practised the four 'sublime abodes' (*brahmavihāra*) and pointed out their blessings to his pupils. After death he was born in the Brahma world where he remained for seven ages.

This jātaka is said to have been related by the Buddha at Jetavana in connection with the *Mettā Sutta* in order to show the benefits of practising loving kindness (*mettā*), which is the first of the four 'sublime abodes' (*J.* II, 60–2).

L. R. G.

ARAKAN, a strip of land along the Bay of Bengal from the Naaf estuary to Cape Negrais with Arakan Yoma as the eastern boundary. The country is connected with the fortunes of Burma of which it may be considered a part because of the community of race and language. The story of Arakan opened in very remote times, according to indigenous traditions which trace the event as far back as 2666 B. C. claiming a line of two hundred and twenty-seven kings. Legends state that the first capital, which is untraceable, was Ramawadi and that it was founded by the Upper Burmese tribe of Kanran. A king who was miraculously born of a

doe founded Dinnyawadi (Dhaññavatī) later on; the name duly came to be applied to the whole kingdom. Ptolemy (1st century A. C.) called it Argyre which means Silver Land. Centuries later, from Upper Burma again, came Kanrazagyi who with his followers established a kingdom with the capital near Kyaukpadaung. A thousand years later Chandra Sūrya (second century A. C.) became king. It is during his reign that the famous image of the Buddha, known as the Mahāmuni, was cast. King Minyazagi (1593–1612 A. C.) dedicated to it Ugga Byan, lord of Sindin in Akyab district with some Talaings and Indians as slaves. The Mahāmuni pagoda is also known as the Arakan pagoda.

In its fortunate days Arakan itself carried its arms into foreign territory and held parts of Bengal in subjection. The people still recount the exploits of the seventeenth century king Min Khamaung who invaded that Indian province and extended his conquests as far as Dacça, which is now the capital of East Pakistan.

Arakan's history was chequered by invasions and conquests by the Burmese, Talaings, Shans, Siamese, rulers of Pegu, Moghuls, Portuguese adventurers and the British, to the last of whom it finally fell in their war against Burma in 1824–26. Thereafter it was completely integrated with Burma until that country, in recent years, became independent of outside authority and reconstituted itself as the Union of Burma. The present capital is Akyab and the population of the country at the last census was about one million.

It is probable that Buddhism reached the country earlier than it did Burma. After the tenth century the country was professedly Buddhist. Near Mindon in Thayetmyo district they built a Mahamyatmuni pagoda about 1160. Under Narameikhla (1404–34) Islam came to have a marked influence, for the king was helped by the king of Gaur to tide over internal troubles and regain the throne in 1430. As a result, the kings, though Buddhist, adopted the practice of adding Islamic designations in addition to their own names and even of issuing medallions bearing the declaration of the Islamic faith inscribed in the Persian script. Mrohaung was founded as capital by Narameikhla and in it was built the Sandikhan mosque. In the same city king Minbin (1531-53 A.C.) built the pagoda of Shwedaung and the temples Shitthaung, Dukkanthein and Lemyethna, as well as Andaw which enshrined a Tooth Relic from Ceylon. The Parabaw pagoda was built in the city by Minyazagi. This king had an enlightened minister by the name of Mahapinnyakaw who was lord of Chittagong, among whose contributions was the compiling of legal precedents, *pyattôn*, which placed the interpretation of the *dhammasatthas* of Manu on a Buddhist basis and came to occupy a valuable position among the works of its kind in the country.

The queen of the next king (Husein Shah) Minhkamaung (1612–22) built the Ratanabon pagoda in Mrohaung, and Narapatigyi (1638–45) the Mingalamanaung pagoda as well as Pitakataik, the library which housed scriptures from Ceylon. Sandathudamma (1652–84), who is revered as one of the noblest kings, built in his last year the pagodas of Zinamanaung, Thekyamanaung, Ratnamanaung, Shwekyathein and Lokamu, all in Mrohaung. Forty Arakanese monks were sent to Ceylon to establish the higher ordination of monks (*upasampadā*). This was in reply to a request from that country in which the Dutch actively co-operated as a means of their destroying Roman Catholicism and the influence of the Portuguese with whom it was then synonymous.

The last king of Arakan was Thamada (1782–5) after whom the country went under Bodawpaya (1782–1819). In the first instance he was invited by certain nobles led by Hari, and later he occupied the country by force, after severely using the people. The Burmese thereafter made Arakan into a province under a governor at Mrohaung and having Sandoway, Ramree and Cheduba as sub-provinces. The most treasured capture was the Mahāmuni image which was enshrined in 1784 in Arakan pagoda, along with six out of the thirty bronze images of Ayuthia which had been taken as spoils from Siamese invaders in 1595.

D. T. D.

ARAKAN PAGODA, in the suburbs of Mandalay, Burma, so called after the celebrated Mahāmuni image it contains, which was originally installed in Arakan and afterwards transferred to the present place.

Arakan is the area along the west coast of Burma, shut off from other parts of Burma by a hill range. Therefore, it has a separate history. Easy communication by sea renders it likely that Buddhism reached Arakan before it reached the interior of Burma. The shrine where the Mahāmuni image was erected, at Dinnyawadi twenty-two miles north of Mrohaung, in the Akyab district, was possibly the oldest in Burma. Arakanese assign it to the reign of king Chandra Sūrya, who ascended

the throne of Arakan in 146 A.C. The image became so famous that miraculous powers were attributed to it.

When the Burmese king Bodawpaya conquered Arakan in 1784, he feared the Mahāmuni image which overshadowed Arakan with its protecting power. Therefore, it is believed, he sent wizards who, disguised as monks, went to Arakan to perform magical rites at the shrine in order to deprive the image of its power. Then in 1784–5, 30,000 men under the Crown Prince swarmed over the passes or went round the coast in boats; they met with little resistance, captured Mrohaung and returned with the royal family and 20,000 people as prisoners. Among the spoils were the six images which are now found at the Arakan Pagoda, at Mandalay. This pagoda was built to enshrine the Mahāmuni image, being the greatest of all the treasures brought from Dinnyawadi (see Vol. II, Pl. VII).

Maurice Collis who visited this pagoda in 1920 describes it as follows: " This building, rather a shrine than a pagoda, houses the colossal image of Buddha.... It was for centuries the palladium of Arakan and, when installed in Mandalay, became Burma's most sacred image. The shrine lies on the southern outskirts of Mandalay and is entered through a long colonnade, on each side of which are bazaar stalls, where you may buy, among other things, food, gold leaf, candles and incense. "

" We went on and were soon in front of the great image, where it sat beneath the supporting pillars of the central *pyathat* of seven roofs. It had been so plastered with gold leaf by worshippers that its antique beauty was covered up. Rows of candles burnt at the base and incense rose from burning sticks into a ceiling of mosaic. The half light, the strong scent of the incense, monks passing, the sound of gongs, distilled a sense of devotion more intense than I had ever noticed at a Buddhist shrine before, where in general all is gently devout. Having made their bow to the Buddha, they took me on a tour of the precincts, showed me the tank full of huge ancient turtles, a courtyard jumbled with stone inscriptions which Bodawpaya had collected from monastic sites, not for historical but for revenue reasons, and in another courtyard six large bronzes of men and elephants, part of the loot captured by the Burmese from the Siamese in 1564, which in 1599 had been carried away by the Arakanese and in 1784 recaptured by the Burmese. These bronzes, which are among the most curious antiques in Burma, so absorbed me that I forgot my earlier discomfiture."

K. Tmn.

Bibliography: G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 313; C. M. Enriquez, *A Burmese Enchantment*, p. 288; G. E. Harvey, *Outline of Burmese History*, pp. 155 f.; Maurice Collis, *Into Hidden Burma*, pp. 54, 57.

ARAKA SUTTA, the tenth sutta of the *Mahā Vagga* of the *Sattaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 136–9). The Buddha advises the bhikkhus that life is short and they should not lose time being indolent. He relates the story of Araka. In a previous age when the span of life of a human being is said to have been sixty thousand years, there was a religious teacher named Araka who was freed of lustful passions. He had a following of many hundreds of pupils. He preached to them that life is like but a dewdrop or a water-bubble, trifling. insignificant and shortlived. It is full of sorrow and tribulation. Therefore, should one do good deeds and lead the holy life (*brahmacariya*).

There is a reference to this sutta in the *Visuddhimagga* at p. 196.

L. R. G.

ĀRAKKHADĀYAKA, the designation of two arahant theras in the *Apadāna*. One of them is said to have had a railing made for the (thūpa of) Buddha Siddhattha and provided protection for it ninety-four kappas ago. As a result of these good deeds he had no occasion for fear in any of his later births and he escaped birth in all woeful states. Six kappas ago he was born as a world-ruler (*cakkavattin*) by the name of Apassena (*Ap.* I, 214–15).

The other thera has earned his designation for a similar meritorious deed, but to a different Buddha. Eighteen kappas ago he had a fence made for (the thūpa of) Buddha Dhammadassī and made provision for its protection. This act resulted in his becoming an arahant in the present age (*Ap.* I, 253).

L. R. G.

ĀRAKKHA SUTTA, the seventh sutta of the *Kesi Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 120), preached by the Buddha to Kesi, the horse-trainer.

In this sutta the Buddha says that earnest care should be exerted to guard one's thoughts from running riot among passionate things, from being malicious and deluded and from following the path laid down by various recluses.

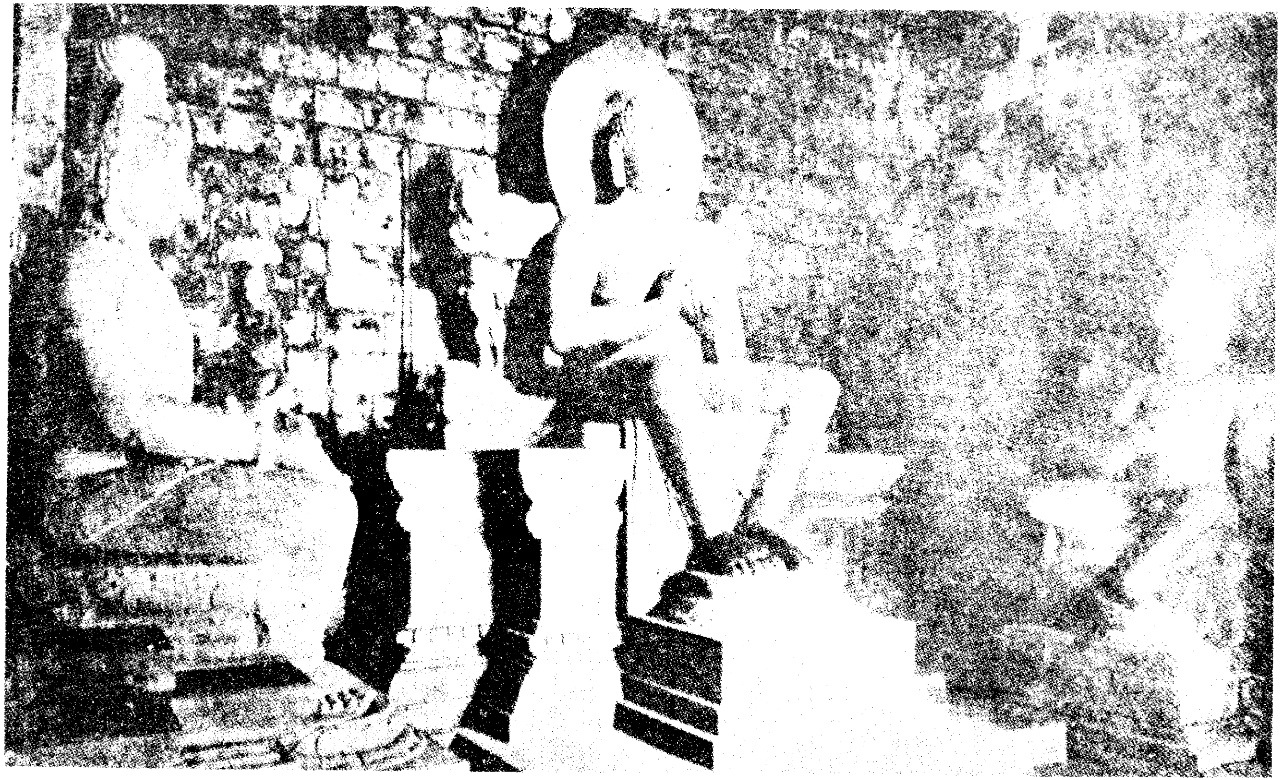
I. K.



(*photo by Paul Popper, London*)

ARAKAN PAGODA, entrance gate, Burma.

PLATE VIII



(*reproduced from the Art and Architecture of India by Benjamin Rowland, 1956*)

ĀSANA (*posture*) : the Buddha seated in *bhadrāsana*, at Caṇḍi Mendut, Central Java.

ARAKTAPRAVĀḌA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140).

ĀRĀMA, abodes of monks. See ABODES (2).

ĀRĀMADAṆḌA, a lay disciple of the Buddha who was converted by Mahā-Kaccāna. He was a brāhman and had met Mahā-Kaccāna when the latter was staying at Varaṇā on the bank of the Kaddamadaha (muddy lake). He asks Mahā-Kaccāna about the cause of nobles quarrelling with nobles, brāhmans with brāhmans and householders with householders. Mahā-Kaccāna explains that it is because of their attachment and bondage to sensual passion. Further, recluses quarrel with recluses because of their attachment and bondage to the lust of opinion. Ārāmadaṇḍa then enquires whether there is no one in this world who is free from those two kinds of bondage. Mahā-Kaccāna replies that such a person was the Buddha who at that time was living at Sāvatthi.

At this Ārāmadaṇḍa rises from his seat and facing the direction of Sāvatthi pays homage to the Buddha. And he asks Mahā-Kaccāna to accept him as a lay disciple (*A.* I, 65–7).

L. R. G.

ĀRĀMADĀYAKA, an arahant thera, who, in one of his former births, planted a garden with trees which gave dense shade and offered it to the Buddha Siddhattha. Hence his name. He also with a happy mind offered him the fruits and the flowers which grew there. As a result of this offering made ninety-four kappas ago, he did not experience any miserable existence (*duggati*). But, thirty-seven kappas ago, he was born seven times as a world-ruler, endowed with the seven royal treasures (*satta ratana*: *Ap.* I, 251).

I. K.

ĀRĀMADŪSAKA JĀTAKA (1), related to the bhikkhus concerning a lad who spoiled a pleasure-garden (*J.* I, No. 46, pp. 249–51).

Once, a landlord of a village invited the Buddha, and his monks to a meal and at the end of the meal gave them leave to wander about in the garden. While they were walking about they came across a bare patch of land and learnt from the gardener that it was caused by a lad who had been asked to water the plants, and who before watering them, pulled them up to see how they grew. The Buddha then related the story of the past to show that the lad had done the same thing in the past, too.

Once when Brahmadatta was the king of Bārāṇasī, there was a festival and all the townfolk assembled to keep holiday. The king's gardener, who also wished to join in the festivities, asked the king of the monkeys who lived in the royal park if he would get the monkeys to water the trees in his absence, to which the monkey king agreed. When the gardener had gone, he distributed the water-skins (*cammanḍa*) and the wooden watering pots (*dārukuṭa*) among the monkeys, asking them to water the trees. The monkey king instructed them to pull out the plants and water them so that the plants with deep roots would get more water and the plants with small roots less, for the water should not be wasted in time of scarcity. Thereupon, a wise man, who happened to witness this foolish act, rebuked the monkey king who was the lad in the story of the present.

I. K.

ĀRĀMADŪSAKA JĀTAKA (2). The story (No. 268) is the same as *Ārāmadūsaka Jātaka* (1) (q.v.) but more concise. The verses in the two jātakas are not identical. In the former story the wise man recites only one verse, whereas in the latter he recites two to the monkey who also answers him in verse. On the whole, the conversation is different. According to the latter story the wise man is supposed to have come from a good family in Bārāṇasī. The festival had taken place in Bārāṇasī during the reign of king Vissasena and not during the reign of king Brahmadatta, as mentioned in the former story.

This birth story (*J.* III, 345 ff.) is related with reference to a lad in Dakkhiṇagiri, and not to a lad in Kosala.

I. K.

ĀRĀMASSA, a village in Ceylon granted for the maintenance of a bronze image of the Buddha by king Udaya, 797–801 A.C. (*Mhv.* xlix, 18).

ĀRĀMA SUTTA. See SĀRIPUTTA-KOṬṬHITA SUTTA.

ĀRAMBAṆACCHEDANA, a samādhi or a concentration of both mind and body, mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, 9) and explained in the

Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā as a samādhi wherein one cuts oneself off from the objects (*ārambaṇa*) of all samādhis (*ŚsP.* p. 1421).

U. K.

ĀRAMMAṆA. While analysing the mental phenomena, in his attempt to trace the cause of suffering and unhappiness in the world, the Buddha discovered that consciousness (*viññāṇa*) is due to the interaction of the subjective (*ajjhattika*) and objective (*bāhiraka*) processes (*M.* I, 111–12). He recognised the interdependence of the subject and the object. According to him these two processes were relative, one implying the other, that is to say, the subject cannot exist without the object and *vice versa.* They were not self-existent but relative or dependent (*paṭiccasamuppanna*) processes.

Consciousness may be tentatively defined as the relation between the subject (*ārammaṇika*) and the object (*ārammaṇa*). According to the Abhidhamma philosophy there is nothing in this world which would not serve as the object of consciousness (*Vism.* p. 454). This statement of Buddhaghosa is very significant, for if it is true, then the whole of actuality and reality should be comprehended under the object (*ārammaṇa*).

According to the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (p. 13) the object of consciousness is either object of sense or object of thought.

Object of Sense. The object of sense, called *pañcārammaṇa* (ibid. p. 38), subdivides itself into five classes: forms (*rūpa*), sounds (*sadda*), odours (*gandha*), savours (*rasa*) and tangibles (*poṭṭhabba*). Out of these five sensibles, sight, or rather light, and sound are classed together by Buddhaghosa (*Vism.* p. 376) as *appatta-visaya,* because they do not come into physical contact with the respective sense-organs but stimulate the senses from a distance. But the object of touch comes into immediate contact with the body (*kāya*) and is, therefore, called *sampatta-visaya.* Smell and taste, on the other hand, being but modifications of touch, are classed with the selfsame under *sampattarūpa.* All these sensibles are considered to be constituted of derived matter (*upādārūpa*), derived from the primary matter (*bhūtarūpa*) (ibid. 375). The question was raised as to why the different sense-organs were sensitive only to particular stimuli or sensibles, e.g., the eye to light and the ear to sound. To explain this the Ābhidhammikas postulated the general principle that sensitivity was of like to like. Elements that were of a similar nature responded to one another, a view attributed to the Porāṇas (ibid. 376). It is interesting to note that only the present (*paccuppanna*) sensibles are said to serve as objects of the senses (*Abhs.* p. 13).

Object of Thought. According to the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (p. 13) the object of thought (*dhammārammaṇa*) consists of six sub-classes: mind (*citta*), mental concomitants (*cetasika*), sensitive qualities of the body (*pasādarūpa*), subtle qualities of the body (*sukhumarūpa*), concepts (*paññatti*) and Nibbāna.

The inclusion of the mind among the objects of thought is very significant. The opponents of the idealistic school of Buddhist philosophy, by making use of the simile of the sword which, they said, could not cut itself (*Bc.* pp. 391–3), tried to refute the theory of the idealists that the mind can be aware of itself, a theory which the latter made use of in their attempt to prove that the external world is only a product of consciousness (*vijñāna*). Although the Ābhidhammikas hold that mind can become an object of consciousness, yet they do not fall in line with the idealists because they recognise the existence of an external reality which is non-mental (*acetasika*) and devoid of the nature of consciousness (*cittavippayutta*).

The mental concomitants (*cetasika*), such as contact (*phassa*), feeling (*vedanā*), etc., also are included in the category of the objects of consciousness (*dhammārammaṇa*).

The sensitive parts of the five sense-organs are included in sensitive matter (*pasādarūpa*), being the conditions for the apprehension of the sensibles because they are, as it were, bright like the surface of a mirror (*Vism.* p. 381).

Subtle qualities of body (*sukhuma-rūpa*) include the principles or status of the two sexes (*itthindriya, purisindriya*), the vital principle (*jīvitindriya*), the two media of communication, sign and word (*kāyaviññatti, vacīviññatti*), space (*ākāsadhātu*), the properties of matter such as lightness (*lahutā*), pliancy (*mudutā*), adaptability (*kammaññatā*), etc. and the nutritive principle in foods (*kabaliṅkāra-āhāra*).

The objects (*ārammaṇa*) mentioned above serve as objects of consciousness in the sensuous sphere (*kāmaloka*). But concepts (*paññatti*) can be the object of consciousness not only of the sensuous sphere but also of the spheres of form (*rūpa*) and the formless (*arūpa*). The objects of the first five *jhāna* consciousness are induced by the transformed after-image (*paṭibhāganimitta*) which is

only an image of one or the other of the *kasiṇas* conceptualised. Again, the first four stages of *jhāna* induced by the exercise of amity (*mettā*), pity (*karuṇā*) and appreciation (*muditā*) are worked on the concept 'mankind'; but the fifth stage induced by the exercise of equanimity (*upekkhā*) is also concerned with that concept, not as an object of love, pity or appreciation, but as an object of relative indifference.

Again, the first exercise of consciousness in the higher or immaterial (*arūpa*) *jhāna* is on the concept of space (*ākāsa*); the third is exercised on the concept of nothingness (*akiñci*). Thus, all these forms of consciousness have concepts (*paññatti*) only as their objects (*Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*—ed. D. Paññāsāra and P. Wimaladhamma, 1933, p. 75).

Nibbāna alone is said to be the object of transcendental consciousness (*lokuttara-citta*: *Abhs.* p. 14).

The inclusion of Nibbāna among the objects of thought, to a certain extent, points to the fact that it is a mental state.

According to *Abhidhamma* philosophy, concepts (*paññatti*) fall into the category of conventional truth (*sammuti-sacca*), while mind (*citta*), mental concomitants (*cetasika*) and matter (*rūpa*), constituting the empirical world of relativity (*paṭicca-samuppanna*), and Nibbāna, which is the transcendental reality, are all included under ultimate truth (*paramattha-sacca*).

What is evident from the foregoing examination of the object (*ārammaṇa*) is that it comprehends all these forms of actuality and reality. This further proves the statement of Buddhaghosa that there is nothing in this world that cannot become the object of consciousness.

D. J. K.

ĀRAMMAṆA-PACCAYA or the relation of object or presentation is one of the twenty-four forms of relations (*paccaya*) enumerated in the *Paṭṭhāna*, the seventh book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the Theravādins.

A phenomenon (*dhamma*) which assists or renders help (*upakāra*) to some other phenomenon by way of an object or presentation to which the latter could cling or hold fast (*ālambīyati*) is said to be related in this manner. Just as a weak person (*dubbala purisa*) makes an attempt to stand up leaning on a stick (*daṇḍa*) or holding fast to a rope (*rajju*), even so mind and its co-efficients (*citta-cetasika-dhamma*) arise only with an objective support (*Vism.* 454).

In the world of empirical events Buddhism holds that everything is relative and interdependent. Mental phenomena (*nāma*) and matter (*rūpa*) are interdependent; the one cannot stand without the other. Thus for the manifestation of the mental phenomena some kind of objective support is a *sine qua non.* This objective basis is worthy of being examined, for it is said that there is nothing in this world that would not become the object of consciousness (*Vism.* p. 454; *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī*, ed. by D. Paññāsāra and P. Wimaladhamma, 1933, p.138).

The object of consciousness is said to be either object of sense or object of thought. The former is subdivided into five classes, viz., visible form (*cakkhuviññeyya-rūpa*), audible sound (*sotaviññeyya-sadda*), odorous smell (*ghānaviññeyya gandha*), sapid taste (*jivhāviññeyya-rasa*) and tangible matter (*kāyaviññeyya-poṭṭhabba*) These serve as the basis or support (*paccaya-upakāraka dhamma*) for the arising of the consciousness (*viññāṇa*) of sight, sound, smell, taste and touch, respectively. Hence, these five classes of sensibles are related to the five classes of consciousness by way of the relation of object (*ārammaṇa-paccaya*: *Tikap.* I, 1–2).

The object of thought consists of six classes. They are (1) all classes of conciousness (*citta*), (2) all states of mental concomitants (*cetasika*), (3) all kinds of material qualities (*rūpa*) whether they are sensitive (*pasāda*) or (4) subtle (*sukhuma*), (5) all terms expressive of concepts (*paññatti*) and (6) Nibbāna. These can be termed ideas of reflection and are collectively called *dhammārammaṇa* (*Abhs.* p. 13).

All these sensibles or objects of sense, past, present or future, and all objects of thought, past, present, future or outside time, comprising the conventional (*sammuti*), the relative (*paṭicca-samuppanna*) and the transcendental (*lokuttara*), are *ārammaṇa-paccaya* and are causally related, severally, to the seventy-six classes of concioussness known as mind cognitions, which are the *paccayuppannā dhammā*.

In the same way, the actions (*kamma*), the sign of action (*kammanimitta*) and the sign of destiny (*gatinimitta*), presented to a man at the moment of death, serve as the *ārammaṇa-paccaya* and are causally related to the consciousness known as the life-continuum (*bhavaṅga*). It is clear from this that the dying-consciousness (*cuticitta*) of an individual cannot generate rebirth-consciousness (*paṭisandhicitta*) without the support of these

objects which are presented to him at the moment of death. Only to the dying consciousness of a person who has attained final emancipation (*parinibbāna*) are these objects not presented; for in the episode of Godhika (*S.* I, 120 ff.) it is said that he passed away with consciousness finding no basis (*appatiṭṭhitena viññāṇena*).

A careful examination of the doctrine of dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) with its twelve factors would reveal the fact that this same relation is obtained between the fifth and the sixth factors. If name and form (*nāmarūpa*) is taken to be the subjective process, then the six spheres (*saḷāyatana*) serve as an objective basis or support for the arising of contact (*phassa*) resulting in feeling (*vedanā*). Thus, the objective process comprehending the six spheres (*saḷāyatana*) is the *paccaya-dhamma* and contact (*phassa*) the *paccaya-uppanna-dhamma*, the relation existing between these two being one of objectivity (*ārammaṇa*).

It may be pointed out that this relation (object) involves a subject, thus indicating a standpoint that is opposed to orthodox Buddhist philosophy, viz., the positing of a substance or agent. But it should be noted that the object (*ārammaṇa*) involves no correlate of metaphysical import; and this applies also to the subject. The ever-changing object or the objective process is regarded as the thing-which-relates (*paccaya*) and the ever-changing mental aggregates are the thing-related (*paccayuppanna* : *Compendium of Philosophy*, a translation of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, London, 1910, p. 2), the only constant factor being the concept of the specific relation (*JPTS.* 1915—16, p. 25).

D. J. K.

ĀRAMMAṆA SUTTA deals with four persons who practise concentration (*S.* III, 266). One is skilled in concentration but not in the object of it; one is skilled in the object of concentration but not in concentration; one is skilled in neither; and the fourth one is skilled in both; he is the greatest of the four.

Another sutta of the same name (ibid. 275) gives also four persons who practise concentration: one is skilled in the object of concentration but not in the range of it; one is skilled in the range of concentration but not in the object of it; the third is skilled in neither and the fourth is skilled in both; he is the greatest.

U. K.

ARAṆADĪPIYA (var. Apaṇṇadīpiya, Araṇṇadīpiya), an arahant thera. Ninety-four kappas ago when he was born as a deva, he came down to earth and made an offering of five lamps. Owing to this good deed he escaped all evil births thereafter. Fifty-five kappas ago he was born as a world-ruler (*cakkavattin*), named Samantacakkhu (*Ap.* I, 231).

L. R. G.

ARAṆAÑJAHA, name for Asokapūjaka (q. v.) thera in a previous birth as a king.

ARAṆASAMAVASARAṆA. a samādhi or a concentration of both mind and body mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, (*BB.* XIII, p. 10). It is called *Araṇasaraṇasamavasaraṇa* in the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (p. 1414), and explained as a samādhi, wherein samādhis do not become defiled (*ŚsP.* 1425).

U. K.

ARAṆASARAṆASARVASAMAVASARAṆA, a samādhi or a concentration of both mind and body, the attainment of which is characterised by freedom from all defilements and passions (*BB.* XIII, p. 10; *ŚsP.* pp. 1414, 1425).

ARAṆĀ SUTTA. The Buddha, in answer to the questions by a deity, says that the recluses in this world are undefiled, their way of life is never wrecked, they understand earthly desires, and theirs is eternal freedom. In virtue established, they receive homage from mother, father and brother. Noble warriors reverently salute them, though they be of low birth (*S.* I, 44—5).

U. K.

ARAṆAVIBHAṄGA SUTTA contains an analysis of the peaceful state away from strife (*raṇa*). The kernel of the sutta appears to be a brief statement made by the Buddha which was expanded later as often happens in the *Sutta Piṭaka* (*M.* III, 230 ff.).

The sutta is marked by a gradual approach to the goal and a gradual development in self-taming so characteristic of Pali Buddhism (I. B. Horner, *Middle Length Sayings*, III, p. xxvi). It describes the life of an ideal Buddhist monk, not that of a hermit or anchorite, but that of the teacher who, after working out his own salvation, makes an earnest effort to lead his fellow beings on to the same goal. The path trodden by him in order to

reach self-perfection as well as the method adopted by him in leading others to the selfsame goal, are free from strife (*raṇa*).

The training of oneself consists in following the Middle Path (*majjhimā paṭipadā*), avoiding the two extremes of indulgence in sensual pleasures and self-mortification. Happiness associated with sense pleasures leads one to anguish, annoyance, trouble, fret and hence to strife (*raṇa*). Man, by nature, yearns for happiness and recoils from pain (*M*. I, 341). Therefore, any form of mortification of the self is practised with great aversion. A psychological warfare, a strife, has to be waged by the person who indulges in such practices. But the Middle Path (*majjhimā paṭipadā*), which is adopted by the Buddha, in order to attain perfection, avoids these two extremes and is characterised by absence of strife (*araṇa*). It is the Noble Eightfold Path.

Again, the inability to judge what happiness is also leads to strife. Happiness based on the senses is not stable. Aloof from the pleasures of sense a disciple should be intent on inward happiness.

After the attainment of self-perfection it is the duty of the disciple of the Buddha to lead suffering humanity to the selfsame goal. The method adopted for this purpose, as is given in the sutta, too, is characterised by the absence or avoidance of strife. In imparting the teaching to others, the disciple should not try to approve or disapprove of the doctrines to which they have held fast, but should simply teach the Dhamma. In the *Kalahavivāda Sutta* (*Sn*. pp. 204 ff.), the attempt to approve or disapprove the doctrines held by others is said to lead to strife. Hence the avoidance of it.

A secret should not be spoken unless it is conducive to the attainment of the goal on the part of the person to whom it is spoken and also if it is the ripe time, for otherwise it would lead to endless strife. Again, the disciple is asked to speak slowly and not hurriedly for if he does so, not only would he suffer physically but he would also not be comprehensible to the others.

In this attempt to teach, the disciple should not affect the dialect of the respective country (*janapadanirutti*), for such an attempt would not yield the desired fruit, but would lead to strife. On the other hand, he should not deviate from the recognised parlance (*sāmaññaṃ nātidhāveyya*).

At the end of the discourse a young man, Subhūti, is praised, because he walked where calm (*araṇa*) dwelt.

D.J.K.

ARAṆEMI (1), a religious teacher of a past age who taught his many pupils the way to attain birth in Brahmaloka. He was freed of all lustful passions and practised non-violence and compassion. After death he was born in Brahmaloka and so did his disciples who followed his doctrine (*A*. III, 371; IV, 135). His name occurs among six teachers, the others being Sunetta, Mūgapakkha, Kuddālaka, Hatthipāla and Jotipāla (*A*. III, 371); elsewhere (*A*. IV, 135 f.) a seventh name, Araka, is added.

The *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 632, 651, 653) also mentions a brahmanical sage named Araṇemi and so does the *Mahāvyutpatti* (3472) where the name is spelt Aranemi.

L.R.G.

ARAṆEMI (2). According to the Tibetan *Dulva*, king Araṇemi Brahmadatta of Śrāvastī was the father of Prasenajit. He also had an illegitimate son named Balamitra. Once Araṇemi Brahmadatta is said to have lived at Campā where he had been exiled (Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order*, pp. 16, 70). However, according to Pali sources, the father of Prasenajit (Pasenadi) is Mahākosala. This could, of course, be a title and not a name.

L.R.G.

ARAṆEMĪ, a variant reading for Anoma, king of Jambudīpa fifty-five kappas ago, a previous birth of Bakkula thera (*Ap*. I, 329).

ARAṆEMIKA, a school of brāhmans, a subdivision of the Chandogas (*Divy*. 632.23). See ARAṆEMI (1).

ARAṆI SUTTA, the ninth sutta of the *Sukhendriya Vagga* of the *Indriya Saṃyutta* (*S*. V, 211-13). The Buddha declares that there are five *indriyas* (controlling faculties)—those of ease, discomfort, happiness, unhappiness and indifference. Just as from the striking together of two sticks (*kaṭṭha*, a synonym for which is *araṇi* from which the sutta takes its name) heat and fire are produced and from the separation of the two sticks the heat and fire thus produced are extinguished (cp. *S*. II, 97; IV, 215), in the same way, each of the five *indriyas* (controlling faculties) arises as a result of the appropriate contact and passes with the ceasing of that contact. Thus, from the contact that is to be experienced as agreeable (*sukhavedanīya-phassa*) arises the controlling faculty of ease (*sukhindriya*) and disappears on the ceasing of that contact;

similarly with the other four controlling faculties. According to the *uddāna* of some MSS. this sutta should have the title *araham* or *arahā* (from *arahato* in the *uddāna*) but there appears to be no justification for such a title.

L.R.G.

ARAÑJARAGIRI, a mountain range in Madhyadeśa, in India. In its neighbourhood was a pôpulous town on a river, probably the river Kontimārā (*J.* VI, 492). Many men bathed in this river and along its banks sat beautiful courtesans, tempting the men. It was one of these courtesans who tempted Nārada, a hermit, who dwelt alone in a cave-cell amidst the Arañjaragiri mountain range (*J.* III, 463).

Vessantara (q.v.) and his family had to pass Arañjaragiri on their way to Vaṅkagiri. It was along the road followed by men banished from the kingdom (*J.* VI, 493). Other places also mentioned are the city of Jetuttara fifteen leagues away from Arañjaragiri, the Suvaṇṇagiritāla mountain ten leagues away, and the river Kontimārā five leagues away. (But according to *J.* VI, 493, the river Kontimārā flowed by the mountain range.) There was also a brāhman village, Dunniviṭṭha, on the other side of Arañjaragiri five leagues away from it (*J.* VI, 514).

H.R.P.

ARAÑÑA JĀTAKA, related by the Buddha (*J.* III, 147-9) concerning the seduction of a youth by a coarse girl. The incident is identical with that of the *Cullanāradakassapa Jātaka* (No. 477).

In Sāvatthi, there was a young girl who was not married. The mother thought of inducing a bhikkhu to marry her. She prepared various kinds of food, and looked out for a bhikkhu to offer it. Then she saw a certain bhikkhu walking along the streets for alms, and invited him. After the meal, she asked him to come there again. On the next day, the girl following the instructions of her mother tempted the bhikkhu and seduced him. On his return to the monastery, he gave up his robes. When this was reported to the Buddha he related this story to show that the same girl had been a hindrance to the monk's holiness even in the past.

Once, the bodhisatta was born in a brāhman family and was sent to Takkasilā, where he learnt all the arts. On the death of his wife, he went with his son to the Himālayas to lead an ascetic life. One day, he went out to gather fruits, leaving his son behind at the hermitage. A young girl who had fled from brigands came to the hermitage and seduced the youth. When she asked him to go away with her to live in a village, the youth wanted to consult his father. Thereupon she asked him to meet her on the way and left the hermitage. When the youth told him about his anxiety to live in a village, the father warned him against leaving the hermitage and taught him the way to mystic meditation (*kasiṇaparikamma*). Both son and father practised mental absorption (*jhāna*) and were reborn in the Brahma world.

I.K.

ĀRAÑÑAKA (var. *āraññika* and *araññaka*; Buddhist Sanskrit *āraṇyaka*), a forest-dweller; the word is also used in its technical sense, i.e., one who undertakes the ascetic practice of dwelling in the forest. In this sense it is a *dhutaṅga* called the *āraññakaṅga*, one of the thirteen *dhutaṅgas* (*A.* III, 219, 220; *Pug.* 69; *Miln.* 359; *Vism.* 48). There are only twelve *dhutaṅgas* in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature (*GM.* III, iii, 122; *Dhsmg.* 13; *AṣP.* 387). See DHUTAṄGA.

The foremost among the monks who practised *āraññakaṅga*, during the life-time of the Buddha, was Revata Khadiravaniya (*A.* I, 24).

It is one of the seven things that prevent the decline of monks (*satta aparihāniya-dhamma*): " So long as monks dwell in forests, growth may be expected, not decline " (*A.* IV, 21). The Buddha is stated as expressing regret that monks do not live in the forest unlike in the past (*S.* II, 208, 209). This shows that there was neglect on the part of the monks with regard to ascetic practices during the life-time of the Buddha himself.

There are five kinds of *āraññakas*, i.e., one who has gone to the forest out of folly and blindness, one out of evil desires and longings, one foolish and mind-tossed, one at the thought that it is praised by Buddhas and their disciples, and the one whose wants are few, and who wants only seclusion. The last is the highest (*A.* III, 219; *Vin.* V, 131; *Pug.* 69).

The *Milindapañha* devotes a whole chapter (chapter vi) to the glorification of the thirteen *dhutaṅgas*.

The *Visuddhimagga* gives a detailed account of the *āraññakaṅga* in the *Dhutaṅga Niddesa*.

The forest-dweller's practice is undertaken with one of the following statements: " I refuse an abode in a village "; or " I undertake the forest-dweller's practice ".

Having done so, the forest-dweller must leave the village in order to meet the dawn in the forest. If his preceptor or teacher is ill and does not obtain what he needs in the forest, he should take him to a village abode and attend to him there, but he should leave in time to meet the dawn in a place proper for the practice. If the affliction increases towards the time of dawn, he must attend to him there and not bother about the purity of his practice.

The *āraññakaṅga* has three grades : one who is strict in his practice must always meet the dawn in the forest ; the medium one is allowed to live in a village for the four months of the rains ; and the mild one, for the winter months too (*Vism.* 59).

If, during the defined period, the forest-dweller goes from the forest and listens to the dhamma in a village abode, his ascetic practice is not broken even if he meets the dawn there, nor is it broken if he meets it while he is on his way back after hearing the dhamma. But if, when the preacher has got up, he thinks, " I shall go after lying down a while," and he meets the dawn while asleep, or if, of his own choice, he meets the dawn while in a village abode, then his ascetic practice is broken.

The spiritual benefits of this practice are many. The forest-dwelling monk develops his concentration. His teacher is pleased with him. His mind is not distracted. He is free from anxiety, abandons attachment to a worldly life and enjoys the bliss of seclusion (*Vism.* 57-9). Such special qualities as fewness of wishes, contentment, effacement, seclusion, dispersal, energy and modest needs will be perfected in him. Thereafter, when he has become established in the first three of the heritages of the Noble Ones, viz., contentment with any sort of robes, with any sort of alms-food and with any sort of lodging and thus finds delight in abandoning (*pahāna*), he may become worthy to attain to the fourth heritage, called delight in development (*bhāvanā : A.* II, 27 ; *Vism.* 48).

U.K.

ĀRAÑÑAKA MAHĀ-ABHAYA, a learned monk of Ceylon, formerly known as Abhaya thera when he was a resident of the Mahātalākavihāra (var. Mahāvālikavihāra). Later he left the monastery and lived in a hut in a neighbouring forest, and thence came to be known as Āraññaka. A layman who once heard him preach was so pleased that for twelve years he provided the monk with his needs.

After some time the layman found that the monk did not make use of the robes given to him and always wore a rag robe. Wishing to find out the cause he gave robes to the monk again and waited hiding near the hut. A thief, Harantika (var. Arati), was in the habit of stealing the robes given to the monk. This time, too, he saw the layman bringing robes to the monk and in the night came to the hut and took them away. The layman caught the thief with the robes in his possession and, having thrashed him, took him to a cemetery, tied a corpse on to his back and left him there. Then he went to the village and warned the people that a devil (*amanussa*) would come to the village that night and they should not open the doors, however much the devil might plead. In the night, Harantika went to his own house and asked his wife to open the door, but being frightened, she would not do so. Harantika went round the village and pleaded in every possible way, but was unable to get any help. Ultimately he went to the monk, who untied the corpse, bathed the thief and applied oil on his body. The layman, who was going round in the morning looking for the thief, came to the hut and saw what was happening. When the layman expressed his disapproval of the monk's action, the monk admonished him saying that he should be compassionate towards the thief. Subsequently, Harantika obtained ordination from the monk and later became an arahant (*Rasavāhinī*, ed. Saraṇatissa, Part II, pp. 5 ff.; *Ssvu.* 14 f.).

H.R.P.

ĀRAÑÑAKĀNĀGATA-BHAYA SUTTA, name given in the *Suttasaṅgaha* (pp. 326 ff.) to the *Anāgata Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 100 ff.).

ARAÑÑASATTA, name for Nimittasaññaka (q.v.) thera in a previous birth as king.

ĀRAÑÑA SUTTA. There are four suttas by this name, three of which occur in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and one in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.

The first sutta is in the *Abhiññā Vagga* (*A.* II, 252). The Buddha, while residing near Kosambī in Ghosita Park, tells the monks that a bhikkhu who harbours four qualities, namely, sensual thoughts (*kāma-vitakka*), malicious thoughts (*vyāpāda-vitakka*), harmful thoughts (*vihiṃsā-vitakka*), has weak wisdom (*duppañña*), dull-wittedness (*jaḷa*) and imbecility (*eḷamūga*), is not fit to live alone in the forest. On the other hand, one who has thoughts of renunciation (*nekkhamma-vitakka*), harmless thoughts (*avihiṃsā-vitakka*) and who is not dull-witted (*ajaḷa*) nor imbecile (*anelamūga*), is fit to do so.

The second sutta which occurs in the *Kakudha Vagga* (*A.* III, 121) is addressed to the bhikkhus dwelling near Vesālī at the Kūṭāgārasālā in Mahāvana.

The Buddha speaks of the advantages of developing *ānāpānasati* (mindfulness on breathing in and breathing out). He says that if a monk is possessed of five qualities, namely, that he is set on little (*appaṭṭha*), engaged in little (*appakicca*), frugal (*subhara*), well content with life's necessities (*susantoso jīvitaparikkhāresu*), that he takes a small quantity of food (*appāhāra*) and does not serve only his stomach (*anodarikamanuyutta*), that he is lazy only to a small extent (*appamiddha*) and is heedful and vigilant (*jāgariyamanuyutta*), that he lives in the forest (*āraññaka*) with a solitary bed and a seat (*pantasenāsana*) and that he reflects on the mind as freed, such a monk becomes very conscious of his breathing in and out and penetrates the immovable (*akuppa*) before long.

The next sutta, which occurs in the *Phāsuvihāra Vagga* (*A.* III, 135), is addressed to the bhikkhus dwelling near Kosambī in the Ghosita park.

The Buddha says that a monk who has five qualities, namely, that he is virtuous, restrained in the obligations (*pātimokkha*), perfected in conduct and habit (*ācāragocarasampanna*), sees danger in the smallest fault and trains himself according to the precepts, who is learned, of retentive memory and possessed of a well-read mind (*sutasannicaya*) with regard to things good in the beginning, good in the middle and good in the end, and leads a life of celibacy, perfect in all its aspects, who abides in active energy, puts away all wrong things, takes to right things, is steadfast and strenuous (*daḷhaparakkama*), and shirks not the burden of right things,—such a monk obtains at will the abodes of ease (*sukhavihāra*), the four states of mental absorption (*jhāna*), he enters and abides in the emancipation of the mind (*cetovimutti*) and in the emancipation through insight (*paññāvimutti*), and attains to intuitive wisdom (*abhiññā*) having realised it by himself.

The last sutta which occurs in the *Naḷa Vagga* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* I, 5) is a dialogue between the Buddha and a deity, at the Jeta grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's park.

The deity asks how the bhikkhus in the forest, being calm, leading a life of celibacy and partaking of one meal a day, possess a beautiful complexion. The Buddha replies that they do not lament over the past, do not yearn for that which is not come, and maintain themselves with what they have got. Foolish people who lament over the past and yearn for that which is not come, get withered up like a reed (*naḷa*) which is cut off.

I. K.

ARAÑÑA VAGGA, the nineteenth section of the *Pañcaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 219–21). It consists of ten suttas, each sutta dealing with a group of five.

In the ten suttas, ten classes of men are described, such as, those who have taken to the practice of living in the forest, wearing rag-robes, sitting at the foot of trees, haunting the graveyards, living in the open air, sitting in one place, accepting whatever seat is offered, sitting alone, living alone, not eating after a fixed time, and eating from one bowl.

The Buddha says that, just as the essence of ghee(*sappimaṇḍa*) is the best of the fivefold products of milk, viz., milk, cream, butter, ghee and essence of ghee, likewise of the five persons in each of the groups mentioned, the one who is content with little is the foremost.

I. K.

ARAÑÑAVĀSĪ NIKĀYA, also called Vanavāsī Nikāya, was a section of monks in Ceylon dwelling in quiet forest regions, devoted chiefly to meditation, as opposed to Gāmavāsī Nikāya residing in towns and villages engaged in activities directed towards cultural and educational development. In matters of doctrine, there was no difference between the two sections ; they differed only in the rigour of the religious life they led. The *araññavāsins* led a more ascetic and secluded life than the *gāmavāsins* did.

From about the sixth century A. C., they are referred to as a distinct group, though not as a separate sect (*Mhv.* xli, 99 ; lii, 22 ; liii, 14 ; liv, 20). As in the case of *paṃsukūlikas*, the *araññavāsins* were found in all the sects in Ceylon. There is particular mention of *araññavāsī* bhikkhus belonging to the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura (*Mhv.* lii, 22).

The forest-dwelling monks were sometimes referred to as *tapassī*, " hermit " or " ascetic " (*Mhv.* xli, 99 ; liv, 20), which is not a term usually applied to bhikkhus. In the tenth century, reference is made to a monastery called Tapovana, " Ascetics' Grove " near Anurādhapura, which was the residence for forest-dwelling monks. There were also *paṃsukūlikas* living in this monastery (*Mhv.* liii, 14). This may be the group of so-called

western monasteries lying in the forest area to the west of Anurādhapura (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 18).

The *āraññakas* and the *paṃsukūlikas* are only two of the thirteen groups following ascetic practices (*dhutaṅga*). There were monks who observed other *dhutaṅgas* like *piṇḍapātika*. But they are not regarded as separate groups.

In later times, the *āraññakas*, too, like the *gāmavāsins*, took greater interest in intellectual pursuits, and were engaged in writing not only religious but also non-religious works. The *Bālāvabodhana*, a Sanskrit grammar, written in the 12th century by Araññavāsī Dimbulāgala Mahākassapa, is a good example. Among famous scholars belonging to this sect were Ānanda Vanaratanatissa, Vedeha, Coliya Buddhappiya, Culla Dhammapāla, Medhaṅkara, Ānanda and Siddhattha. It was Araññavāsī Dimbulāgala Mahākassapa himself who presided over the council of the members of the three fraternities—*Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri*, and *Jetavana*—held under the patronage of Parākramabāhu I, a king of Ceylon (1153–86 A. C.), where the three fraternities were reconciled, and the undesirable elements within the Order of the monks expelled, thus purifying the Sāsana.

The Araññavāsī sect continued to flourish even during the 12th and the 13th centuries, and when Vijayabāhu III was reigning at Dambadeṇiya (1232–6 A. C.), the head of the sect was an elder named Ānanda (colophon to the *Padasādhana Sanne*). During the time of Kalikāla Sāhitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu of Dambadeṇiya (1236–71 A. C.), Āraññaka Medhaṅkara of Dimbulāgala, the chief of the sect, presided over the synod of monks and expelled those monks who were found guilty of misconduct (*Dambadeṇi Katikāvata*). The king built for the use of āraññaka monks on a mountain in the forest the Puṭabhattasela (Paḷābatgala) monastery (*Mhv.* lxxxiv, 24), which later became famous as the abode of many monks of great learning and severe austerities.

The Araññavāsī sect seems to have been closely associated with the Buddhists of Kāliṅga, for during the time of Aggabodhi II—king of Ceylon (601–11 A. C.)—the king of Kāliṅga came to Ceylon and became a monk attached to the Araññavāsī sect (*Mhv.* xlii. 44–50). Even at the end of the 13th century, we find Vedeha mentioning the name of a Kāliṅga Mahāthera (colophon to the *Rasavāhinī*) who acted as sponsor at Vedeha's ordination by Ānanda.

By about the 13th century, however, the difference between the two sects—the Gāmavāsī and Araññavāsī—seems to have been only in name, and not in practice. These two sections, in later times, were known as Ubhayavāsa, 'The Two Residences' (*Nikāya Saṅgraha*, pp. 20–24).

The modern establishments of Malwatta and Asgiriya, the two chief temples in Kandy, Ceylon, seem to be the decendents of the old Ubhayavāsa, the former being the Gāmavāsa and the latter the Araññavāsa.

U. K.

ĀRAṆYAKA, living in the forest. See ĀRAÑÑAKA.

ARAPACANA, also called Sadyonubhava-Arapacana or Sadyonubhava-Mañjuśrī, a form of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. He originates from the seed-syllable (*bīja-akṣara*) 'A', whereas his four companions, namely, Jālinīkumāra (or Sūryaprabha), Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī, originate from the seed syllables, *ra, pa, ca* and *na*; and hence his name Arapacana.

He is bright like the moon, has a smiling face and is either red or white in colour. He wears beautiful ornaments and red garments. He is normally represented as being seated on a lotus in the *vajraparyaṅka* posture, ever engaged in meditation. Sometimes, it is said, his form displays a very passionate appearance (*śṛṅgāraveśa*). With his right hand he wields a sword which symbolises the destruction of all ignorance and with the left hand held against the chest he carries a book, the *Prajñāpāramitā*, which is regarded as the embodiment of all knowledge. In form, the four companions are very similar to Arapacana. Of them, Keśinī and Upakeśinī are on his right and left, respectively; Jālinīkumāra is in front and Candraprabha behind. (See *Sādh.* I, pp. 112–19, 122 and 130 ff.; B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 120 ff.)

Arapacana, as a form of Mañjuśrī, is quite popular in Tibet and China (A. K. Gordon, *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, p. 63). Sometimes his hand is shown as holding a bell, which also may have been of the same symbolic value as the sword (Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1st Tuttle edition, 1962, Plate XXXVI a).

Ś. K. N.

ARAPACANA-PŪJĀVIDHI-NĀMA (*Ārya-ara°*), a Sanskrit text the Tibetan translation of which exists in the Rgyud-hgrel (tantra commentary)

section of the Tengyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *a-ra-pa-tsa-naḥi-mchod-paḥi cho-ga shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3540). This translation is attributed to Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan dpal bzaṅ-po (Sūryadhvajaśrībhadra according to *Cordier*, II, p. 302, No. 24).

The work which begins with a salutation to Ārya Arapacana deals with the procedure of making offerings to Arapacana. According to the injunctions set out in this work, the offerings should be arranged in front of the magic circle (*maṇḍala*) and the formula *Oṃ āḥ hūṃ*, which ensures protection to the place, the names of oneself (the donor) and of the priest should be pronounced. Then the following mantra, supplicating Arapacana to accept the offerings of flowers, the water for washing the feet (*pādya*), the water for consecration (*prokṣaṇa*) and the like, is to be chanted. *Oṃ sarva tathāgataṃ........namāmi bhagavantaṃ Arapacana nātha dzaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ pratīcchemaṃ kusumāñjaliṃ nātha hoḥ oṃ āḥ hūṃ pravara satkārāya Arapacanāya pādyaṃ pratīccha hūṃ svāhā. Oṃ āḥ hrīḥ pravara satkārāya Arapacanāya prokṣaṇaṃ pratīccha hūṃ svāhā. Oṃ āḥ hrīḥ pravara satkārāya Arapacanāya ācamanaṃ pratīccha hūṃ svāhā. Oṃ āḥ hrīḥ pravara satkārāya Arapacanāya arghaṃ pratīccha hūṃ svāhā.* This is to be followed by a recitation of the salutatory formulas, quoted below, addressed to Mañjughoṣa (a variety of Mañjuśrī of whom Arapacana is a form) and his attendants, the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their spiritual consorts except Vajradhātvīśvarī : *Oṃ namo Mañjughoṣāya dhīḥ oṃ Vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā. Oṃ namo Jālinīprabhāya raṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namaś Candraprabhāya paṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namaḥ Keśinye caṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ nama Upakeśinye naṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ nama Akṣobhyāya hūṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namo Vairocanāya .... Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namo Ratnasambhavāya hūṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namo Amitābhāya hrīḥ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ nama Amoghasiddhe khaṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namo Locanāye loṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namo Māmakī māṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namaḥ Pāṇḍarāye pāṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ namas Tārāye tāṃ. Oṃ vajra°. Oṃ āḥ hūṃ.* Among other mantras quoted in the text the following may be cited : *Oṃ vajra tathāgata pūjā meghaprasara samā te ? Spharaṇa himaṃ gaganakaṃ hūṃ phaṭ ; Oṃ āḥ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ ...... ; Oṃ Arapacanāya arghaṃ pustakahastāya imaṃ baliṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi hana hana daha daha paca paca mama sarvasatvānāñ ca ...... bandhaṃ bandhanī dhīṃ hrī khaṃ ;* and the mantra called *Śatākṣaragāthā* which also occurs in the *Arapacanasādhana* (q.v. *Sādh.* I. 56). This mantra is as follows : *Oṃ vajrasatva samayam anupālaya. Vajrasatvatvenopatiṣṭha. Dṛḍho me bhava. Sutoṣyo me bhava. Supoṣyo me bhava. Anurakto me bhava. Sarvasiddhim me prayaccha. Sarvakarmasu ca me cittaṃ śreyaḥ kuru hūṃ ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan sarvatathāgatavajra mā me muñca vajrībhava mahāsamayasatva āḥ.*

R.H.

ARAPACANA SĀDHANA, the title of three different sādhana texts occurring in the *Sādhanamālā*. These texts which deal with the procedure of worship for the invocation of the divinity Arapacana are as follows :

1. *Sādh.* I, No. 55. The formula *Namo 'rapacanāya* occurs at the beginning of the text. The author of the sādhana, Ajitamitra, who begins his work, a metrical composition, with a salutation to Mañjughoṣa, states that he would give instructions in brief for the worship of Arapacana. The priest, who knows the magic formulas, is instructed to sit on a soft and comfortable seat at a pleasant spot strewn with fragrant flowers and sprinkled with scented water, and reflect on *bodhicitta* (thought of enlightenment). He should then recite the *Svabhāvaśuddhamantra* and contemplate on the illusory nature (*śūnyatā*) of all phenomena and on Mañjughoṣa, a variety of Mañjuśrī (*Indian Buddhist Iconography* by B. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1958, p. 104) of whom Arapacana is also a form. Mañjughoṣa, as described in this text, sits on a lotus, absorbed in meditation, wears the five rags (*pañcacīraṃ*), carries a sword and a book, is resplendent with all ornaments and bears a complexion, white like the rays of the moon. Keśinī is seen on his right, Upakeśinī on the left, Jālinīprabha in front and Candraprabha behind. (For a note on Ajitamitra, the author, see *Sādh.* II, p. xciii.)

Five Tibetan versions of this sādhana occur in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 4132 contains a version, the Tibetan title of which is *Ara-pa-tsa-naḥi-sgrub-thabs*. The author's name has been rendered as Mi-pham bśes-gñen. Kamalagupta and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (Ratnabhadra according to *Cordier*, III, p. 4, No. 6) are said to have translated the work. The title and the Tibetan rendering of the author's name are the same in Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3538, the colophon of which attributes the translation to Vibhūticandra and Chos-rje dpal (Dharmasvāmiśrī according to *Cordier*, II, p. 302). Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki. Vol. 80, No. 3993 contains a version of the

Arapacana Sādhana under the title *Spros-pa med-paḥi sgrub-thabs* attributed to Abhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (Śīladhvaja according to *Cordier*, II, p. 377, Nos. 33 and 34). The *Ara-pa-tsa-naḥi sgrub-thabs* of Mi-pham bśes-gñen (Ajitamitra), translated by Śrī Vanaratna and Rgya-mtshoḥi sde (Nags-kyi Rin-chen and Sāgarasena according to *Cordier*, III, p, 177, No. 7), is also a translation of this sādhana. Cordier (loc. cit.) states that the monastery of Dpal Gnod-gnas (Śrī Jambhala) was the venue of the translation and he also quotes two other titles by which the work was known, viz., *Arapacana ha-lṅaḥi sgrubs* (*Arapacanapañcadeva-sādhana*) and *Ḥjam-dbyaṅs arapacanaḥi sgrub* (*Mañjughoṣārapacana-sādhana*). This translation forms No. 4837 of the Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 86. The fifth Tibetan version of the text, Vol. 80, No. 4270, is by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and it bears the title A-ra-pa-tsa-nahi sgrub-thabs.

2. *Sādh.* I, No. 56. This sādhana is a composition in prose with four verses forming part of the text and the concluding stanza giving the name of the author Muktaka (circa 1100 A.C.) and also his other name Padmākara (For more information on Muktaka, see *Sādh.* II, p. cv). The colophon calls the text *Muktakenārapacana-sādhana*.

The salutatory formula *Namo'rapacanāya* occurs at the beginning of the text. The work contains instructions on meditation and the offerings to be made for the worship of Arapacana. Thus, the worshipping priest is enjoined to meditate on the four divine states (*catur brahmavihāra*), namely, *maitrī* (love), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (joy) and *upekṣā* (equanimity), each of which is defined ; he should make offerings of flowers, incense, lamps, robes, parasols and the like, recite the stanzas quoted for the confession of sin (*pāpadeśanā*), transference of merit (*puṇyānumodanā*), seeking the three refuges (*triśaraṇāgamana*) and production of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda*), reflect on the illusory nature of all things, chant the formula *Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'haṃ*, and think of himself as Mañjuśrī who is described. The description of Mañjuśrī here is similar to that of Mañjughoṣa of the previous sādhana (*Sādh.* I, 55). The work also contains descriptions of Arapacana and his four attendants, Jālinīprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī. A recitation of the *Śatākṣara-gāthā* quoted in the text concludes the ceremony at the end of which the worshipper is said to attain supreme wisdom (*anuttarāṃ bodhiṃ*).

There are two Tibetan versions of this sādhana in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The first of these is the *Spros-pa med-paḥi sgrub-thabs* translated by Abhaya and Tshul khrims rgyal-mtshan (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 3994). The colophon gives the title of the work as *Tshig lhug-paḥi A-ra-pa-tsa-naḥi sgrub-thabs.* The second Tibetan version of the text is the translation done by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja according to *Cordier*, III, p. 30, No. 145), under the title *Tshig-lhug-paḥi a-ra-pa-tsa-naḥi sgrub-thabs.* The Sanskrit title quoted in the text is *Muktakena-arapacana-sādhana.* The author's name is given as Padmaḥi ḥbyuṅ gnas (Padmākara).

3. *Sādh.* I, 65. This *Arapacana Sādhana* is in prose, with a stanza at the end, in which the author, whose name is not mentioned, wishes that the merit gained by composing the work would cause all people to attain the abode of the Victorious One (*Jina*). As in the previous two sādhanas (*Sādh.* I, 55, 56), here too, the worshipper is instructed to meditate on topics like *śūnyatā* (illusory nature of things), recite incantations such as the *Svabhāvaśuddha-mantra* and *Śūnyatāvācaka-mantra,* and to visualise himself as Mañjughoṣa, who is described in the text. His companions, one of whose names is given as Sūryaprabha in place of Jālinīprabha of the other two sādhanas, are also described.

A Tibetan translation of the text exists in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *A-ra-pa-tsa-naḥi sgrub-thabs.* The translator's name is given as Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No.4280).

R. H.

ARAPACANA-SĀDHANA-VIDHI, the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *A-ra-pa-tsa-naḥi-sgrub-thabs-kyi cho-ga* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3537). In the work, the authorship of which is attributed to Śraddhākaravarman, the worshipper is instructed to reflect on the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*); recite the *Svabhāvaśuddha-mantra*, viz., *Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā svabhāvaśuddho'haṃ* ; contemplate on the illusory nature (*śūnyatā*) of all things and chant the formula *Oṃ śūnyatājñānavajra-svabhāvātmako'haṃ* and meditate on Mañjuvajra (*ḥjam-paḥi rdo-rje*) who is described. He is one-faced, two-armed and carries the sword of wisdom

raised in his right hand and the *Prajñāpāramitā* book in his left, placed against the chest. He is as resplendent as ten million autumnal moons, sits rapt in meditation and bears a smile on his face. The worshipper should also meditate on Mañjuśrī, who originates from the syllable *a* and whose form is the same as that of Mañjuvajra described earlier, and on Jālinīprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī who originate from the syllables *ra*, *pa*, *ca* and *na*, respectively. All these meditations will result in the attainment of supreme wisdom.

R. H.

A-RA-PA-TSA-NAḤI MCHOD-PAḤI CHO-GA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation in Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See ARAPACANA-PŪJĀ-VIDHI-NĀMA.

A-RA-PA-TSA-NAḤI SGRUB-THABS, the Tibetan rendering of the title of a sādhana in the *Sādhanamālā*. See ARAPACANA-SĀDHANA.

A-RA-PA-TSA-NAḤI SGRUB-THABS-KYI CHO-GA, a translation in Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See ARAPACANA-SĀDHANA-VIDHI.

A-RA-PA-TSA-NA ḤPHRAL-DU ÑAMS-SU MY-ON-BAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation in Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See SADYONUBHAVĀRAPACANA-SĀDHANA.

ARATĪ, a daughter of Māra, the second named of the three sisters who tried to tempt the Buddha when he was sitting at the foot of the Ajapāla banyan-tree, in the fifth week after the attainment of bodhi. In their endeavours to tempt the Buddha away from the future which he had chosen and to bring success and joy to their father where he himself had failed, the daughters used wily devices, but were themselves discomfited. The three are sometimes regarded as the personifications of Craving, Discontent and Passion; Aratī is regarded as Discontent (*S.* I, 124 f.; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, 156 ff.). They posed the Buddha with different questions. Aratī asked :

" How must a brother mainly shape his life,
Who having crossed five floods would cross the sixth ?

How many impressions of the world of sense
Be kept outside of him and catch him not
Who mainly in rapt meditation bides ?"

(ibid. 158, n. 3).

Aratī's name occurs as Prīti in the *Buddhacarita*. Māra's army is also sometimes called Aratī.

D. T. D.

ARATI SUTTA. Once when Vaṅgīsa was in Ālavi he noticed that his tutor, Nigrodha Kappa, never left his cell after his return from the alms-round. Dissatisfaction arose in Vaṅgīsa's heart and he was troubled by thoughts of lust. He composed five verses by way of self-admonition and uttered them to himself (*S.* I, 186) : " I, who had given up likes and dislikes in all that stirs imagination, may not make anywhere a haunt for lusting. He who is free from lust is truly a bhikkhu. All material things are impermanent. People cling to all that makes for life, to things they touch, perceive, see and hear. He who is unaffected by these is called a seer."

Another sutta of the same name (*A.* III, 448) says that in order to get rid of the evil qualities of discontent, harming others, and acting in ignorance of the Dhamma—one should cultivate gladness and non-violence and act according to the Dhamma, respectively.

U. K.

ARAVACCHĀ, a river which king Kappina crossed when he was hastening to visit the Buddha in Sāvatthi. When he came to its bank, he found on inquiry that the river was a league deep and two leagues wide. There was no mode of transport across it, but the king, determined not to delay, described his eagerness thus : " While we are looking for boats and rafts, birth is bringing us to old age and old age is bringing us to death. Free from doubt, I have renounced the world for the sake of the Three Jewels ; by their supernatural power may this water be to me unlike water " (*HOS.* XXIX, 172, etc.). Meditating on the Buddha's virtues he and his retinue dashed across without even wetting the horses' hoofs. The river was crossed as extraordinarily by the queen when she herself went on the same road with her retinue of chariots (*DhpA.* II, 119–20, 124).

D. T. D.

ARAVĀḶA (var. Aravaḷa, Āravāḍa), a nāga king of Kashmir who opposed the introduction of Buddhism in his region of Aravāḷadaha, by Majjhantika thera who had been deputed for the purpose by Moggaliputta thera at the end of the Third Council. Majjhantika is credited with having hovered in the

air in order to show himself to the nāgas. On being informed of this, their king came out and evoked terror-striking agencies (earthquakes, hail, thunder, lightning, etc.) to stand in the thera's way. But the latter was not disturbed by them. On the contrary, he succeeded in winning over the king to whom he preached the word of the Buddha. With 84,000 of his followers the ruler accepted Buddhism in the end. The thera exhorted the king in this wise : "Henceforth let no anger arise as of old ; work no more harm to the harvest, for living beings love their happiness ; cherish love for beings, let men live in happiness" (*Mhv.* trsl. xii, 22). These words were peculiarly apposite, as the king had had a habit of destroying harvests by means of hail-storms. The Mūla-Sarvāstivādin version of the story is preserved in the Chinese Vinaya. It was translated into French by Jean Przyluski ; an English rendering has been given by J. Ph. Vogel. (Cp. *VinA.* I, 64 ff.; *Mhv.* xii ; J. N. and P. N. Ganhar, *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh*, 24, etc. ; J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, 232 ff. ; *JAs.* 1914, pp. 64–7, 74–7, 535 ff.).

D. T. D.

ARAVĀḶADAHA, the lake in which Aravāḷa, the nāga-king, lived. See ARAVĀḶA.

ARBITRATION, settling a dispute in the Saṅgha. See SAṄGHAKAMMA.

ARBUDA NIRAYA, one of the subdivisions in a system of nirayas (hells) found in Buddhist cosmology, same as *Abbuda* in the Pali. As in the *Udāna* commentary (140), it is referred to in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (entry 4929) and the *Dharmasaṃgraha* (122) as a cold hell. The *Dharmasaṃgraha* (loc. cit.) gives also a different rendering of the name as *Accada*. The *Avadānaśataka* (I, 4 f.) and the *Divyāvadāna* (67 f.) say that when the Buddhas smile, the four-coloured rays which emanate from their lips reach Arbuda and the rest of these eight hells, cooling them or warming them according to their need. The *Udāna Varga* (viii, verse 5) also mentions this hell. See also ABBUDA NIRAYA.

B. J.

ARCHAEOLOGY, being closely linked with the history of Buddhism in various countries as well as with the development of art seen in different forms of architecture and sculpture, recovered by excavation and other means, will be dealt with under the names of the countries where such remains have been discovered.

ARCIḤSAMUDRAMUKHAVEGAPRADĪPA, a Tathāgata, whose name occurs between Samantajñānacaryāvilamba and Dharmavimānanirghoṣarāja in a list of Tathāgatas who were propitiated (*ārāgita*) by the Śākya-girl, Gopā, in her previous births (*Gvyū.* 422.20).

ARCIKETU, name of a former Buddha (*Lal.* 172.10).

ARCIMAHENDRA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 442.15). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ

ARCIMANT (1), name of a legendary cakravartin who became the father of Dīpaṅkara (*Mhvu.* 1, 193.14).

ARCIMANT (2), name of a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni (*Lal.* 119.15).

ARCINETRĀDHIPATI, name of a yakṣa (*Mhvyut.* 3371).

ARCIRMAṆḌALAGĀTRA, a Tathāgata whose name occurs between Ratnacandradhvaja and Ratnāgraprabhateja, in a list of Tathāgatas who were propitiated (*ārāgita*) by the Śākya-girl, Gopā, in her previous births (*Gvyū.* 422.18).

ARCISCANDRA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 443.1 ; the first edition reads this name along with the preceding one and thus gives the name as Kuṇḍaśriyārciścandra,—*BHS.* s. v. Kuṇḍaśriyārciścandra). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

ARCIŚIRI, name of a former Buddha (*Gvyū.* 259.8).

ARCIŚMANT, name of a Buddha (*Śikṣ.* 9.3) ; and also of an ancient king, a previous incarnation of Amitāyus, and father of Puṇyaraśmi (*Rpp.* 36.18).

ARCIṢMANT, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgathas (*Gvyū.* 442.11). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

ARCIṢMATĪ, name of the fourth bodhisattva bhūmi (*Dbhg.* 5.8 ; *Mhvyut.* 889 ; *Dhsaṃg.* 64 ; *Bbh.* 341.2).

ARCITANAMA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 443.6. Edgerton suggests the reading Arcitamana, *BHS.* s.v. Arcitanama). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

ARDHAŚATIKĀ-PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ, 'the Prajñāpāramitā in fifty stanzas,' an abridged version of the teachings of *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*. See PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ SŪTRA.

ARDRAVALIKA, name of a nāga king given in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.*).

ĀRDRAVALLIPRATIRŪPA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 141).

ARGHAḤI CHO-GA, a translation in Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See ARGHAVIDHI.

ARGHAVIDHI, the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Arghaḥi cho-ga* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 66, No. 2767). The colophon has the title *Arghaḥi cho-ga sñiṅ-po bsdus-pa* (*Arghavidhisārasaṃkṣepa* according to *Cordier*, II, p. 156, No. 1). The authorship of the work is credited to Snaṅ-byed zla-ba (Bhānucandra) and the translation is attributed to Varendra-pa and Prajñākīrti.

The text, which begins with a salutation to Śrī Vajrasattva, contains a detailed description of the method of making respectful offerings (*argha*). The kinds of offerings enumerated at the outset are as follows: monasteries, stūpas, paintings on cloth, holy scriptures, images, halls of worship, ponds, water-channels, springs, fountains, pleasant valleys, thickets and pleasure groves.

The ritual connected with the offering of an *ārāma* (monastery) is first set out. This includes several offerings to be made by the worshipping priests in front of a maṇḍala, practice of meditations and the recitation of magic formulas (mantra). The first mantra cited is as follows: *Oṃ mutsule svāhā. Oṃ mohāni svāhā. Oṃ dattami svāhā.* After reciting this twenty-one times, the worshipper, attired in clean clothes and decked with ornaments, is enjoined to sleep in the lion's posture with face turned eastwards, on a mat with the pillow placed to the south. Then at dawn he is said to see in his dreams the face of the Buddha, stūpas, offerings, monks, nuns etc. The mantra also said to have the power of averting evil dreams is called the *rmi-lam ston-paḥi sṅags* (lit. the mantra that shows dreams, ? Skt. *svapnasūcakamantra*). Other magical formulas to be pronounced in the course of making this offering are: *Oṃ bhū khaṃ: hūṃ laṃ hūṃ; Oṃ medinī vajrī bhava vajrabandhu hūṃ*, at the recitation of which the golden-complexioned goddess of the earth is said to appear, revealing one half of her body, decked in ornaments and holding a bejewelled water-flask in her hand; *Oṃ sarvatathāgata sulalita . . . . namāmi bhagavantaṃ dzaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ pratīccha kusumāñjaliṃ nātha ho* a formula to be chanted while making an offering of flowers, and *Oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarva? duḥkhaṃ phaṭ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpaṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīlaya vajradharo ājñāpayati kāyavākcitta vajrakīlaya hūṃ phaṭ*, a charm for averting all obstacles. At the end of the description of the rites for offering a monastery, it is stated that the procedure for the offering of stūpas and of halls of worship is the same. Variations in detail regarding the other offerings are set out in the rest of the text. The following mantra to be chanted while making an offering of holy scriptures may be noted. *Oṃ dhī . . . . . mati bījaye sarva ajñānapaṭalāpaharaṇo haṃ svāhā.*

R. H.

ARGUMENTATION (*takka*), the science of logic, is not highly esteemed in the sayings attributed to the Buddha, which is no doubt due to the fact that reasoning often leads to hair-splitting sophistry. The Buddha speaks of his teaching as being 'beyond argumentation' (*atakkāvacara*: *D.* I, 12; *S.* I, 136; *M.* I, 487), i.e., unattainable by mere reasoning. Realisation of the truth is attainable only through insight (*vipassanā*) into the nature of all components as being impermanent, unsatisfactory and without substance.

On several occasions the Buddha refused to be drawn into an argument and preferred a question to remain undecided (*avyākata*). Sometimes he explained his silence as a refusal to take sides with either opponent, his being the middle path between eternalism and annihilationism.

Argumentation, however, is far from absent in the Buddhist texts, and especially the later works like *Kathāvatthu* and *Milindapañha* are full of striking, though not always convincing, examples.

Logic without argumentation, however, is one of the strong points of Buddhism which does not rely on faith in revealed dogmas. For example, the Four Noble Truths contain a masterpiece of deduction from the universal problem of conflict (*dukkha*) to its causal conditions (*samudaya*)

and their solution (*nirodha*). But when argumentation becomes a means for furthering wrong ideas (*takkavaḍḍhana*) it is also rightly called a jungle of sophistry (*takka-gahaṇa* : *J*. I, 97).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ARHANT, the person who, according to various schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism, has attained the fourth and final stage of spiritual progress under the guidance of a Buddha or his Teaching. See ARAHANT.

ARHAT. See ARAHANT.

ARHAT-SAṄGHAVARDHANA, name of a monk who lived in the monastery of Bru-ña in Tibet. See ARHAT-SAṄGHAVARDHANA-VYĀKARAṆA.

ARHAT-SAṄGHAVARDHANA-VYĀKARAṆA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the *Dgra-bcom-pa-dge-ḥdun ḥphel-gyi luṅ-bstan-pa* included in the Gtam-yig (Parikathā and Lekha) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 129, No. 5698). The author, Dge-ḥdun ḥphel, begins the text with a salutatory formula addressed to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta.

Arhatsaṅghavardhana's answer to a pupil who asked why the Buddha's teaching declined in Kauśambī in India forms the content of the work. The site of this discourse is given as the mountain Ḥjig tshogs-kyi ri (? Bhīṣaṇaparvata), where Arhatsaṅghavardhana of the monastery of Bru-ña in Tibet spent the rainy season with one of his pupils. The pupil monk, hearing that the teaching of the Buddha had declined in Kauśambī but had continued to exist in Kaṃśadeśa (Li-yul) and other places, asked the teacher for details. The teacher proceeded to explain.

One thousand and five hundred years after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, faithless people in many regions destroyed the doctrine. At the time, a faithless king ruled over Kaṃśadeśa, and the country was robbed and damaged. The temples were mostly empty and the people had lost faith in the Three Jewels. Unable to find the necessaries of life, the monks and nuns violated the rules of discipline, and followed conduct unworthy of their calling. This being so, the people paid no homage to them and they even robbed the clergy of their wealth. Evil thus arose in the kingdom of Kaṃśadeśa and the country suffered greatly. The king's ministers robbed the monks and nuns of the monasteries erected for them by devout kings of the past and made them their own abodes. The monks wandered to and fro and hardly managed to remain alive. They had no robes to wear or places to live in. They, therefore, decided to go to the monastery called Tshar-ma because they had heard that the Three Jewels were respected in Tibet. After their arrival there, a pious lady invited them for alms. The gong being sounded, all the monks assembled. She paid them her respects. Then from an opening in a couch near the image of the Buddha, there appeared a chest, which, when opened, revealed a golden dish of victuals. Partaking of these, the monks spent the rainy season in the Tshar-ma monastery, practising the monastic vows. At the end of the rainy season, they set out and arrived at the monastery of Ye-śes-ri (Jñānagiri) in the locality of Saḥi sñin-po (? Bhūmi-garbha). There, from inside the earth near an ancient and dilapidated cetiya, appeared a golden bowl full of pearls. The monks took the pearls and maintained themselves there during the three winter months, and when spring came they climbed over Candrakānta (Śel cu) mountain and proceeded. The inhabitants of the lower country (Tib. *smad*) heard of their arrival, invited them to the monastery of Coṅ (? Yhaṇṭārāma) and offered alms for seven days.

In the meantime, the nāgas in Kaṃśadeśa, sad at the thought of the decline of Buddha's teaching, rained a heavy shower, with the intention of ensuring its continuance. This rain brought to view a gold-washer full of gold dust on the grounds of a caitya near the Coṅ monastery. The monks sold it and acquired provisions for the spring months. The people of the lower region (Tib. *smad*) invited them to a monastery called Laḥi tshal (the Grove of the Mountain Pass) and gave alms for seven days. On the seventh day, the monks set forth from the monastery and proceeded along the borders of Tibet.

In a monastery called Kasara in Kaṃśadeśa, a donor of royal descent entertained the monks for seven days. From there the monks set out for Me-skar. Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī-devī (Tib. *Dpal lha-mo*) assumed the guise of nomadic Tibetans and attended on them. Passing mountain and valley, they reached an isolated wilderness. There they lost their way and Vaiśravaṇa appeared before them in the form of a white yak. They followed the yak to Tshal-byi. Meanwhile, many old monks and nuns had died on the way. Seeing the monks arrive, the Tibetan monks of Tshal-byi went to meet them, attended to their immediate needs and sent messengers to announce the arrival of monks from Kaṃśadeśa.

At this time, a maiden possessing the qualities of a bodhisattva was made queen supreme in the palace of the Tibetan king. She requested the king to invite the monks and offer them their requisites. Full of devotion on seeing the monks, the king and ministers erected monasteries for them.

The monks Ancepa, Gus-tig-pa, Par mkhan-pa and Śu-lig-pa went to the country of Bru-sha enduring much difficulty on the way. The monks of the countries of Tho-dkar and Kha-che (Kashmir) also came to Bru-sha, but were oppressed and unloved by the faithless people of their regions. Hearing that many monasteries had been put up in Tibet and that the king paid respect and homage to the Three Jewels, the monks went there and lived happily for three years. Then a disease spread in the country. Many people died of tumours and ulcers. The queen, too, died of a tumour in her breast and was reborn in the world of the gods. The ministers in Tibet became angry and blamed the monks for the calamity. They issued an order with immediate effect, forbidding the presence of mendicants in Tibet. During her illness the queen had informed the king of her last will, "When I die, let all my wealth be given to the monks." The king did accordingly and the monks made preparations to go to Gandhāra. The Tibetan monks also left their homeland in despair. Some monks from India, too, who had disagreements with the people in their lands, set out for Gandhāra. They all met together on the way. Tibetan soldiers accosted them, robbed them of their servants and possessions and killed many of them. Driven by the Tibetan army, the monks went to the abode of the nāga-king Elapatra (Tib. *Elaḥi ḥdab*). The nāga-king in the guise of an old man saluted them and asked them where they were going. They said that they were on their way to Gandhāra but had assembled there to get some provisions for the journey. The nāga-king, seeing signs of the impending decline of the Buddha's teaching, wept profusely. He asked the monks what provisions they needed. They made a precise calculation and asked for provisions to last fifteen days. The nāga-king then created an ocean surrounding Gandhāra and dense forests infested with dangerous beasts, scorpions, serpents and the like. Seeing these, the monks were sad and they wept. Elapatra asked them not to lament as he would make a bridge of his body for them to cross over the ocean. He changed himself into a huge serpent, placed his hood on the peak of a mountain on the slopes of Tibet and his tail on another in Gandhāra The bridge so built had the girth of about five trees. Frightened of the sight, the monks dispersed in flight. The nāga-king, speaking in a human voice, asked them to cross over. Then the skin on the back of the nāga-king was stripped off by the hooves of the cattle and the feet of the people as they crossed over. A large wound appeared. Blood, black in colour, poured forth from it into the ocean. After the monks had passed over, the nāga-king died and the ocean dried up. The bones of the dead serpent formed a mountain in the dried-up ocean. In the future, the Buddha Maitreya will arrive there with a following of five hundred and narrate the life-story of the nāga-king Elapatra. These five hundred monks will then receive the fruit of arhatship.

The monks who went to Gandhāra lived there happily for two years. During the third year, the pious king of Gandhāra died and his son became king. He ruled for five months, when a thousand monks killed him and installed a monk as king. Thereupon the ministers of Gandhāra led an army to the country, set up their own king and began to kill all the monks in Gandhāra. Some of the monks fled to the central province of India (Tib. Yul dbus; Skt. Magadhadeśa).

At this time, three faithless kings held sway over the whole of India except the Magadha region. They came to an agreement, conquered all other regions with their army and demolished many a town. They then met and held counsel about invading Magadhadeśa. At the time, in Kauśambī in Magadha, there ruled a king, Duṣprasaha (Tib. Bzod-dkaḥ) by name. His time of birth was marked by a shower of blood. His two arms, elbows downwards, were red as though smeared with blood. Five hundred ministers of excellent limb and a valiant army of two hundred thousand were born at the same time. The three kings marched towards Kauśambī. Duṣprasaha heard of this and set forth with his own army. The two armies met and in a battle that lasted three months, Duṣprasaha overthrew the rival kings and returned to his kingdom victorious. He was, however, repentant of the evil incurred. The ministers beseeched the king to invite the learned monk Śirṣaka, who was well-versed in the Tripiṭaka, from the country of Dmar and confess his sin. The king did so. The monk said that the king should invite all the monks in India, offer them their requisites, take refuge in them, confess his sin in their presence each day and so atone for the sin incurred. The king did so. A hundred thousand monks assembled. Then in the evening of the fifteenth day, the monks assembled for the *poṣadha* (confession) ceremony. The monk Śirṣaka asked them to recite the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* (the sūtra on deliverance, the code of moral and

monastic discipline). He also made a remark that insinuated their ignorance of it. An arhat called Sūrata rose in that assembly, objected to the remark, said that he knew the sūtra as the Buddha taught it and recited it. Śīrṣaka felt ashamed, and his pupil Agnavī, angry at the discomfiture of his teacher, seized a door-bar and killed the arhat. Karta, a pupil of Sūrata, killed Śīrṣaka with a club. All the monks became angry, fell into two ranks and killed one another.

Then the gods of the 'world of thirty-three' assembled and saw the dead bodies of the monks. They blew their trumpets and paid respect. There were violent storms in the kingdom and rains of fire. The earth trembled and there was a loud din and uproar. The king, most distressed, went to the monastery, embraced the corpses of the monk Śīrṣaka and the arhat, and lamented, calling out their names.

During that evening of the extinction of the doctrine, the gods fled beaten by the asuras. Then there occurred a scarcity of food and people ate various kinds of wild roots and fruits. Silk and cotton garments being scarce, people wore tattered clothes. As there were no ornaments of gold or jewels, they decked themselves with ornaments made of stalks. Even the images of the Buddha were taken to the nāga world.

R. H.

ARĪ. The name, derived from the Pali *Ariya*, was that of a Burmese sect who came to Pagān from either Bengal or northern India about the sixth century A. C. Opinion was at first divided as to whether they had any connection with Buddhism and, in fact, the larger portion believed they had not. However, since the discovery of an inscription and the study of frescoes at two temples in 1915 it has been established that the Arī were a Buddhist sect, at any rate during one stage of their history. It was Chas. Duroiselle who elaborated the theme in a contribution to the *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (1915–16), from which the following account has been compiled. *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (p. 71) supports the basic information.

The Arī were of the Mahāyāna school when they came to Pagān. This is clear from Tibetan sources (e.g., Tārānātha) and from the frescoes found in the temples of the sect at Paya-thon-zu and Nandamaññā in Min-ran-thu near Pagān. Thamatī, one mile away, is believed to have been their home and stronghold. Their gross practices became so intolerable in the end that king Anawrahta ousted them (in 1057 A.C.) by the device of introducing Theravāda Buddhism and persecuted them severely. They were not completely crushed, for traces of their beliefs and practices lingered on, more especially inland (as with the Shans), with some degree of influence till the fifteenth century. At this time the great restoration of Buddhism by king Dhammazedi almost eradicated them. However, they continued to survive, if weakly, till the end of the eighteenth century. Then the name dropped out of use to be replaced by the expression *Arī-gyī-do-anhway* ("boxing-monks") or Descendants of the Great Arī. The immorality which is directly traceable to the Arī had not altogether been destroyed up to recent years.

The Cult. Though the documents give little information on the beliefs and practices of the sect, a fair picture of these is obtained from the frescoes of the Paya-thon-zu and Nandamaññā temples. At the time of Anawrahta the Arī priests wore robes dyed in indigo, kept their hair four finger-breadths long, lived in large monasteries, freely drank spirits, and were not celibate. The use of meat and drink for themselves and their ceremonies and their incontinency point to Tantrism; the colour of the robe, which is that of the Tibetan Tantric Order who "preached immorality and obscene doctrine", further confirms this connection of theirs.

They became priests of the *nāga* and *nat* worship then prevailing among the people and officiated at bloody sacrifices connected with these cults. These sacrifices took place yearly at Pagān and the sacred Poppa. About the eighth century they came to be profoundly influenced by Tantrism. As a result they were addicted to gross immorality as part of their sacerdotal functions; the traditions are confirmed by the frescoes which depict this aspect of their practice. In addition to sexual aberrations they had a kind of *jus primae noctis* irrespective of the social position of the maiden.

They preached that the recitation of certain suttas would remit sins and hinted that a graded scale of payment to them would further help in this matter. The suttas are not named but, according to tradition, one is extant in Burmese under the title *Ādikappa* (*ādikalpa*), whose longer title is *Ādikappakambhā-ūkyam*. Said to have been translated and compiled from their works, it is a collection of short chapters on quasi-Buddhist cosmogony. Less authoritative is the suggestion that they used the (now rare) Nepalese Buddha Purāṇa. It is also believed that Arī teachings were

the base of the several books widely read in Burma under the generic name *Lokī-zā*, which contain a wealth of recipes for alchemy, attainment of *siddhi* and such matters of a professedly tantric character. The name of only one member of the sect has remained for posterity. It is that of Ajjagona, popularly called the Great Arī, who is believed to have produced a vast quantity of gold, and enriched his country. He is, more or less, the genius of the local alchemists.

The ancient temple of unspecified date which is now called Paya-thon-zu (" Three-Temples ") possesses the unique architectural feature of three distinct small square buildings with vaulted corridors and porticoes joined together by two vaulted narrow passages leading from the one to the other. The subjects of the frescoes on the interior are totally unlike any others so far known and represent a phase of the religion of the Arī which came to be abhorred by Theravāda established in Pagān by Anawrahta. Close by is Nandamaññā temple whose frescoes are highly erotic and the sentiments here expressed tally with the Arī practices already mentioned. An inscription dated 610 of the Burmese era (1248 A.C.) and found near it records some incidents which had taken place earlier. Among them it is mentioned that king Narapathisithu (Alaungsithu), who came to the throne in 1112 A. C., urged one of his ministers to build the temple and the neighbouring monastery, into which it was incorporated, and that Shin Arahan went to Tenasserim for a Buddha relic to be enshrined in an avowedly Arī temple which, as also recorded, was duly endowed for the purpose of providing the inmates with rice, meat and fermented spirits, morning and evening. That the foundation was for the Arī there is thus no further doubt. It also remarkably demonstrates that the relations between the Arī and Theravāda monks must have been quite cordial at the time.

The character of the two temples settles the question of the religion of the Arī. It was Buddhism, whatever the school. For the temples are Buddhist places of worship. The cell of each contains a Buddha figure in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). There are numerous Buddha figures painted on the walls and ceilings, whilst a whole series more are depicted with saints. In the Nandamaññā there is a standing Buddha in the gesture of charity (*varada-mudrā*) accompanied by Tārā as Śakti—a combination which sufficiently proves that Arī were Mahāyānists, at least up to the twelfth century to which period the two temples have been dated. *The Glass Palace Chronicle* (pp. 39, 71, 74 f.) adds that this group of heretics had thirty lords (leaders) with sixty thousand disciples. The people of Burma had clung to their doctrines for a period of thirty generations of kings before Anawrahta. They preached that a man might take the life of another even that of the mother or the father and evade the course of *karma*. It was with the help of Shin Arahan, also known as Dhammadassi, that king Anawrahta ousted the Arī monks and estabished Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. The thirty Arī lords and their sixty thousand disciples are said to have been disrobed and enrolled among the spearmen, lancers and elephant dung-sweepers of the king.

D. T. D.

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ARIGUPTA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū*. 442, 11). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

ARIKĀRI, a monastery in Ceylon. See ARIYĀ-KARI.

ARIMADDAṆA, one of the several classical names of Pagān (q.v.).

ARIMANDA, a city in Jambudīpa. Here the Sakyamuni in one of his previous lives, was born in the time of Phussa Buddha. He was then known as Vijatāvī and was of royal caste (*BuvA*. xix).

ARIMARDANA (1), a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu*. I, 137).

ARIMARDANA (2), a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu*. I, 139).

ARINDAMA (1), the bodhisatta, born as a king in the time of Buddha Sikhī (*Mhbv*. p. 11 ; see also p. 72). For the Buddha and his disciples he held a great almsgiving lasting a week which included many robes, and a fully caparisoned elephant which he redeemed by offering requisites to the height of the elephant. Buddha Sikhī predicted that thirty-one kappas later king Arindama would become a Buddha (*Buv*. xxi, 9 ff.; *J*. I, 41). Arindama's capital was Paribhutta (*BuvA*. p. 245).

More details about Arindama are found in the *Sonaka Jātaka*. He was the son of the king of Magadha and his chief queen. He grew up together with Sonaka, the son of the chaplain. After finishing their training at Takkasilā where they studied together, the two friends set out to gain practical experience. At the time they reached Bārāṇasī the king there had died childless and the city was without a king. The ministers going in search of a suitable successor to the throne annointed Arindama as king of Bārāṇasī. Sonaka, leading a religious life, became a paccekabuddha.

After forty years Arindama thought of his childhood friend Sonaka and offered a handsome reward to anyone who could give news of Sonaka. A song which the king used to sing expressing his desire to see Sonaka became a household rhyme in his kingdom. Ten years later he was informed that Sonaka had come to his park. The king went there and saw the paccekabuddha but did not recognise him as Sonaka. Without revealing his identity Sonaka convinced Arindama of the dangers of leading a worldly life and of the joys of the life of a recluse, and disappeared into the air.

The king, impressed by the ascetic's words and also with his psychic powers, renounced the world forthwith, appointing his eldest son Dīghāvu as his successor. He developed supernatural faculties and was reborn in Brahmaloka (*J.* V, 247–61). This story is repeated in the *Mahāvastu* with variation, the most important difference being that Arindama is identified as a previous incarnation of king Bimbisāra, and the bodhisatta is Sonaka who is not a paccekabuddha but a sage. Another difference is that king Arindama is said to have ruled in Mithilā, capital of Videha (*Mhvu.* III, 449 ff.).

Elsewhere in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* Arindama is mentioned along with Mahājanaka as an example of a king who renounced his kingdom and took to a life of solitude (*J.* III, 489).

L. R. G.

ARINDAMA (2), a king in the time of Buddha Sumana. A great dispute had arisen regarding the nature of the attainment of *nirodha* (extinction). Brahmas, devas belonging to many thousand world-systems, and human beings could not agree and were divided into two camps. To clear their doubts, they, headed by king Arindama, approached Buddha Sumana. It is said that when the Buddha preached the doctrine, seated on the Yugandhara mountain, Arindama and ninety crores of people who came with him, sought ordination and reached arahantship on that very day (*BuvA.* pp. 156–7).

L. R. G.

ARINDAMA (3), king of Uttara in the time of Buddha Revata. When the Buddha visited his city, Arindama went to receive him with three crores of his people. He held a great almsgiving, for seven days, for the Buddha and his disciples, and also made an offering of lamps covering a space of three leagues. The Buddha preached to the people, and a thousand crores of devas and men realised the doctrine (*Buv.* vi, 4 ; *BuvA.* 162).

L. R. G.

ARINDAMA (4), king of Haṃsavatī in the time of Buddha Padumuttara. When he lost his wealth through negligence, his *seṭṭhi* (Jatukaṇṇika in a previous birth) made good the loss by providing him with the seven kinds of jewels (*Ap.* ii, 360). According to a Sinhalese MS. this king's name is Ānanda.

L. R. G.

ARINDAMA (5), a cakkavattin (world-ruler) of forty-one kappas ago and a previous birth of Sannidhāpaka thera (*Ap.* I, 97).

ARINIHANTAR, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni, while in the ninth bhūmi, acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140).

ARIṢṬA (1), name of a former Buddha (*Mhvu.* III, 251. 1).

ARIṢṬA (2), a monk. See ARIṬṬHA (2).

ARIṢṬĀ, one of the eight young deva maidens of the western quarter. She comes third in the list, where only six others are given, Alambuṣā, Miśrakeśī, Suprabhāyakā, Kṛṣṇā, Śukrā and Draupadī (*Mhvu.* III, 308).

ARIṢṬAKĀKṢA (*Koelreuteria paniculata*), a plant, the seeds of which are used for Buddhist meditation beads. The *Mu-huan-tzŭ-ching* (木槵子經 *Ariṣṭakākṣa Sūtra*) says, "If you want to cut off the barriers of delusion (*kleśāvaraṇa*) and of the effect of karma (*vipākāvaraṇa*), thread one hundred

and eight *ariṣṭakākṣa* and carry it with you always" (*Taishō*, Vol. 17, p. 786). According to the *Hsü-kao-sêng-chuan* ('the Biographies of Eminent Monks') by Tao-hsüan, Tao-ch'o (562-645 A. C.) made many strings of these beads and gave them to many monks and laymen.

K. TMR.

ARIṢṬANEMI, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140).

ARIṢṬIKĀ, a goddess mentioned in the *Mahāsamāja Sūtra* (185 as in *BHS.*). The corresponding Pali term given in the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D.* II, 260) denotes a class of gods, Ariṭṭhaka (q.v.). According to Edgerton (*BHS.* II, 65), Waldschmidt identifies Ariṣṭakā of the *Mahāsamāja Sutta* with Ariṣṭā, one of eight deva maidens, in the *Mahāvastu* (308).

B. J.

ARISŪDANA, name of a former Buddha (*Gvyū* 257.20).

ARIṬṬHA (1), one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilatī ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these paccekabuddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 127) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ARIṬṬHA (2), a monk. He had been subjected by the Saṅgha to the *ukkhepanīyakamma* for refusal to renounce a sinful doctrine, namely, that the states of mind declared by the Buddha to be stumbling-blocks are not such at all for him who indulges in them. Ariṭṭha left the Order and would not come back until the *ukkhepanīyakamma* was revoked (*Vin.* II. 25–8).

His case is cited as that of a *pācittiya*-offence, because he refused to give up a wrong doctrine even after the monks had three times requested him to do so (*Vin.* IV, 135).

In spite of the *ukkhepanīyakamma* the Chabbaggiya monks kept company with Ariṭṭha, thereby committing a *pācittiya*-offence (ibid. 137). We find the Buddha rebuking the nun Thullanandā for associating with Ariṭṭha after the *ukkhepanīyakamma* (ibid. 218).

It was Ariṭṭha's heresy that led to the preaching of the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* (*M.* I, 130 ff.). In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 314–15), Ariṭṭha is mentioned as having said to the Buddha that he practised concentration in breathing and as having described how he did it. The Buddha, thereupon, instructs him as to how such concentration can be done perfectly and in every detail. In the *Samantapāsādikā* Ariṭṭha is mentioned in a list of enemies of the Sāsana (*VinA.* IV, 874).

G. P. M.

ARIṬṬHA (3), a minister of king Devānampiya Tissa, his uncle. On the seventh day after Mahinda arrived in Ceylon, Ariṭṭha became a bhikkhu and with him fifty-five brothers entered the Order. They attained to arahantship immediately. Another by the same name is discussed below, and E. W. Adikaram has suggested that the two were probably brothers (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 53 ff.).

D. T. D.

ARIṬṬHA (4), usually referred to as Mahā Ariṭṭha, the chief minister of king Devānampiya Tissa of Ceylon and also the king's nephew. The Indian emperor Asoka, to whom the Ceylon king sent an embassy led by Mahā Ariṭṭha, conferred upon him the title of Senāpati (General: *Mhv.* xi, 20; xvi, 10). He went on a second embassy, entrusted with the responsibility of bringing Saṅghamittā and the branch of the Bodhi Tree. On his return from Asoka's court at Pāṭalīputta, he became a bhikkhu with five hundred others and attained arahantship. He is reported to have gone on the second mission on the condition that he would be permitted to renounce the worldly life on his return (*Mhv.* xix, 5, 12, 66). Under the leadership of Mahā Ariṭṭha on behalf of Sinhalese bhikkhus, a *saṅgīti* (recital) was held in the pariveṇa of the minister Meghavaṇṇābhaya in the precincts of the Thūpārāma, Anurādhapura. It was on the first day of the *pavāraṇa* ceremony in the month of Kattika. In this incident the part Mahā Ariṭṭha played has been likened to that of Upāli in the First Council which was held in Rājagaha. Mahinda himself was present on the occasion of this Vinaya recital which was associated with miraculous happenings, according to the author of the *VinA.* (I, 102 ff.). Mahā Ariṭṭha died in the reign of king Uttiya (267 B.C.—257 B.C.). His chief disciples were Tissadatta, Kālasumana and Dīghasumana.

D. T. D.

ARIṬṬHAJANAKA, king of Mithilā and father of the bodhisatta in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (*J.*VI, 30 f.). He was the elder son of king Mahājanaka and was made the viceroy while his younger brother, Polajanaka, was the Commander-in-Chief. On his father's death Ariṭṭhajanaka became king and Polajanaka viceroy. Later, Polajanaka killed Ariṭṭhajanaka and captured his kingdom. The bodhisatta was born posthumously to Ariṭṭhajanaka's chief queen and was named Mahājanaka after his grandfather.

L. R. G.

ARIṬṬHAKA, a class of deities, mentioned in the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D.* II, 260) as having been present at the great concourse of gods, demons, nāgas and others referred to there. The Pali phrase: *ummāpupphanibhāsino*, which follows their name, is taken by Malalasekera (*DPPN.* I, 175) to be an epithet descriptive of their hue, which then becomes that of azure flowers. Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* (*DA.* II, 690), however, takes this phrase to stand for the proper name of another class of devas.

B. J.

ARIṬṬHANEMI, a former Buddha. See ARIṢṬANEMI.

ARIṬṬHA-PABBATA, a forested triple peak (altitude 2,513 ft.) on an isolated massif twenty-five miles south east of Anurādhapura, Ceylon. Known as Riṭigala by the Sinhalese, it may also be connected with the Pali name Ariṭṭha (Mahā Ariṭṭha, nephew of king Devānampiyatissa) of the chronicles. It occurs, too, in the place-name Ariṭa-gama in some of the pre-Christian inscriptions at the spot. Riṭigala may be derived also from the Sanskrit *ariṣṭi*, and there have the meaning of 'safety-rock'. As a matter of fact, it came to be so in the *Mahāvaṃsa* accounts of warfare between rulers. The peak was associated with yakkhas (see SUMANAKŪṬA) and continues to be so amongst the neighbouring population even to this day. One of the pre-Buddhist kings showed much favour to the yakkhas who had helped him in a campaign. The yakkhas were, therefore, probably a local forest-tribe, rather than legendary folk. The establishment of Buddhism put them into the background and Riṭigala gradually came to be invested with Buddhist associations. A number of caves here, some of them inscribed on, had been used by bhikkhus in pre-Christian times. King Sūratissa (247 B.C.—237 B.C.), built Makulaka Vihāra at the foot of the mountain and Lañjatissa (119 B.C.—110 B.C.) the Ariṭṭha Vihāra. King Sena I (833—53 A.C.) built an impressive monastery for *paṃsukūlika* bhikkhus which he endowed handsomely. At least fifty structures were included in it, as may be reckoned from the remains. The ancient remains at Ariṭṭhapabbata are spread over an extensive area and, in extent of time, cover a thousand years with the ninth century A.C. as the latest limit. From the archaeological point of view, the most important feature is that here we find untouched some padhānagharas (q.v.). Among ancient statuary found in the caves the most interesting was a worn wooden image with hands across the chest, in the position of the well-known colossal stone sculpture at Gal Vihāra, Polonnaruva, and popularly identified with Ānanda.

D. T. D.

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EZ. I; *ASCAR.* for 1893; *ASC Mem*, I.

ARIṬṬHA SUTTA (*S.* V, 314) records a conversation between Ariṭṭha and the Buddha regarding concentration on breathing. The Buddha asks the monks whether they practise such concentration. Ariṭṭha says that he himself does and proceeds to explain his method. The Buddha, while not condemning it, explains to him how it could be made perfect in every detail. See ĀNĀPĀNASATI.

U. K.

ARIṬṬHA-ṬHAPITA-GHARA, one of the nunneries that Saṅghamittā caused to be built in Anurādhapura in Ceylon near the Upāsikāvihāra, the nunnery where she herself dwelt with her companions (*Mhv.* xix, 69–71). The nunnery was probably built by king Devānampiyatissa, for he was the ruler at the time. It was so named because the helm (*ariṭṭha*) of the ship that brought the branch of the bodhi tree was kept here. Sirivaḍḍhāgāra was another name for this nunnery (*MhvA.* p. 409). From the time of its construction the nunnery seems to have been occupied by the nuns of the Upāsikāvihāra who later came to be known as Hatthāḷhaka bhikkhunīs, and it continued to be so even when other sects arose such as the Dhammarucika (*Mhv.* xix, 71).

H. R. P.

ARIṬṬHA VIHĀRA, an ancient Ceylon monastery of the 2nd cent. B.C., constructed by Lañjatissa on the Ariṭṭha-pabbata (q.v.), now known as Riṭigala (*Mhv.* xxxiii, 27; *EZ.* I, 138). The king

also granted the Abadaḷaka tank to this monastery (*EZ.* I, 148; *JCBRAS.* New Series, VI, 170; *ASCAR.* 1893, pp. 8–10).

H. R. P.

ARIYA (1), 'noble', is frequently used in Pali as an honorific prefix, without forming an actual part of the title of the text or sect, etc. In such cases the subject has been entered without the prefix. Thus the Ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga, the Noble Eightfold Path, will be discussed under AṬṬHAṄGIKA-MAGGA, the Eightfold Path. But if the word forms part of the name, it will be found together with its prefix. Thus ARIYAKOṬI, ARIYA SUTTA, etc. See also ĀRYA.

ARIYA (2), one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence, the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilati ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these paccekabuddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 127) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ARIYA (3), a fisherman who lived near the north gate of Sāvatthi. One day when he was catching fish, the Buddha, returning with the monks from an alms-round, stopped not far from him. When the fisherman saw the Buddha, he threw away his fishing gear and stood still. The Buddha proceeded to ask the monks their names, and they answered. Seeing that the fisherman himself expected to be questioned, the Buddha asked him his name, too. When he said that his name was Ariya (noble), the Buddha said that he was not worthy of it, since he was taking the lives of living beings and that noble ones never injured any living thing. At the end of the discourse, the fisherman became a *sotāpanna* (*DhpA.* III, 396-8).

I. K.

ARIYA-AṬṬHAṄGIKA-MAGGA, the Noble Eightfold Path. See AṬṬHAṄGIKA-MAGGA.

ARIYAGĀLA-TISSA, son of the chief Mahādhana of Mahāgāma in Ceylon. In his childhood, he was called Keḷiya-Tissa, because he liked to play. Later, he entered the Order, but after five years gave up his robes, and swam down the river carrying on his chest a pile of wood. Two women bathing in the river, saw the pile of wood floating and both claimed it. When it came near them, they both went ashore, along with Tissa. When they realised that Tissa was naked, one woman ran home to bring him a garment. Meanwhile, the other gave half of her cloth for him to wear and took him home where she became his wife. Her name was Sumanā. Since he was found in the river, the villagers named him Gaṅgā-Tissa. Later, because he refused to work in the field, Sumanā's parents named him Nikkamma-Tissa and told him and his wife to quit their house. Then Tissa sought work under a headman called Canda-Suriya a friend of Mahādhana, and reaped and threshed a field of five hundred karīsas in one day. Canda-Suriya was so pleased that he gave him all the grain.

Tissa and his wife gave alms daily to eight bhikkhus. Because his meals were not tasty the bhikkhus called him Udakaloṇa-Tissa. Discovering this, Tissa gave them milk-rice and he was called Khīrabhatta-Tissa. Later, when he started to give them rice mixed with ghee they called him Kalyāṇabhatta-Tissa. One day, while looking for yams in the Kumbulapabbata, he discovered a hidden treasure which he took home. From that time, he gave alms to thousands of bhikkhus in Cetiyamba-vihāra, Anurādhapura, and Nāgadīpa, and lived in Ariyagālatittha (whence his name) as a ferry-man, taking people across, free of charge. Sakka, in order to test his faith came as an old brāhman and having tried his patience filled his house with seven kinds of valuables and gave him a rice-field.

At this time, a discussion arose among the bhikkhus in Piyaṅgudīpa, as to where the most devout people were to be found. Satisambodhi thera said they were in Ceylon, while Yoṇakarāja-putta Mahā-Bodhirakkhita said they were in Yoṇakaraṭṭha. To test this, Satisambodhi arrived in Tissa's house at a time when his wife was resting after offering alms to twelve thousand bhikkhus. She saw the thera and prepared a bowl of *catumadhura* and offered it to him. He asked her to throw the bowl up into the air. It went as far as Piyaṅgudīpa and according to the thera's wish Sumanā saw the other bhikkhus also partaking of that meal and became very happy. When her husband came home, she related to him the whole incident.

As Ariyagāla-Tissa lay dying, devas from each of the six deva worlds brought chariots and invited him to their respective deva-worlds. He chose to be

born in Tusita. Sumanā, knowing her husband's intention, retired into her room and died before him. They were both reborn in Tusita. In his previous birth Ariyagāla-Tissa thera is said to have honoured a bodhi-tree and attended on the bhikkhus at Chagāma (*Rasavāhinī*, ii, 32–7). In the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* some of the names given to him at various stages in his life show slight variations (*Ssvu.* 53–8).

I. K.

ARIYĀKARA VIHĀRA (var. Ariyākāra), a monastery on the Kumbhīlatissa (Kumbalatissa)-pabbata. Five hundred bats that were in one of its caves died while listening to the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta* recited by a monk who dwelt there. They were later born in families in the neighbourhood, entered the Order and became residents of the very same monastery, where they became arahants (*Ssvu.* 187 ; *Rasavāhinī*, ed. Saraṇatissa, p. 183).

The monastery is perhaps identical with the Ariyākari vihāra.

H. R. P.

ARIYĀKARI, a monastery in Ceylon, one of the chief residences of the monks of Ruhuna, the southern part of the island.

No reference to the original construction of the monastery is available, but Ceylon chronicles, inscriptions and other later literary works, both Pali and Sinhalese, refer to the renovations of the monastery, endowments made to it, and its occupants.

A direct reference to the vihāra is made in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xlv, *vv.* 60–3) where it is stated that king Dappula I (659 A.C.) of Ruhuna granted to it the village of Mālavatthu and built there a superb image-house. Decayed cetiyas he adorned with a new coating of stucco and further he had a statue 15 cubits high (about 22½ feet) made of Metteyya.

The Arikāri vihāra referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xlix, *v.* 32) seems to be identical with this vihāra. Here, the chronicle says that Udaya I (797–801 A.C.) renewed what was broken down and built a house for the distribution of food by allotment and a *pāsāda* (pavilion) which was formerly missing.

It has been suggested that the Arittārā monastery referred to in the three Rässahela rock inscriptions (*EZ.* IV, 175) of the 8th century is identical with Ariyākari. According to these inscriptions vast stretches of land such as the Soruyur in Digä(piḍu)lla on the right bank of the Galhoy, Kalalväli in the (district of) Lamjanavu, Mahāvägam in Saratväga, Māḷatta, Gulavälla and Mivangamu were granted to this monastery. The ruins of the monastery and the lands granted to it are in the Gal-Oya Valley and Māḷatta in the third inscription seems to be identical with Mālavatthu in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

There is also a view that Ariyakoṭi referred to in the *Papañcasūdanī* (*MA.* I, 60) is a synonym for Ariyākari. This reference which speaks of a virtuous monk, named Mahādatta, who lived here is as old as the fifth century, and, according to that view, the monastery existed already during that time.

The Ariyākari vihāra which thus seems to have survived during the fifth, seventh and eighth centuries is perhaps identical with the Ariyākara-vihāra of the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* (p. 187) and Ariyākāra vihāra and Ariyaka vihāra of the *Rasavāhinī* (pp. 167, 183). The former work belongs to the 9th century, whereas the latter belongs to the 10th, and if the identity is established it is likely that the monastery survived even during these centuries. The *Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa*, for which has been suggested a date prior to Buddhaghosa, makes mention of Dhammagutta thera of the Dariya vihāra (p. 160, n. 2) which the editor has translated in the Sinhalese version as Ariya vihāra (*Itā Pärani Siṃhala Baṇakathā*, 1958 ed., p. 145). It is possible that this Ariya vihāra (or Dariya vihāra) is identical with the Ariyākari vihāra of the chronicle. Thus, the six names, Arikāri, Ariyakoṭi, Ariyākara (Ariyākāra), Ariyaka, Ariya (Dariya) and Arittārā may all refer to the same monastery.

These references evidently show that the monastery was in Ruhuṇa. S. Paranavitana (*ASCAR.* 1951, pp. 37–8 ; *JCBRAS*, New Series, VI, 29, 57) identifies it with the ruins at Māligāvila and Daṁbēgoḍa (S. E. of Buttala) which once formed a single monastery. Among the ruins are an image of the Buddha, remains of an image-house and another damaged image which is believed to be of Metteyya (Skt. Maitreya). The dāgäba mentioned in the chronicle has not yet been found. In the same way, the modern Mālavatthai between Amparai and Sammanturai has been identified with the ancient Mālavatthu, a village granted to this monastery in the seventh century.

Paranavitana's identification has been questioned on the ground that Mālavatthai is about 60 miles away from the Māligāvila-Daṁbēgoḍa ruins, and Ariyākari was not an institution of such magnitude as to have been assigned a village so far away. The ruins at modern Rājagala in the Gal-Oya Valley, identified with Arittāra-vehera

of the three Rāssahela rock-inscriptions, have also been suggested as the ruins of the ancient Ariyākari monastery.

H. R. P.

ARIYAKA VIHĀRA, a monastery in Ceylon probably between Rohaṇa and Anurādhapura. A woman going from Rohaṇa to Anurādhapura once obtained divine clothes on the way as a result of giving her own cloth to an arahant. Desirous of giving that too, she shouted so as to be heard by monks in the vicinity. In a moment 12,000 monks from the Ariyaka vihāra came, and she gave them the cloth making a set of three robes (*ticīvara*) out of it (*Rasavāhinī*, ed. Saranatissa, p. 167).

The monastery is probably identical with the Ariyākari vihāra.

H. R. P.

ARIYAKOṬI, an ancient monastery, the residence of a thera, named Mahādatta (*MA.* I, 160). Its location has not been traced, but seems to have been in Rohaṇa (E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1st ed., p. 121).

ARIYĀLAṄKĀRA. There were in Burma at least four theras by this name, all noted for their scholarship. One, who was more or less pre-eminent among them, and who may be called the first of the name, lived in Ratnapura about the seventeenth century, if not a decade or two earlier. He excelled in *dhātupaccayavibhāga*, that is to say, he was a noted grammarian. The next is mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the following Pali works are ascribed to him : Interpretations of *Atthasālinī*, Saddhammajotipāla's (Chapaṭa) *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*, Sumaṅgala's (Sumaṅgalasāmi) *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī* and the *Vibhaṅga* of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, and a ṭīkā (commentary) in Pali entitled *Sāratthavikāsinī*. To the last he added what may be called a revised edition of the work on which he wrote the commentary. It is not clear, however, whether all these works could be ascribed to the same Ariyālaṅkāra. More probably they have to be distributed between the first and the second Ariyālaṅkāra, the former being credited with the purely grammatical works as he was an authority on the subject (Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, 37, 53, 54).

D. T. D.

ARIYAMAGGA SUTTA occurs in the *Ariyamagga Vagga* of the *Dasaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (V, 244). It speaks of a twofold way, the noble way and the ignoble way. The noble way consists of right understanding, right views, right speech, right actions, right livelihood, right endeavour, right attention, right concentration and right emancipation. Their opposites constitute the wrong or the ignoble path.

W. G. W.

ARIYAMAGGA VAGGA, the nineteenth vagga of the *Dasaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (V, 278–81). It includes ten suttas the subject matter in all being identical, and the suttas differ only in their introduction. The title of the vagga is derived from the title of the sutta which starts by saying, "I shall preach to you the noble way as well as the ignoble way (*ariyamaggañ ca anariyamaggañ ca*)." Non-injury to life, not taking what is not given, non-indulgence in sense pleasures, abstinence from falsehood and liquor—these are explained as the noble way, while their opposites are explained as the ignoble way.

W. G. W.

ĀRIYAMUNI, a Siamese thera of the Saṅgha delegation to Ceylon about the middle of the 18th century. It is these royal emissaries who, at the request of king Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha of the island, held the ceremonial *upasampadā* (higher ordination) in the chapter-house of Pupphārāma (Malwattē Vihāra), Kandy. Upāli Mahā Thera headed the Siamese party. Āriyamuni is reckoned as having been next to him in rank. He is described as "well-known for qualities such as the observance of precepts". He figured in an incident in which he was humiliated whilst still in his own country and on the way to Ceylon. A truculent member of the Sinhalese Saṅgha, Nattaṁburē Gaṇinnānsē by name, who had remained in Siam from a visit, boarded the vessel in which Āriyamuni and the Sinhalese emissaries were travelling, and demanded for himself the effects of a deceased Sinhalese thera. Upon being refused, he struck Āriyamuni and another with a stick. Āriyamuni then declined to come to Ceylon because he feared that worse might befall him in a country which produced such unpredictable people as Nattaṁburē. The matter was brought to the notice of the district governor. He took suitable action and, with some others, persuaded Āriyamuni not to abandon his intention. The party eventually arrived in Ceylon to fulfil their mission (*Mhv.* c, 95; *JCBRAS.* XVIII, No. 54, pp. 42–3; *CJHSS.* II, 40, 67, 70–1).

D. T. D.

ARIYA-NAYA, the Noble Law. See PAṬICCA-SAMUPPĀDA.

ARIYAPARIYESANA SUTTA, preached in Sāvatthi in the hermitage of the brāhman Rammaka (*M.* I, 160-76). Some monks expressed to Ānanda their desire to hear a discourse from the Buddha, as it was so long since they had heard one. He advised them to go to the hermitage of Rammaka. In the evening Ānanda went there with the Buddha and spoke to them of the two quests in the world—the noble quest (*ariya-pariyesana*) and the ignoble quest (*anariya-pa°*).

This sutta is important because it describes the origin of religious consciousness. Various theories have been advanced by scholars regarding this topic, one of the most favoured being that put forward by Max Müller according to whom religious consciousness is based on the tendency of savages to fear and revere objects of nature that seem to them powerful, such as a waterfall, a thunderstorm or a majestic tree, to all of which they attribute life and anthropopathic nature (Hopkins, *Origin and Evolution of Religions*, p. 4). The fear of the unknown, the unseen or the awesome is thus said to be the origin of religious consciousness. This may be true so far as the earliest forms of religion in India as well as other countries are concerned. According to Buddhism, religious consciousness is due to the fear of the known, not the unknown, of the seen, not the unseen. It is the awareness of imperfections that propels a person to embrace the holy life (*brahmacariya*). Human life is said to be imperfect, subject to birth (*jāti*), assailed by ageing (*jarā*), disease (*vyādhi*), death (*maraṇa*), sorrow (*soka*), stain (*saṅkilesa*). A knowledge of the perils in what is liable to birth, ageing, disease, etc., generates in man a sense of insecurity which is the source of religious consciousness. Hence religious endeavour in Buddhism is directed to the attainment of perfection, the utmost security (*khema*), Nibbāna. Noble (*ariya*) indeed, is this quest (*pariyesana*) after perfection.

In his attempt to reach the state of perfection the bodhisatta is said to have obtained instructions from two of his famous contemporaries, Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta. To what extent the teachings of these teachers served as a background to the discoveries of the Buddha could be inferred from the sutta.

The course of mental development up to the stage of 'neither perception nor non-perception' (*nevasaññā-nāsaññā*) seems to have been learnt by the bodhisatta under Uddaka Rāmaputta. Not satisfied with this (*taṃ dhammaṃ analaṅkaritvā*), for it is only a halt midway (*antarāvosānaṃ : A.* V, 157), the bodhisatta left him and made an attempt to go beyond. He is represented as superseding the contemporary teachers when he found out for himself that the ultimate goal is the cessation of perception and feeling (*saññā-vedayitanirodha*). It is this discovery of the Buddha that induced him to deny the assistance of a teacher (*sayaṃ abhiññāya kaṃ uddiseyya*), when questioned by the ascetic Upaka as to who his teacher was.

An authoritative account of the biography of the Buddha is found in the sutta.

He was at first reluctant to preach the doctrine he had discovered to the people at large. But being persuaded by Brahmā Sahampati, he decided to preach it, thus inaugurating a very important stage in the history of the Sāsana.

The sutta proceeds to relate the conversion of the Pañcavaggiya monks who had earlier left the bodhisatta when he gave up the practice of austerities.

Finally, the sutta expounds the pleasures of the senses, the dangers therefrom and the freedom and confidence which ensue where one has overcome desire.

In the commentary (*MA.* I, 369 ff.) the sutta is called *Pāsarāsi*, evidently, because of the simile found at the end of the discourse where the pleasures of the senses are compared to baited traps.

D. J. K.

ARIYA PUGGALA, also called *ariyasaṅgha* and *ariya-sāvaka*, is a noble individual who has transcended the state of a worldling (*puthujjana* or *anariya*), and has realised one of the eight states of perfection, namely, the four supermundane paths (*lokuttara-magga*) and the four supermundane fruitions (*lokuttara-phala : Pug.* 14).

In some parts of the Pali canon, the matured one (*gotrabhū*) is listed as the ninth noble one; the matured one is he who has entered the lineage of noble ones (*A.* IV, 373; V, 25; *Pug.* 11, 12) and who is endowed with those qualities upon which follows immediately his entrance into the noble path (*Pug.* 10).

The process by which one enters these eight stages is described in various places in the Pali canon. One becomes free from the first three fetters (*saṃyojana*), namely, personality-belief, sceptical doubts and clinging to mere rule and ritual, through the path of stream-winning (*sotāpatti-magga*); the stream-winner (*sotāpanna*) is already free from them. Through the path of once-returning (*sakadāgāmī*) one becomes nearly

free from the fourth and fifth fetter, namely, sensuous craving and malice. Through the path of never-returning (*anāgāmī*) one becomes fully free from the above mentioned five fetters. Through the path of arahantship one becomes free from the five higher fetters, namely, craving for material existence, craving for immaterial existence, conceit, restlessness and ignorance (*D.* I, 156; *Dhs.* 74, 75).

These eight noble individuals are grouped in four pairs, i.e.. the stream-winner (*sotāpanna*) and the one in the process of stream-winning and so on with the other stages also, respectively (*Sn. v.* 227; *S.* I, 220; *A.* II, 56; IV, 373).

Summing up, there are actually four noble individuals, namely, the stream-winner, the once-returner, the never-returner and the arahant; for, the supermundane path is a designation of the moment of entering into each of the four stages of perfection—Nibbāna being the object—produced by insight (*vipassanā*) into the impermanency, misery and impersonality of existence, flashing forth, and for ever transforming one's life and nature. By fruition is meant those moments of consciousness which follow immediately after, as the result of following the path, and which under certain circumstances may repeat innumerable times during a life-time (*Sn. v.* 226; *A.* II, 149; *Vism.* 580). It is clear from this that 'path' (*magga*) is only a moment and, as such, individuals established in one of the four paths (*maggaṭṭha*) do not really exist; for no sooner does one enter the path than one enjoys its fruition. So there are only the individuals who are established in one of the four fruitions (*phalaṭṭha*).

These eight noble individuals are again grouped in two, namely, the trainees (*sekha*) and the trained (*asekha*: *Pug.* 14). The first seven are trainees, as they are still undergoing the course of training; the eighth one, the arahant, is called trained, because he has already completed his training. He has done everything that has to be done.

They are again grouped in seven categories, namely, the faith-devotee (*saddhānusārī*), the faith-liberated one (*saddhā-vimutta*), the body-witness (*kāyasakkhi*), the twice liberated one (*ubhatobhāga-vimutta*), the law-devotee (*dhammānusārī*), the vision-possessed one (*diṭṭhippatta*) and the wisdom-liberated one (*paññāvimutta*: *Ps.* II, 52, 53; *Vism.* 566). For details see s.v.

These noble individuals are not necessarily monks; they may be monks or lay-disciples. In the *Sutta Piṭaka* we come across a great number of lay-disciples among the noble individuals. Nāgasena says to Milinda that there were about five crores of noble individuals in the city of Sāvatthi, both male and female, all lay-disciples of the Buddha; that a good number of them had realised the fruition of never-returning, sixth stage of perfection, and that others had realised the five lower stages of perfection (*Miln.* 349).

On entering the fruition of arahantship, however, a lay-disciple has two alternatives open for him, either he enters the order of monks or else his process of existence will cease (*ThīgA.* 141).

U. K.

ARIYĀRAHANTA-PAKKHA-BHIKKHU-SAṄGHA, a fraternity of monks in the Daḷa region of the Talaing country in lower Burma and known to exist when Narapatisithu (12–13th cent. A.C.) was ruler of Pagān in upper Burma. They claimed pupillary succession from Soṇa and Uttara, the traditional founders of the religion in Burma, 235 years after the Parinibbāna (*Saraṇavaṃsa*, trsl. p. 35). They were also styled the Mahāthera Fraternity of the Krom (Kamboja) Market, the Krom Market Fraternity or simply as the Krom Fraternity. Unlike the members conforming to the Sinhalese ordination which was introduced by Sāriputta (Dhammavilāsa), the Krom Fraternity remained without internal divisions. It is not known how they were related to the '*purima*' (older) Saṅgha of Burma, though they must have been classified under it rather than under the Sinhalese (*pacca*) Saṅgha.

D. T. D.

ARIYA-SACCA, the noble truth, refers to the Four Noble Truths (*cattāri ariya-saccāni*) which form the basis of the Buddha's teaching. Truth here is not to be understood in its philosophically defined meaning of the correspondence between the intellect and the known object, for the distinction between the knowing subject and the known object is not actual. The passive object is the end and the aim of mental action and is, therefore, an active principle, inducing the subject to action. In the actual process of knowledge there cannot be a correspondence between the knowing subject and the known object, while outside that process there is neither knowing nor known. To overcome this difficulty a distinction has been made between relative truth and absolute truth. Relative or subjective truth is thought to be the truth in so far as it is known to a subject. It is, therefore, an act of the intellect, and thereby also a process of evolution, dependent on relative conditions, such as the correspondence between subject and object. Objective or

absolute truth is thought to be true without relation to anything, i.e., absolutely true. But as any knowledge thereof would make it subjective, nothing can be known about it.

The fallacy in this speculative theorisation is that truth is taken as something final, either as an entity or as a point further than which knowledge could never reach. Frequently in philosophy and always in revealed religions, a search for truth is an essential feature and the attainment or realisation of such truth constitutes its goal. But the term *sacca* in Pali (*satya* in Sanskrit, derived from *sat*, being), is not an ultimate truth, but the factual truth or actuality, experienced without delusion. According to Buddhism, therefore, the truth is to be found in the relative conditions of things and events. To know the truth is to know and see things as they are (*yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana*), which is not a comprehension of the ultimate substance of matter, but an understanding of the phenomenal nature of material qualities. That this truth is a relative knowledge and, therefore, subject to change does not make it less true. And it can be universal in application without being absolute.

Factual truth is not dependent on the knowledge thereof or on its promulgation : whether a Tathāgata arises in this world, or whether no Tathāgata has arisen, still it remains a fact that all component things are transient (*anicca*), and that they produce conflict (*dukkha*) through being misunderstood, which conflict is as baseless (*anattā*) as the phenomena themselves.

The factual truth is presented by the Buddha in a fourfold way : the statement of the fact (*sacca*), the source (*samudaya*), its end (*nirodha*) and the method (*magga*). And each of these four should be contemplated in three aspects (*ti-parivaṭṭa*) for the factual truth must become known (*sacca-ñāṇa*), its function must be understood (*kicca-ñāṇa*) and its accomplishment must be realised (*kata-ñāṇa*), for the knowledge of the truth must be translated into function, if ever the task will be completed.

The first truth is the Noble Truth of suffering (*dukkhassa ariya-sacca*). It is a simple statement of a universal fact : All component things are disharmonious [1] (*sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā*) and, therefore, involved in suffering. This universal statement, however, is not an absolute truth, as it might appear to those who are used to see merely the opposing views : The world, Kaccāna, is accustomed to rely on a duality, on the " it is " and on the " it is not." However, Kaccana, he who perceives in accordance with truth and wisdom how the things in this world arise, for him there is no "it is not" in this world. And he, Kaccāna, who perceives in accordance with truth and wisdom how the things in this world perish, for him there is no " it is " in this world (*S*. II, 17). Here the Buddha clearly holds the relative standpoint : things neither are, nor are not. They merely arise and cease as a process dependent on conditions. This must be applied to all his teachings, especially to the Four Noble Truths. Here we do not have an absolute truth that everything is sorrowful, but a conditional truth : If things are component, they cannot form a harmonious whole. This is not an empirical truth, for no one will ever be able to observe all or to experiment with every individual component. This truth is not based on induction either, for it is not a generalisation from some particular instances, because it does not follow that everything is unsatisfactory, when this and that are unsatisfactory. But this universal proposition is a pure analysis of the nature of composed things ; for the nature of composition includes a tendency towards decomposition. About this more presently.

The statement of the first Noble Truth is thus entirely conditional and relative : if there is anything of a composed nature, then by its own nature it will tend towards dissolution, which tendency is a sign of inherent disharmony. Now, whether there are any composed and decomposable things or not, is not expressed in this statement ; and hence, this truth is not dependent on actual facts for its veracity, though, of course, all actual facts will be in accord with this truth, which is a statement about their essential nature. And thus far it is a universal truth. At the same time it is also a relative and a conditional truth in so far as it depends on actuality ; for if there would be no component things whatsoever, this truth would become meaningless, but not untrue. The truth as such would not be affected, even though it would not have any practical application.

As regards the contents of the first Noble Truth it comprises two terms : thing composed (*saṅkhāra*) and suffering (*dukkha*). A composition always refers to an arrangement of parts fitted together, a bringing together of two or more things, events or states, which would not have come together naturally, due to an intrinsic divergency. A composition, therefore, is never an evolution, but rather an involution, an entanglement, a complication, a complex. As a composition, therefore,

1 The use of 'disharmonious' as equivalent to 'dukkha' should be regarded only as a tentative—G.P.M.

always requires an external condition, acting as the factor which brings about the union, the act of composition is not according to the intrinsic nature of the two compounding elements. Thus, a composition being an unnatural complication will have the inner tendency to solve this complex, i.e., to evolve; just as plant-hybrids show an inclination to return to nature. All component things, therefore, are by nature 'disharmonious'. It is this lack of harmony which is the essence of *dukkha*, conflict. And the first Noble Truth can be simplified in more familiar words: Every complex includes a "conflict" (*sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā*).

Conflict may assume different forms. It may be sorrow (*soka*) which is suffering resulting from loss (*vyasana*) of relations (*ñāti*), wealth (*bhoga*), health (*āroga*), virtue (*sīla*) or opinions (*diṭṭhi* : *D.* III, 235; *A.* III, 147; *Vin.* IV, 277). Here the conflict arises from the untoward circumstances arising in life's associations. Pain (*dukkha*) is a physical discomfort (*kāyika asāta*) in which the conflict is due to feelings repugnant to the senses. Grief (*domanassa*) is mental suffering (*cetasika asāta*), a conflict arising from regret at having failed; or it may be due to misfortunes befallen to others, in which case our sympathy is frequently projected self-pity, having placed ourselves mentally in the other's condition of life. Despair (*upāyāsa*) is a mental reflection on external circumstances which have gone beyond control. It is the absence of hope, and, therefore, the conflict lies in the impossibility to bring external conditions in alignment with internal expectations, whereby all further exertion is brought to an end. Disharmony is a conflict, whether it is the dwindling of vitality (*āyuno saṅhāni*) which is involution conflicting with evolutionary tendencies and which is called old age and decay (*jarā*), or the complete dissolution of the aggregates of the composition (*khandhānaṃ bheda*) which is called death (*maraṇa*). "To be associated with things one dislikes, to be separated from things one likes, not to get what one wishes that also is conflict" (*D.* II, 305).

All this, however, is suffering and disharmony *in* life; and that this is a conflict is so evident that it is said to be "gross and easily felt and understood by both prince and pauper." But the first Noble Truth goes much further: Any complex is a conflict. And thus the Buddha's first Noble Truth is not a mere statement about disharmony *in* life, it culminates in his statement that *life itself* is disharmonious: "the five aggregates of clinging, i.e., the entire psycho-physical combination of an individual life, are suffering" (*pañc'ūpādānakkhandhā dukkhā*). And whether it is called pleasure (*somanassa*) or pain (*domanassa*), well (*sukha*) or ill (*dukkha*), life is a conflict because life is a complex. All the different tendencies which go into the making of a character are inclinations which show the presence of a discord and a void. Nature abhors a vacuum; and hence the very presence of a tendency, the very fact of striving, proves the existence of a conflict even in happiness. That is why happiness never satisfies. One always wants more, both in depth and in duration, in space and in time. But, in the midst of enjoyment and bliss there creeps in the fear of final frustration and impermanence. That is life, the complex life, which bears in itself the seed of conflict. The struggle for life is also the essence of life. "And that indeed is called conflict" (*idaṃ vuccati dukkhaṃ*).

Truth itself is not objective and, therefore, not absolute, but relative. And so the truth of conflict (*dukkha-sacca*) does not lie in the objective world of events, and not in the nature of the subject either, but in the complex, i.e., in the mutual reaction of both, of one upon the other. Thus, the origin of such conflict (*dukkha-samudaya*) is to be found in the manner of apprehension of the world of events, in the act of apprehending, seizing or grasping: "This, O monks, is the noble truth concerning the origin of conflict. Verily, it is desire causing the renewal of existence accompanied by sensual delights, seeking satisfaction now here then there; that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions (*kāma-taṇhā*), the craving for an everlasting future life (*bhava-taṇhā*), or craving for the ending of existence" (*vibhava-taṇhā* : *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* : *Vin.* I, 10). It is the will to enjoy life here; the will to live elsewhere; or the will to end life's consequences, which gives rise to conflict. This will, desire, craving, clinging, or whatever name it may bear as a volitional activity of a purposeful striving, is a projection into the future, whether it is a positive striving to achieve or a negative striving to escape. As such it is a lack of actual living in the present, a lack of understanding life as actuality, by attributing to it wrong values, by creating an imaginary and ideal future, and thereby initiating a conflict. For any desire holds within its grip a dissatisfaction, without which it simply could not have arisen. The act of grasping seems actual and in the present; but the good perceived in the present is sought for the sake of security in time to come, to serve a purpose in the future. Grasping in the present has its motive in the future; and as such it is not actual, but projective.

Craving for the gratification of the passions (*kāma-taṇhā*) arises and becomes rooted in the senses. Enticing forms, melodious sounds, delightful tastes, alluring feelings in the senses of the body, are all perceived in the mind which through application and reflection conceives an attachment to them. On the other hand, ugly forms, discording sounds, nasty tastes, repugnant feelings cause a perception of displeasure in the mind which results in aversion. But whether it is an attachment to the pleasing sensations, or an aversion from the unpleasant ones, it narrows the mind (*parittacetaso viharati*) which thereby becomes subject-conscious, while attention to actuality is relaxed (*anupaṭṭhita-kāya-sati*). Those sensations, approved of and welcomed, intensify the will to enjoy (*kāma-taṇhā*) which develops into a clinging to them (*upādāna*). But in this very clinging lies the fulness of the misery of bondage. For the pleasures of the senses are not lasting; they, too, are complex, leading to entanglement and disharmony, because they consist of wrong values. They are, therefore, a composition of discords, naturally tending towards dissolution. The dissolution of such a discord would be good in itself, but as the mind is clinging to that wrong value it becomes a source of conflict (*dukkha*).

When craving for sense-pleasures (*kāma-taṇhā*) cannot cling (*upādāna*) any more, owing to dissolution of the senses or the fading away of the sense objects, it will renew itself in constant re-becoming (*bhava*), thus not quenching but producing an ever-increasing thirst for life and all it stands for (*bhava-taṇhā*). Then the very impermanency of all things might become a new source of fresh delight each time, which keeps away the boredom and the tedium of constant and unchanging beauty and joy. Is not the sea made beautiful by the rise and fall of her waves? Do not the different seasons add to the attraction of nature? Those changes, however, are not attractive in themselves; they are only appreciated because their beauty is so baseless and because they cannot be esteemed for long. It is only their frequent change which makes them tolerable.

In this manner then arises the craving for permanency in the impermanent, a form of idealism which in olden times was called eternalism (*sassata-diṭṭhi*). It is craving for permanent existence (*bhava-taṇhā*) which, although expressing itself in many forms, is always based on a wrong view of individuality (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*). It is either matter itself which is thought of as indestructible, or some psychical functions as sensations, perceptions or ideations, or even knowledge itself, which come to be regarded as qualities of some permanent entity, or as identical with an indestructible life-principle, or as residing in an eternal soul, or *vice versa* as a spiritual substance residing in those phenomena. Such eternalistic views of individuality, originating in a desire for permanent existence, have led in the history of philosophy to Pantheistic Monism which holds that everything is a development of an immaterial and supersensual substance; to Plato's Animism believing the human soul to be both immortal and eternal, i.e., pre- and post-existent; to Realism, giving in its exaggerated form real existence even to universal concepts, or in its moderate version believing in a metaphysical essence, apart from individual characteristics; to Ultra-Dogmatism, accepting the reliability of first principles *a priori*.

There is still another way in which the mind might try to solve the conflict of life, namely, by refusing to see its complexity and conditionality. For, then, life becomes a succession of events without any consequence. It is the extreme view of Materialism, called Annihilationism (*uccheda-diṭṭhi*). This craving for annihilation (*vibhava-taṇhā*) is not so much a desire for the end of life, as a belief that actions in this life will have no further consequences. It is a view, therefore, which encourages joyful living to the utmost, as with death everything is finished. Naturally, such a view of life leads to extreme selfishness, for it stimulates the chase after individual pleasures even at the cost of loss to others. But it is impossible for an individual to break away from a life in which his process of action is so entangled with that of others, that any attempt of isolation can only complicate the complex more. Thus, even this craving for the annihilation of the consequences of action does not solve the problem, but is the source of a more intense conflict.

Thus, desire for the pleasures of the senses (*kāma-taṇhā*) leads to conflict (*dukkha*), because it is an attachment to a wrong value which can never give the satisfaction hoped for. Desire for continued existence (*bhava-taṇhā*) is a source of conflict because it is a search for the permanent in the impermanent. Desire for the annihilation of the consequences of life (*vibhava-taṇhā*) produces more conflict, because of its tendency towards isolation, which produces a sharper contrast between the delusive opposites of self and others. Such is the second Noble Truth (*ariya-sacca*), the truth about the origin of conflict (*dukkha-samudaya*).

Knowledge of the presence of conflict (*dukkha-sacca*) and understanding of the source of its origin (*dukkha-samudaya*) still leave unattained the realisation of the cessation of the conflict (*dukkha-nirodha*): and this forms the third Noble Truth, which is the

only logical conclusion to be drawn from a fact arising in dependence on a condition, namely, that with the cessation of that originating condition the effect will also cease.

The process of solving the complex and thereby ending the conflict will be, therefore, a process of eradication of the root-condition, which was stated in the second Noble Truth to be craving in its various expressions. Hence "it is the entire waning, cessation, abandoning, rejection, liberation and detachment from that craving, that is called the (third) Noble Truth of the cessation of conflict" (*D.* II, pp. 310-11). And where that craving has arisen, there also it must be abandoned and dissolved, viz., in the senses and in the will. For, "wherever there is in the world something enticing and delightful, there this craving will vanish if abandoned; if dissolved, it will cease" (loc. cit.). Then, "through the entire waning and cessation of craving comes the cessation of clinging (*upādāna*); through the cessation of clinging ceases the becoming of volitional tendencies and activities (*bhava*); with the cessation of this karmic action rebirth (*jāti*) will come to an end, and then will also cease decay, death, suffering, sorrow, pain grief and despair" (*S.* II, p. 70). And thus is brought about the cessation of this entire complex of conflict (*dukkhakkhandhassa nirodha*).

This process of cessation, removing the source of conflict, should not become a quest for happiness, which would be only a subtle substitute for the more gross kind of craving just abandoned. Any kind of happiness which possibly can be thought of, will have the hall-mark of impermanence (*anicca*), and hence the search for it contains the seed of conflict (*dukkha*). And so the quest cannot be for a positive goal, but a negative one: the cessation of conflict (*dukkhanirodha*). Only he who has no desire to control anything, but who is inspired by the irrepressible need to become free from all delusion, he has truly entered the path to perfect bliss in the cessation of the conflict through the solution of the problem. In recognising the source of the conflict in himself, man is able to solve that conflict in himself by removing that source. The conflict began by attaching wrong values to physical and psychical phenomena. Hence, by means of a re-valuation, that attachment will naturally cease. It is a process of cessation through understanding. Cessation is not of being, for there is no permanent soul, substance or entity to cease, but cessation is of becoming, i.e., of the arising (*bhava-nirodha*) of the volitional activities (*kamma*) which lead to the repetition or rebirth of the complex. Thus, cessation is not a doctrine of rationalised suicide, not of annihilation, and hence it does not lead to asceticism. Only in one sense does the Buddha admit to be an annihilationist, namely, in so far as he teaches the annihilation of the passions and defilements (*kilesa-nirodha*).

The method of achieving such cessation is the last of the four Noble Truths, the means towards the end, the path that leads to the cessation of conflict (*dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadā*). This will be dealt with in detail under AṬṬHAṄGIKA MAGGA. It suffices to say here that this fourth Noble Truth which is the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga*) covers man's moral life (*sīla*), his power of concentration (*samādhi*) and his understanding of the truth (*paññā*). It is a path of understanding and practice, whereby the truth can become known (*sacca-ñāṇa*), its function understood (*kicca-ñāṇa*) so that its accomplishment may be realised (*kata-ñāṇa*).

H. G. A. v Z.

ARIYASĀVAKA SUTTA, the ninth and the tenth suttas of the *Gahapati Vagga* of the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 77-9), preached at Sāvatthi. A well-taught (*sutavata*) ariyan disciple (*ariyasāvaka*) does not wonder as to the cause and effect (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) of things, but he is aware that it really is the arising (*samudaya*) and the passing away (*atthaṅgama*) of the world.

The first sutta says that the *ariyasāvaka* who is endowed with right view stands knocking at the door of the Deathless.

The second sutta is the same as the first with a very slight variation in the last paragraph in its wording, but not in its meaning.

I. K.

ARIYA SUTTA (1) appears in the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 82). The cultivation of the seven factors of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*) leads to the complete destruction of suffering.

ARIYA SUTTA (2) appears in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 166). The cultivation of the four bases of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) leads to the complete destruction of suffering.

ARIYA SUTTA (3), the third sutta of the *Cāpāla Vagga* of the *Iddhipāda Saṃyutta* (*S.* V, 255). The

Buddha says that the four bases of psychic power (*iddhipāda*) when cultivated would lead one to the goal, to the utter destruction of sorrow.

ARIYAVAṂSA (1), noble lineage or heritage. Four important qualities expected of every Buddhist monk, described as *ariyavaṃsa*, are given in the Pali canon. In brief they are: (i) A monk is satisfied with whatever robes he gets, praises the value of contentment in whatever robes he obtains, does not commit any impropriety in order to secure robes, nor does he exalt himself or look down upon others on account of his possession of this quality of contentment. So is he with regard to (ii) whatever food he obtains[1] and (iii) whatever lodgings he is provided with. (iv) A monk takes delight in meditation and renunciation. But on account of this he does not exalt himself nor does he look down upon others.[2]

The *Vaṃsa Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 27), containing these four noble lineages[3], is sometimes called the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* (*DA*. I, 50; *MA*. I, 14) or *Mahā-Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* (*MA*. II, 246). A much longer name, descriptive and analytical, is *Catupaccaya-santosa-bhāvanārāma mahā-ariya-vaṃsa Sutta* (The Great Ariyavaṃsa Sutta expounding contentment in the four requisites and delight in meditation: *AA*. II, 249). Another version of this name adds *paṭimaṇḍitaṃ* after *bhāvanārāma* (*AA*. I, 192), while in the *Visuddhimagga* is found the name *Catupaccaya-santosa-bhāvanārāmatā-dīpakaṃ mahā-ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadaṃ* (*Vism*. 75).

The sutta is cited as an example of a discourse delivered by the Buddha on his own initiative (*DA*. I, 50; *MA*. I, 14). According to the *Dhammapada* commentary (II, 169 f.) he had Mahā-Kassapa in view when the *ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadā* was preached. Mahā-Kassapa was regarded in many ways to be the ideal Buddhist monk attached to a simple way of life and austere practices. Therefore, it is not surprising that a sutta expounding the ideal life of a Buddhist monk should be thus described. The Buddha is said to have praised the sutta with nine epithets (*navahi padehi*) while the *Chacakka* and the *Satipaṭṭhāna Suttas* were praised with eight and seven epithets respectively (*MA*. I, 236). The epithets of the noble lineages as given in the *Vaṃsa Sutta* are that they are pristine (*aggañña*), of long standing (*rattañña*), traditional (*vaṃsañña*), ancient (*porāṇa*), pure (*asaṃkiṇṇa*), not contaminated in the past (*asaṃkiṇṇa-pubba*) or at present, which shall not be contaminated in the future and not despised by the discerning recluses and brāhmans (*appatikuṭṭho samaṇehi brāhmaṇehi viññūhi*). Wherever he lives, a monk endowed with these qualities masters both discontent and content (*arati-rati-saho*). Pure as the purest of gold, he indeed is the true sage praised even by gods and by Brahmā (*A*. II, 27 ff.).

Commenting on the sutta Buddhaghosa says that the Buddha preached this sutta at Jetavana to an assembly of forty thousand monks. *Ariyavaṃsa*, according to him, is the noble heritage or lineage of the Buddhas, paccekabuddhas and disciples of the Buddhas of the past, present and future. It is the noblest of all the eight lineages, the others being *khattiya, brāhman, vessa, sudda, samaṇa, kula* and *rāja*. Another name for it is *ariya-tanti* or *ariya-paveṇi* (noble custom or tradition). He goes on to give a detailed exposition on each of the four lineages. The first three of these, according to him, cover the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, while by the last one both the other piṭakas are covered (*SHB*. XXXIII, 487 ff.).

Numerous other references to *ariyavaṃsa* have been found in the Pali commentaries and other Pali works. They all lead to the same conclusion that *ariyavaṃsa*, whatever it may have been, was very popular among the Buddhists, both the Saṅgha and the laity, of ancient Ceylon. There were monks known as *ariyavaṃsa-bhāṇaka* who specialised in the preaching of the *ariyavaṃsa*. Sometimes they have been quoted as authorities in the Dhamma (*SA*. III, 151). Instances are found where kings and nobles took a keen interest in the preaching of the sutta. Some of them contributed handsomely towards the expenses incurred. Large numbers of people, even from distant places, came to hear the *ariyavaṃsa* preached, and sometimes it was made an occasion for a festival. What was this *ariyavaṃsa* so popular in ancient Ceylon? Was it the same as the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* or something else as suggested by some scholars?

Three different usages of the term can be gathered from the Pali commentaries: (i) The name of a sutta—e.g., *ariyavaṃsaṃ kathayamāno*, preaching the ariyavaṃsa (i.e., the sutta; *DA*. II, 536). (ii) A

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1 Medicine (*gilānapaccaya*), the fourth requisite (*paccaya*) of a monk, is also included under this (*SHB*. XXXIII, 493).

2 Both the *Mahā-Niddesa* (II, 497) and the *Culla-Niddesa* (p. 106) exclude *bhāvanārāma* from the four lineages and instead include the contentment in whatsoever medicine one obtains as the fourth lineage.

3 Also the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

sermon—e.g., *ekasmiṃ kira gāme ariyavaṃsō hoti. . ...ukkaṭṭho itare āha, āyāmāvuso dhamma-savanāya.* In a certain village there is the *ariya-vaṃsa* (i.e., preaching, *desanā*), the strict one said to the others, 'come friends, let us go to hear the preaching of the Dhamma' (*Vism.* 54). (iii) A course of training (*paṭipadā*) to be practised—e.g., *mahā-ariyavaṃsaṃ pūrayamāno bhikkhu* : a monk fulfilling the great *ariyavaṃsa* (*AA.* III, 51).

All these three usages can be applied to the *Ariya-vaṃsa Sutta.* It is a sutta that can be preached and it contains a course of training for monks. An interesting story found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary proves that the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* was the subject of popular sermons in ancient Ceylon. It shows how a woman, with her child in her arms, walked five *yojanas* to hear the Dīghabhāṇaka Mahā-Abhaya thera preach the *Ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadā.* The thera explained the first three lineages and was about to rise from the seat when this woman spoke out " The Worthy One, saying that he would preach the *ariyavaṃsa,* takes all sorts of delicacies, sweet drinks and medicaments such as liquorice and ghee. But he gets up at the very point that should be explained." " Very well, sister," said the thera and went on to explain *bhāvanārāma,* the fourth lineage. The sutta was so popular that even an average woman knew its contents well and what the most important part of it was (*AA.* II, 249).

A further indication of the popularity of the sutta is the manner in which the commentator has dealt with it. He gives detailed instructions to the preacher of the sutta, e.g., on the fourth lineage he says, " A monk who speaks on this noble lineage of the delight in meditation should do it in accordance with the *Nekkhamma Pāli* of the *Paṭisambhidā-magga,* the *Dasuttara Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya,* the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Niddesa-pariyāya* in the *Abhidhamma* (*SHB.* XXXIII, 494). In the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 54) Buddhaghosa cites *ariyavaṃsa* as a convenient example of a sermon. Without any previous reference he says, " In a certain village there is *ariyavaṃsa* " (*Vism.* 66). He makes no attempt to give any further explanation which shows the popularity of the sermon.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxxvi, 38) king Vohārika Tissa (209—31 A. C.) established a regular giving of alms at every place (or occasion) where the *ariyavaṃsa* was preached in the whole island of Ceylon. Geiger commenting upon the term in a footnote to his translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (p. 258, n. 6) says " Lit. 'book of the holy ones' probably life histories of men eminent in the Buddhist Church which were read aloud publicly for the edification of the people."[4] Other scholars also seem to have followed this interpretation. However, there is no evidence for the existence in the past of such a book or custom. On the other hand, there is ample evidence in the Pali commentaries for the great popularity of the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* in ancient Ceylon. It would, therefore, not be wrong to conclude that the *ariyavaṃsa* referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa* was the same as this.

There are three stories in the *Rasavāhinī* (q. v.) which refer to *ariyavaṃsa.* The first (*Rasavāhinī,* ed. Saraṇatissa, Jinālaṅkāra Press, Ceylon, 1922, pt. II, pp. 4 f.) is the story of a Mahā thera of Khuddarajja in Ceylon. He went to the Mahāvāpi monastery in Mahāgāma to hear the preaching of the *ariyavaṃsa.* A great multitude had gathered from distant places to hear the sermon. The second story (ibid. 183 f.) refers to the *ariyavaṃsa* being preached once in every six months at the Udumbara Mahā-vihāra,[5] in the reign of Dubbiṭṭhi Mahārāja.[6] People from within four *yojanas* assembled and elaborate preparations were made for the ceremony (*mahantaṃ pūjānidhānaṃ karonti*). The third story (ibid. 190) refers to a festival held on the occasion of the preaching of the *ariyavaṃsa* (*ariyavaṃsa-desanāmahe vattamāne*) at the Ariyākāra monastery near the Kumbalatissa Mountain. What can be the *ariyavaṃsa* referred to in these stories ? Going on the evidence of the Pali commentaries again it would be safe to assume that it is the same as the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta.*

In a number of rock inscriptions of ancient Ceylon appears the term *ariya-vasa.* One such instance is the Tōnigala rock-inscription (*EZ.* III, 177 f.) of the reign of king Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya (302—30 A. C.). It records that one Devaya, son of Sivaya, a member of the Council of ministers, deposited a certain amount of unhusked rice, *undu* (a species of flemingia), and beans with a merchants' guild for the purpose of *ariyavasa* (*ariya-vasa vaṭani*). It further explains that the interest therefrom should be spent in supplying certain foodstuffs to the great

4 Paranavitana, *EZ.*, III, 282 ; Malalasekera, *DPPN.* I, 181. But cp. *Mahā-Ariyavaṃsa* (ibid. II, 462 f.).

5 Dimbulāgala (*UCR.* I, i, 62). But P. Buddhadatta thera says " This is not Dimbulāgala but some other monastery " (*Ssvu.* 183, n. 4).

6 King Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (67–79 A. C., *UCR.* I, ii, 82).

congregation of monks practising *ariya-vasa* (*ariya-vasa karana maha-biku-sagahaṭa*) in the new monastery of Yahisapavata. Paranavitana says (ibid. 182 f.) that the term *ariya-vasa* may be derived from Pali *ariya-vāsa*, *ariya-vaṃsa* or *ariya-vassa*. The first (holy dwelling) he rejects as scarcely suitable for the context. The second (noble lineage), too, he rejects on two grounds: (i) The verb *karana* would be inappropriate for such an interpretation. (ii) The recital of a sacred text—here he undoubtedly adopts Geiger's interpretation referred to above—could not have been performed by a congregation of monks (*biku saga*) as referred to in the inscription.

Regarding the third case (holy *vassa* or retreat), which he adopts, he says, "If *vasa* in *ariya-vasa* is considered a derivative of Pali *ariya-vassa* used in this sense, then the word would mean 'holy-vassa (retreat)'. It is probably in this sense that *ariya-vasa* is used here though the word *karana* that follows it does not seem to be appropriate."

W. Rahula, on the other hand, has pointed out that the word *ariya* has never been used as an epithet of *vassa* either in the Pali Vinaya or the commentaries. There is also clear evidence, according to him, for the word *vasa* being used in Sinhalese inscriptions in the meaning of retreat, but without the epithet *ariya*. The word *ariyavaṃsa* has been used in the Pali commentaries to mean a course of training (*paṭipadā*). Therefore, it is not difficult to translate the phrase *ariyavasa karana maha-biku-sagahaṭa* as "to the great congregation of monks practising the *ariyavaṃsa*," i.e., the *paṭipadā* (*UCR*. Vol. I, No. i, p. 59 f.).

Two inscriptions (cir. 4th century A. C.) from Labuäṭabäňdigala also contain the term *ariya-vasa*. The first of these (*EZ*. III, 250) records the depositing of one hundred *kahavanas* by one Sirinaka for the purpose of *ariya-vasa* (*ariya-vasa vaṭaṭaya*) in the Devagiri monastery. The second one (ibid. 251) says that one Naṭalaviṭiya Siva deposited twenty *kahavanas* for conducting the ariyavasa ceremony annually (*anaha-vajārana*[7] *ariya......*) in the same place. Two other inscriptions from the Southern Province of Ceylon, one at Badagiriya and the other at Burutankanda, also contain the phrases *ariya-vasa vaṭa-koṭu* and *ariya-vasa karanaka-koṭu* respectively (ibid. 182). In all these instances Paranavitana interprets the term *ariya-vasa* as holy *vassa* (**retreat**). But they may very well be references to the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* so often mentioned in the commentaries.

That the *Ariyavaṃsa* was a popular sermon in ancient Ceylon is quite clear. But it is not clear whether there was any particular period in the year when the preaching was done. At the Mahāvāpi monastery in Mahāgāma the ceremony was held once every year (*Rasavāhinī*, II, 4). At the Devagiri monastery, too, it was an annual affair (*EZ*. III, 250). But at the Udumbara Mahā-vihāra it was done once in every six months (*Rasavāhinī*, II, 183). At the Yahisapavata new monastery the monks practised the *ariyavaṃsa* during the rainy season (*atovasahi* : *EZ*. III, 178). So it was at the Gavaravāla aṅgana where the monks on retreat during the rain-period preached *ariyavaṃsa* once every fortnight on the *uposatha* day (*AA*. II, 248). It is common knowledge that even now both the Saṅgha and the laity pay more attention to the fulfilment of their religious duties during the rainy season when the former go in retreat. This certainly is the continuation of an ancient tradition. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the monks and the laity of ancient Ceylon practising, preaching and listening to the *ariyavaṃsa* which expounds the essence of a monk's life. Incidentally, there are two jātaka tales the present stories of which refer to the preaching of *ariyavaṃsa* during the rainy season by the Sakyan monk named Upananda (*J*. II, 441 f.; III, 332 ff.). W. Rahula has pointed out that the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* was preached for several days during the *vassa* festival in a newly discovered cave temple at Gurulubädda in Pasdun Kōrale in Ceylon. (*UCR*. I, i, 68). It is also the custom at the Dimbulāgala monastery during the *vassa* (Rāhula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 270, n. 2). These may be the persistence of a very old tradition.

In this connection there is another statement of Buddhaghosa that should be considered. In the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* he says that preachers of the *Ariyavaṃsa* (*ariyavaṃsika*) should be sent to places where monks living an evil life are in power and make them preach the *ariyavaṃsa* (*DA*. II, 524). Probably, this statement has induced W. Rahula to say regarding a certain period in Ceylon history: "Now the preaching of the ariyavaṃsa is a sign that Buddhism was in an unsatisfactory state" (Rahula, op. cit. p. 91). The period referred to was the reign of Vohārika Tissa mentioned above who is famous for suppressing the Vaitulya heresy and purifying the Saṅgha. In this connection it is worth considering, too, the fact that Asoka who recommended the studying and hearing of a text named *Aliyavasāni* (see below) is also famous for suppressing heretical teachings and purifying the

[7] cp. *Anusaṃvaccharaṃ ariyavaṃsa-dhammadesanā pavatadi* (*Rasavāhinī*. II, 4).

Saṅgha. But, merely, on these facts we cannot say that every time a reference is made to the preaching of the *Ariyavaṃsa* it also indicates a decadent period of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Was this popular ceremony in Ceylon a continuation of a tradition brought to Ceylon by arahant Mahinda himself? Among the seven selected texts recommended by Asoka to the Saṅgha and the laity to hear frequently and to meditate upon, one is *Aliyavasāni*. Several scholars have identified this either with the *Vaṃsa Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[8] or a part of the *Saṅgīti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which contains the same subject matter (*UCR.* I, i, 68). Paranavitana thinks that the *Aliyavasāni* of the Bhābru Edict is not the same as the *Ariyavaṃsa* mentioned in Ceylon writings.[9] For he says that the latter, as it is evident from the *Rasavāhinī* (II, 4) story, contained an introduction (*nidānakathā*) not found in either of the Pali texts identified with the *Aliyavasāni* (*EZ.* III, 183, n. 1). *Nidānakathā*, a feature of every sutta, is the portion that usually starts with the phrase *evaṃ me sutaṃ* and explains when, where, to whom and by whom the sutta was preached. W. Rahula points out that some printed editions of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* do not contain this portion in all the suttas as the introduction of the first in a series serves the subsequent suttas preached at the same place. He further says that there is an edition of the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta*, printed in 1898, which contains the introduction (*UCR.* I, i, p. 68, n. 53). Moreover, the commentary has supplied the suttas with the necessary introductory story and usually the preacher of a sutta elaborates his sermon with the details from the commentaries. It may not be incorrect to assume with Rahula that the *Aliyavasāni* of the Bhābru Edict is the same as that found in Ceylon writings and the practice in Ceylon was a continuation of an Indian tradition.

There is very little evidence to prove that *Ariyavaṃsa* was a popular ceremony after the 5th century A. C., when the Sinhalese commentaries were translated into Pali. In the *Saṅgharāja Sādhucariyāva* written by Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama in 1779 A. C. it is said that a pupil of the Saṅgharāja, named Bäminivattē Unnānsē, made an *Āryavaṃsa Sūtra Sannaya*, a Sinhalese paraphrase of the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta* (ed. N. Paññāsena and P. Sannasgala, Aṁbēvala, Ceylon, 1947, p. 33). An edition of the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta*, along with a Sinhalese paraphrase, probably the above mentioned, was published in Colombo in 1898. A notice on the back of it says that Payiyāgala Sumanatissa thera, principal of Vidyānanda Pirivena, Galle, taught this sutta to his pupils and made them preach it daily.

C. W.

8 *Ariyavaṃsa*, usually found in the masculine gender as *Cattāro ariyavaṃsā*, is sometimes given in the neuter as *Cattāri ariyavaṃsāni* (*Ps.* I, 84).
9 *See* Ariyavāsa sutta.

ARIYAVAṂSA (2), a monk of Burma who lived towards the later part of the 12th century. He was the pupil of a thera named Mahākāla and was the teacher of thera Uttarajīva who came to Ceylon with Chapaṭa (*The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, 143).

ARIYAVAṂSA (3), an eminent monk, a scholar of the fifteenth century A. C. in Burma. He was born in Pagān and studied grammar in Sagaing under a learned monk, known as Ye-din (the Water-Carrier) from his habit of keeping water in his mouth in the presence of others to restrain his speech. Only after many days of performing all the services of a disciple was the young monk Ariyavaṃsa admitted as a pupil by Ye-din who explained to him the commentary of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* called the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*. Later, Ariyavaṃsa composed a commentary on this very book, calling it *Maṇisāramañjūsā*. Afterwards he taught at Ava where the king himself would sometimes be found among the audience. The most important of his subsequent works was a commentary on the *Atthasālinī* by Buddhaghosa, which itself is a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, the first book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. His work is entitled *Maṇidīpa*.

A grammar which was re-edited recently, the *Gandhābharaṇa*, and a book called *Jātaka-visodhana* were also composed by him. Thus he stands out in the ecclesiastical literary world of Burma as the first composer of metaphysical works in the vernacular.

In various anecdotes he is shown always as dignified scholar and a magnanimous teacher with a strong influence over the king of Ratnapura.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ARIYAVAṂSĀLAṄKĀRA, an eighteenth century work written in Burma by Ñāṇa Thera (Ñāṇābhisāsanadhaja Mahādhammarājaguru) of the village of Sahassorodha, after the king had raised him, in the eighth year of his ordination, to the position of 'the lord of the Order' (*Sāsanavaṃsa* p. 134).

ARIYAVAṂSA SUTTA, mentioned in the commentaries (*DA.* I, 50 ; *MA.* I, 14) as an example of a sutta preached by the Buddha on his own initiative. The name perhaps refers to the *Vaṃsa Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 27), dealing with the four *ariyavaṃsa* (noble lineages), and named in the commentary (*SHB.* XXXIII, 487) as *Mahā Ariyavaṃsa Sutta.* See ARIYAVAṂSA (1).

C. W.

ARIYAVĀSA SUTTA. The ten ways of noble living of the Ariyans are summarised in the Book of Tens (*Dasaka Nipāta*) of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[1] and detailed in the following sutta. Their occurrence in the Book of Tens is, of course, very appropriate, and the style and composition of these two suttas agree entirely with the plan generally observed in the ' Collection of Numerical Suttas '. Yet, the fact that the detailed sutta occurs also as part of the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[2], where it constitutes a decided departure from the usual style adopted in those discourses, should not be taken as proof of seniority of the *Aṅguttara* over the *Dīgha Nikāya*, or of borrowing one way or the other. " Each may have incorporated the passage . . . . from the common stock . . . . handed down in the community."[3] That the text was well-known is clear from the fact that the *Ariya-vasāni* (*Aliyavasāni*) were recommended by the emperor Asoka for study and recital by the monks in his Bhābru edict. The ten methods of noble living are as follows :—

(1) abandonment of the five factors of sensual desires (*kāmacchanda*), ill feeling (*vyāpāda*), sloth and torpor (*thīna-middha*), excitement and worry (*uddhacca-kukkucca*) and perplexity (*vicikicchā*). This group of five factors are elsewhere usually referred to as the five hindrances (*pañca-nīvaraṇa*) ;

(2) endowment with six factors, regarding the six senses of sight, hearing, smelling, taste, bodily contact and mental cognition, in respect of which a monk is neither delighted nor depressed, but remains indifferent, mindful and composed[4] ;

(3) guarding with mindfulness the activity of the mind ;

(4) observing the four supports of discriminatingly pursuing, enduring, avoiding and suppressing ;

(5) rejecting each of the false views[5] such as the world being eternal or not, finite or not, which are elsewhere called the undecided or unexplained questions (*avyākata*)[6] ;

(6) renouncing completely all desires for sensuous pleasures, for rebirth, even for the religious life (as a quest for higher virtue or knowledge) ;

(7) preserving the mind unclouded by the elimination of sensuous, malicious and harmful thoughts ;

(8) tranquillising the activity of the body in refusing to be affected by either pleasure or pain, ease or discomfort, and by maintaining that mental equilibrium of utter purity of mind in the fourth state of mental absorption (*jhāna*) ;

(9) freeing his thought from lust, hate and delusion ;

(10) being released through insight that the roots of evil have been cut off completely, not to rise again in future.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀRJAVA, name of a cakravartin (*Mhvu.* I, 154.1).

ARJUNA (1), a king of Hastināpura. Whenever he met good men he was in the habit of putting questions to them and killing those who could not answer him satisfactorily. Once a seer named Gautama who possessed great psychic power, came to the city from the Himālayas. Arjuna put him a question and was answered correctly. But as he could not understand the reply he killed the seer with his own hands. As a consequence he was burnt with fire and was reborn in the great hell Śaktiśūla (*Mhvu.* 361.4 ff.). The seer is also called Aṅgīrasa Gautama (ibid. 368 15). See also AJJUNA (3).

C. W.

ARJUNA (2), a yakṣa mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (23).

ARJUNA (3), the minister of finance of the Śākyans and an expert in figures. He was appointed to

1 *A.* V, x, sutta 19.

2 *D.* III, sutta 33, p. 269.

3 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Introd. to Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p. viii.

4 *PED.* (*Chalaṅga*) quotes *D.* III. 269 erroneously as referring to the set of Vedāṅgas, disciplines of Vedic science.

5 literally : truths (*panunna-pacceka-sacco*).

6 *D.* I, 187 : *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* : *M.* I, 431 : *Cuḷa Māluṅkya Sutta.*

test the bodhisattva's knowledge in figures, before Gopā, the daughter of the Śākyan Daṇḍapāṇi, was given in marriage to him. Arjuna found that the bodhisattva's knowledge in figures was even greater than his own (*Lal.* 102 ff.).

C. W.

ARJUNĀVANA, a locality mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

ARKA, a king, the bodhisattva in a previous life. He fulfilled the fourth of his vows by giving 80,000 grottoes adorned with the seven precious substances to the Buddha Parvata. Arka has been equated with Araka, which latter is the name of the bodhisattva as a brāhman teacher in the jātaka story so entitled (J. J. Jones, *Mahāvastu*, trsl. I, pp. 45, 46).

D. T. D.

ARNOLD, EDWIN (1832–1904), orientalist, poet, journalist. He was one of the many European scholars who in the nineteenth century engaged themselves in interpreting to the West the vast world of Oriental thought and emotion. In carrying out this task, Arnold came to be known as one who more than any other, succeeded in popularising a knowledge of Buddhism in the early days of its contact with the West. This was mainly through his epic poem, *The Light of Asia*, which was published in 1879 and purported " to depict the life and character and indicate the philosophy of that noble hero and reformer, Prince Gautama of India, the Founder of Buddhism. " [1] Olcott speaks of Arnold as " one who had laid the whole Buddhist world under deep obligations '[2] by writing *The Light of Asia*, which he describes as a book " which has done more for Buddhism than any other agency. " [3]

Arnold was born on the 10th June, 1832, son of a Sussex magistrate, Robert Coles Arnold of Whartons Framfield. He was educated at King's School, Rochester, King's College, London, and at University College, Oxford, where, in 1852 he obtained the Newdigate Prize with a poem called *Belshazzar's Feast* which he later included in his volume *Poems, Narrative and Lyrical*, a work published in 1853. He graduated at Oxford, gaining only a third class in the final classical school. This initial set-back, however, did not abate his great zeal for classical studies, nor seriously damp his love of learning. In 1854 he obtained his Master of Arts degree. For a brief period he served as assistant master at King Edward's School, Birmingham. In 1856 he published a collection of poems under the title *Griselda*. In the same year he came out to the East as Principal of the Government Deccan Sanskrit College, Poona. It was here that he imbibed his interest in the oriental classics and gathered the material for his future works.

Arnold became a Fellow of the University of Bombay and studied many oriental languages, Persian and Turkish among them. Deeply impressed with the treasures of Sanskrit lore and literature, and convinced in the belief that the hope of Hindustan lay in the intelligent interest of England[4] and that " whatever avails to dissipate the misconceptions between them, and to enlarge their intimacy is a gain to both peoples,"[5] he devoted himself to the conversion of many Indian classics into English verse. His translation of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśa* was published in 1861 as the *Book of Good Counsels*. The same desire for a sympathetic understanding between England and India underlies his work on the history of Lord Dalhousie's administration of British India, the first volume of which he dedicated to Sir John Lawrence who bore a chief part in the administration of the Punjab, and the second to his wife, Katherine, by whose sick-bed it was painfully composed and by whose death-bed it was mournfully finished.

During the Indian mutiny of 1857, he was able to convert into action his kindness and sympathy with the Indian people, an attitude which won for him the nation's warm affection as well as the admiration of the Government of India. In 1860, he wrote a pamphlet on the subject of Indian education where again his desire for East-West *rapprochement* is evident in the plea he there makes for a more scientific synthesis of Eastern learning and Western knowledge. In his book *Seas and Lands*, he says, addressing the Japanese : " You cannot, gentlemen, import our civilization. You must make science Japanese by time and patience . . . . But I cherish the hope that your path to progress will never lead you entirely out of sight of your own peculiar refinements and that the primary duty of national self-assertion will never finally efface that which is so special and precious in your own charming civilization. "

In 1862, an attractive Eastern note began to be felt in the leaders of the *Daily Telegraph*, the first penny newspaper in those early days of English journalism, boasting of ' the widest circulation

1 *Light of Asia*, Preface, 1885.
2 *Old Diary Leaves*, Olcott (1929), p. 342.
3 *Theosophist* (Supplement for April, 1889).
4 *Book of Good Counsels* (1924), Preface.
5 loc. cit.

in the world'. The voice that was thus heard was that of Arnold, who had returned to England in 1861 and joined the editorial staff of this popular journal. In 1873, he became its chief editor, serving in this capacity for almost eighteen years during which period his staff included Edward Dicey, James Macdonell and H. D. Traill. His services in the Press are described by a colleague of his, J. M. Le Sage :

"Whether the Chief—whom we loved—asked him to write the first leading article, the description of some great historical event or an ordinary news paragraph, he would do it to the utmost of his ability; that the test of loyalty was not to do some big thing, but some small thing—and to do it well."[6]

In 1877 he was made a Companion of the Star of India. By this time he was the author of a number of works pertaining to the Greek classics, including *The Poets of Greece, Euterpe of Herodotus, The Wreck of the Northern Belle,* and *Hero and Leander.*

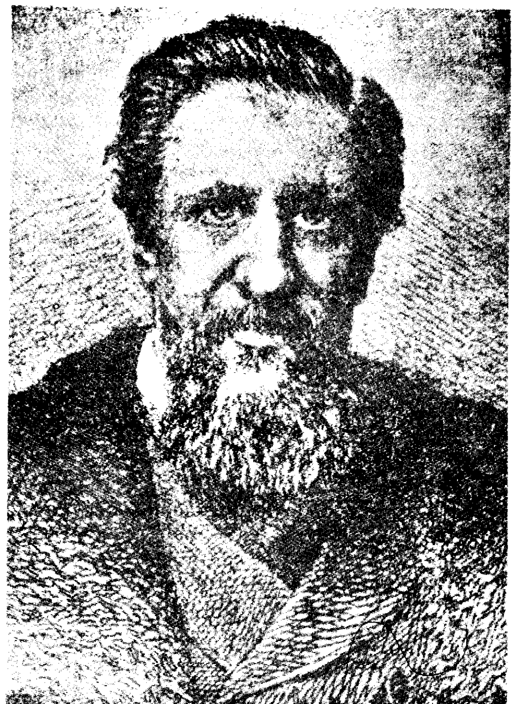
The years after the Indian mutiny saw an outflow of Anglo-Indian literature. In 1875, Arnold joined his name to the list of poets who contributed to this intense literary activity with his poem, *The Indian Song of Songs,* a rendering of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda,* later re-edited and published along with many other translations (including parts of the *Mahābhārata*) and adaptations from Sanskrit literature, in his volume, *Indian Poetry.* With these works Arnold entered the circle of Anglo-Indian literary men of the period, a circle which included George Malleson, James Wheeler, William Hunter, John Lang, Iltudus Prichar, George Aberigh-Mackay, Henry Stuart Cunningham, George Trevelyan, William Bain and the poets William Waterfield, Mary Leslie, George Keene and Alfred Lyall.

But it was *The Light of Asia* which helped to establish his fame and entitled him to be classed with the lesser English poets of the late nineteenth century.

In *The Light of Asia,* Arnold attempted to tell the story of the Buddha in the words of a Buddhist votary, with episodes of his boyhood and renunciation of the household life as found in Buddhist legend, mainly, perhaps, in the *Buddha-carita.*

The work was well and widely received and by the end of the century, ran through sixty English and eighty American editions. Oliver Wandell Holmes hailed it in the *International Review* as 'a work of great beauty'.

There were, however, critics who doubted its permanent place in English poetry, as well as oriental scholars who pointed out that it presented an inaccurate picture of Buddhism to a public which was not familiar with its doctrine and beliefs. Also the suggested analogy between the Buddha and the Christ offended many devout Christians and the work was anathematised on the pulpits. This gave Arnold the idea of another narrative poem of which the hero should be Jesus Christ. It resulted in his poem, *The Light of the World* (pubd. 1891), which, however, did not meet with similar success, though it followed the same pattern, now telling the story of Jesus in the form of a dialogue between Mary Magdalene and one of the three Wise Men.



Edwin Arnold

Arnold appears to have done much writing during the period following the publication of *The Light of Asia.* Apart from re-editing *The Indian Song of Songs,* he published two more religious poems : *Pearls of the Faith,* based on the religion of Islam, and *The Song Celestial,* a translation of the *Bhagavad-gītā.* In his *Indian Idylls*

6 *Cambridge History of English Literature,* 1916, Vol. XIV p. 191.

he brought out further translations from the *Mahābhārata*. He also tried his hand at drama in *Adzuma or the Japanese Wife* and made some efforts to write short stories, novels, e.g., *In Tent and Bungalow* and *The Queen's Justice*. He wrote prolifically in prose, mainly on his travels.

In 1888 he was made a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire. Accompanied by his daughter he visited Japan in 1889, and was so taken up with the cultural life of Japan that he paid a second visit to the country. Most of his books on travel deal with Japan. His third wife, Jama Kurokawa, Lady Arnold, was a Japanese lady.

Olcott records a visit to Ceylon and a reception to Arnold in January 1886.[7] Tours of America and the Pacific Coasts are also recorded.

He also received a number of foreign honours, the order of the White Elephant of Siam and the Imperial Order of the Medjidie among them. He was a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic and Royal Geographical Society and an Honorary Member of the Société de Géographie, Marseilles.

He lost his sight a few years before his death on 24th March 1904. He died at his house in Bolton Gardens, London, and was cremated at Brookwood, his ashes laid in the chapel of his old College at Oxford.

B. J.

ĀROHANTA, a chief minister of Sāvatthi. He and his wife had both entered the Saṅgha. One day, whilst at his meals, he found his erstwhile wife standing by him with drinking water, and also fanning him during the meal. He pointed out to her that they had given up their lay positions and that, in their new situations, such behaviour was improper. She was so angered by what she understood was a rebuke that she threw the drinking cup on his head and struck him with the fan. Her conduct reached the ears of the Buddha, who thereupon declared that it would be an offence of confession (*dukkaṭa*) for a *bhikkhunī* to stand by a *bhikkhu* with drinking water or with a fan close to him whilst at meals. Ārohanta is apparently mentioned nowhere else in Buddhist works (*SBB.* XIII, Pt. 3, pp. 252-3).

D.T.D.

ARROGANCE, the act of undue assumption based on conceit (*māna*) which is self-pride, or haughtiness of mind (*cittassa uṇṇati*). It is always considered a vice by any moral standard, but particularly so in Buddhism, where ethics as well as psychology is based on the doctrine of no-self (*anattā*). As such it forms one of the main obstacles to the attainment of arahantship and one of the final fetters (*saṃyojana*) which bind to existence in *saṃsāra*. See MĀNA.

7 *Old Diary Leaves*, Olcott (1929), p. 342.

ARŚA-PRASAMANI SŪTRA (*Ārya-arśa°*), the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *gshaṅ-ḥbrum rab-tu shi-bar-byed paḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 7, No. 213; Vol. 11, No. 645). The work is said to have been translated and revised by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde.

According to the preamble, the sūtra was preached at the Squirrels' Feeding-ground (*Kalandakanivāpa*) in Veḷuvana in Rājagṛha. The Buddha was seated amidst a large assembly of monks. Ānanda, who was seated on a side waving a yak-tail fan went down on his right knee, worshipped the Buddha, and informed him that a large number of monks were subject to hemorrhoids and were experiencing great pain. He asked the Buddha as to what should be done. The Buddha asked Ānanda to learn the *mantra* for the cure of hemorrhoids, viz., *alante ala me śva li tsini kuśe sambhave svāhā*, the knowledge of the name, words or letters of which would prevent a person from being subject to this disease and also make him recollect seven periods of existence.

He further said that at a mountain-pass in the Himālaya in the north, a tree called *rnam-par rgyal-byed* (? *vaijayanta*) had three flowers called *ḥphel-ba* (? *vardhana*), *ḥjam-pa* (? *komala*) and *skam-pa* (? *śuṣka*), and wished that all pustules caused by the derangement of the humour of wind (*vāyu*), bile or phlegm, or a combination of causes would dry up even like the last flower. The following quotations also occur in the text: *Tad yathā śame śamane śame śamane svāhā ; namo bhagavate buddha satyavādinaṃ siddhyantu mantra ...... svāhā.* At the end of the discourse, Ānanda lauded the speech of the Buddha.

The text ends with the statement that seven knots should be made in a red thread to the accompaniment of the recital of the sūtra seven times and that this thread should be fastened to the patient's neck.

A Chinese translation of the sūtra, the *Liao-chih-ping-ching* (療痔病經) by I-tsing of the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.C.) exists (*Taishō*, No. 1325; *Nanjio*, No, 738).

R.H.

ĀRṢṬISENA, a *gotra* (clan). The earliest reference to it is traceable in the *Ṛgveda*, X, 98.5 (6,8), where it occurs in connection with Devāpi, a sage, descendant of Ṛṣṭisena,

> " *Ārṣṭiseno hotramṛṣirniṣīdan*
> *Devāpirdeva sumatiṁ cikitvān*
> *Sa uttarasmādadharaṁ Samudra-*
> *mapo divyā aṣrjadvarṣyā abhi* "

" Knowing the gods' good-will, Devāpi, priest, the son of Ṛṣṭisena, sat as hotar (sacrificial priest). He has brought down from heaven's most lofty summit, the ocean of the rain, celestial waters." In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.72.1 (*SBE*. XII, 192, n.), Ārṣṭisena is referred to as making five *avadāna* utterances. This original sense attributed to the term, in the early works of Hindu literature, seems to have been preserved even in later Buddhist Sanskrit literary works. Thus, in the *Divyāvadāna*, 637.27, the term Ārṣṭisena, of which Ārṣṇisena and Arthisena are the variant forms (cp. *Divy*. 637, n.), occurs as a name of one of the six divisions of the Chāndoga Brāhmaṇa Gotra. This is mentioned in connection with the story of Triśaṅku and Puṣkarasārin.

W.S.Kt.

ART. See BUDDHIST ART.

ĀRṬAVAKA, a name for Āḷavaka yakṣa. See ĀḶAVAKA (2).

ARTHA, ten attributes of the Ādi Buddha as believed by the Buddhists of Nepal. These ten are *prāṇa, apāna, samāna, udāna, vyāna, kūrma, krikāra, nāga, devadatta* and *dhanañjaya*. As taught in Yoga, these ten are the names of various vital airs said to be found in the human body. They are given as the Ādi Buddha's attributes in the *Nāmasaṅgīti* quoted by B. H. Hodgson as the 'ten significations' (*Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, pp. 84, 92).

A.G.S.K.

ARTHACARYĀ, conduct for the benefit of others, one of the four Saṅgraha-vastu. See SAṄGRAHA-VASTU.

ARTHADARŚI, name of two former Buddhas. In a list in the *Mahāvastu* the first of the name was proclaimed Tathāgata by the Tathāgata Sudarśana ; in turn he proclaimed Mūla. Jinendra was the last of this particular succession of Buddhas. The next Buddha of the name appears in another list which ends with the historical (Gotama) Buddha. The Buddha (Gotama) announces to Ānanda that he had rendered the other Buddhas great service, with enraptured heart, and honoured the sublime ones ; that he had showered gold, silver and beryl on Arthadarśi Buddha, and, in such manner, had gathered the rewards of many virtues by the time he came to be born in his last birth. Arthadarśi is listed immediately after Śākyamuni Buddha (an earlier one) and previous to Tiṣya Buddha. He appeared 99 aeons (*kalpas*) after the former. He instructed his pupils in virtues and in arahantship and was, therefore, described as ' he whose gaze is on what is good '. By birth he and two other Buddhas were brāhmans, " great seers who made their selves grow" (J. J. Jones, *Mahāvastu*, **trsl.** III, pp. 228-36).

D.T.D.

ARTHAKATHĀ, commentaries. See AṬṬHAKATHĀ.

ARTHAKṚTYA, conduct for the benefit of others, one of the four Saṅgraha-vastu. See SAṄGRAHA-VASTU.

ARTHAPADA SŪTRA, a title restored from the Chinese title *I-tsu-ching* (義足經 *Nanjio*, No. 674; *Taishō*, vol. IV, No. 198) of a collection of sixteen sūtras which correspond to the Pali *Aṭṭhakavagga*, now included in the oldest Pali anthology, the *Suttanipāta*. This collection of sixteen sūtras was translated into Chinese from an Indian text written apparently in some Indian Prakrit language.[1] The case of the Prakrit Dhammapada may be cited in point. Fragments of a Sanskrit version of the same, which went under the name *Arthavargīya*, have also been discovered among the Khadlik finds in central Asia purchased by Sir Aurel Stein. Prof. A. F. R. Hoernle has worked upon these fragments and has shown that they correspond to some of the sūtras of the Pali *Aṭṭhakavagga*.[2] This sūtra was considered to be a very important text mentioned by name in the Vinaya books of the various schools of the Buddhists,

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1 P. V. Bapat, *Arthapada Sūtra*, (Vishvabharati Mémoire, Shantiniketan) Introduction, p. 13, 19 (para. 12).

2 ibid. pp. 6–8 ; Sir Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay* vol. 1, pp 236–7 ; A. F. R. Hoernle, *JRAS*. 1916, pp .709 ff:, 1917, p. 134.

and verses from the original of this sūtra have been quoted in works of the Sūtra and Abhidharma.[1]

A comparison of the Chinese text with the Pali *Aṭṭhakavagga* shows that the first nine sūtras of the former correspond to those of the latter, but the order of the sūtras thereafter is different as indicated below :—

Chinese		Pali
10-13	correspond to	11-14
14	corresponds to	16
15	corresponds to	10
16	corresponds to	15

Another important difference is that the Chinese version has a prose introductory story, while the Pali text does not contain any such story, though the commentary on the same does give some introductory story. The Sanskrit fragments also reveal the existence of some prose introductory story. It is, however, interesting to note that no less than seven of the prose stories in the Chinese text are quite different from those in the Pali commentary. This prose portion, however, does not appear to have been written at the same time as the verses. It reveals a later origin. The life depicted in prose stories is richer and more varied than the simple life of a wandering anchorite found in the verses. It also reveals a later development in Buddhology, as, for instance, the concept of a *nirmita* (created) Buddha.

Cases have been discovered, where the Chinese translator has apparently misunderstood his original and has given a wrong translation. One single instance, we may point out, where a serious error has been made by the Chinese translator. In sūtra No. VII, at the very beginning of the prose story, there is a mention of Citra, the son of an elephant-driver. The Chinese translator not knowing that Citra was a proper name and that *hatthisāri* was a descriptive qualification of Citra in the sense of an elephant-driver, translates the expression as 'Sāriputra, the son of (a trainer of) a variegated (*citra*) elephant.[2]

The Chinese text, however, is often helpful in determining the readings of the Pali text and in some cases supplies very happy readings. This Chinese text as well as the Sanskrit title *Arthavargiya* raise an important issue about the meaning of the Pali title *Aṭṭhaka*, whether it stands for the Sanskrit word *Aṣṭaka* (octad) or whether it stands for *Arthaka* (meaningful). Scholars are divided on this point and we need not enter into the controversy. It may, however, be pointed out that there are even, some Chinese authorities pointing to the interpretation *Aṣṭaka*.[3]

Like the Pali collection, the Chinese text also emphasises upon the simple life of a wandering anchorite, when he tries to understand the realities of life, old age and death and keeps himself free from desire for worldly objects or the desire for the pleasures of sex. He does not care for any of the eight *loka-dharmas* : profit or loss, fame or ignominy, praise or censure, and pleasure or pain. He keeps himself away from all kinds of disputes, or display of one's views or practices. He never compares himself with others to find out his superiority over inferiority to or equality with them. He never thinks that purity depends upon what one has seen, heard, felt or understood (cp. Pali *diṭṭha, suta, muta, viññāta*[4]). It has been also noted that in this collection, in the last stanza of almost every sūtra, we find the ideal *muni* briefly described.

Thus, this collection has been considered to be a manual of guidance for a young Buddhist mendicant of early times. Hence, the importance that has been attached to it by the different schools of the Buddhists.

P. V. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : In addition to the sources mentioned in the foot-notes, M. Anesaki, *Le Muséon*, N. S. VII (1906) 33 ff., reprinted in *Katam Karaṇīyam*, pp. 284–304 ; also *JPTS*. 1906–07, p. 50 ff; Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, XXXV (1908), part 3, pp. 8 ff ; N. A. Jayawickrema, *UCR*. 1948–50.

ARTHAPRATISAṂVID, discriminating knowledge of *artha*, is one of the four *pratisaṃvids*. See ATTHAPAṬISAMBHIDĀ.

ARTHAPRATISAṂVIT, name of the second of the four Pratisaṃvit goddesses. The four Pratisaṃvits, i.e., the four branches of logical analysis, were deified by the Vajrayānists and were regarded with veneration. This particular Pratisaṃvit goddess is of emerald colour and is said to carry a noose and a jewel in her two hands (B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 343). However, a statue of this goddess (see E. W. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, II, p. 134) represents her as carrying a noose only. The left hand, which is placed against the bent left knee, is in the bestowing attitude

13 Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915 (Mai Juin), pp. 402–24.
2 *Arthapada Sūtra*, pp. 54–6, note 2.
3 ibid. Introd. pp. 19–21
4 ibid. Introd. pp. 5–6.

(*varada-mudrā*). In this statue she appears as wearing beautiful ornaments and a head-dress and also as sitting on a lotus seat.

S.K.N.

ARTHASIDDHI, a king who became the Buddha in a subsequent birth (*BHS*. II, 67).

ARTHAVACANAŚRĪ, name of a Buddha occurring in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*BHS*. II, 66).

ARTHAVARGĪYA SŪTRA, one of the fragments (fragment I) of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts discovered at Khadlik (central Asia) and purchased by Sir Aurel Stein from one Khotanese trader, Badruddin by name. The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 35) and the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, while commenting upon the *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* (I, 13) also, refer to this name. The latter quotes one stanza from the same, which corresponds to Pali *Suttanipāta* verse 767. The fragments discovered in central Asia have been worked upon by Prof. A. F. R. Hoernle and his conclusion[1] is that :—

Fragment I corresponds to a portion of Pali *Tissametteyya Sutta* (No. 7).

Fragment II corresponds to a portion of Pali *Pasūra Sutta* (No. 8).

Fragment III corresponds to a portion of Pali *Māgandiya Sutta* (No. 9).

Fragment IV is a continuation of the prose portion in fragment III and further corresponds to Gāthās (836-46) of the *Māgandiya Sutta*.

Fragment V corresponds, according to Hoernle, to the prose introduction of *Purābheda Sutta* (No. 10), but this seems to be doubtful. It rather corresponds to the prose portion of *Kalahavivāda Sutta* (No. 11), which immediately follows the *Māgandiya Sutta* in the Chinese version, the *Arthapada Sūtra*.[2]

These fragments, six by three inches, are the middle portion of the leaves, the right and left ends of which are broken off. They are not of much use for comparison with either the Pali or the Chinese version. They only indicate that there was a Sanskrit version named *Arthavargīya Sūtra* corresponding to Pali *Aṭṭhakavagga* and to the Chinese *I-tsu-ching* (義足經 *Arthapada Sūtra*).

P.V.B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : See articles on *Aṭṭhakavagga* and *Arthapada Sūtra* and the literature mentioned in those articles and the sources mentioned in notes on this article.

ARTHAVIGHUṢṬA - NĀMA - DHARMAPARYĀYA (*Ārya-Arth°*), the title in Sanskrit of a work the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Don rgyas-pa bśes-bya-baḥi chos-kyi rnam-grańs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 39, No. 984.). The Sde-dge edition gives *Ārya-arthavistarańāma°* as the title of the work (*TM*. No. 318).

The Buddha was residing at Śrāvastī, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta Grove states the preamble to the sūtra, when, addressing the monks, he announced his intention of expounding the doctrine, propitious at the beginning, in the middle and at the end, etc. (The Tibetan phrase here corresponds to the Pali *ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhekalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ* etc. *M*.I, 179 f.). Specifying the subject of the intended discourse as the enumeration of the doctrines (Tib. *chos-kyi rnam-grańs*, Skt. *dharmaparyāya*), set out in the work called *Artha-vighuṣṭa* (Tib. *don rgyas-pa*), the Buddha admonished the monks to listen carefully and bear the teaching in mind. The text contains the substance of the sermon preached subsequently.

Firstly, the conditions of rest (Tib. *dal-ba*), the states in which living beings are at ease and happy, are enumerated. Twelve in number, they are as follows : one's own prosperity and that of others, birth as a human being, birth in the Madhyadeśa, the central country, i.e., Magadha, absence of sensual defilements, not giving up the completion or not ignoring the efficiency of an undertaking, having faith in holy places, the appearance of Buddhas, the preaching of the Holy Law, the presence of worthy exponents of the doctrine, visiting holy places, and having pity for others.

Twenty conditions that a monk should observe with regard to his discourses are then set out. He should speak at a suitable time, with reverence

1 A. F. R. Hoernle, *JPTS*. 1916, p. 709 ff. ; 1917, p. 134.

2 P. V. Bapat. *Arthapada-sūtra*. Introd. p. 8.

and conforming to a plan; he should not praise himself or slander others in the course of his speech — these are some of the points specified. Sixteen similar conditions to be observed by those who listen to the doctrine are also given. Elucidating the beneficial effect of so listening to the doctrine, the process of purification of the mind leading to the realisation of the Four Noble Truths and the attainment of Nirvāṇa is detailed. The conditions leading to the maturing of one's wisdom are mentioned. Ten kinds of consciousness a disciple is said to acquire in the course of his contemplation are cited, as also the impediments that stand in his way in the acquisition of each and the means of overcoming them.

There are two Chinese versions of the sūtra: the *P'u-fa-i-ching* (普法義經) translated by An Shih-kao of the Eastern Han dynasty (25—221 A.C.) in 152 A. C. (*Nanjio*, No. 586. *Taishō*, No. 98) and the *Kuang-i-fa-mên-ching* (廣義法門經 *Nanjio*, No. 587; *Taishō*, No. 97) translated by Paramārtha of the Ch'ên dynasty (557—89 A. C.). Nanjio observes that these two works are similar translations of a chapter in the *Madhyamāgama*.

R. H.

ARTHAVINIŚCAYA-NĀMA-DHARMAPARYĀYA, a Sanskrit text preserved in its Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian translations. The Tibetan title reads *Don-rnam-par-ṅes-pa-shes-bya-baḥi-chos-kyi rnam-graṅs* and the names of the translators are recorded as Jinamitra, Prajñāvarma, and Ye-śes sde (*TM.* 317, 170b[4] to 188a[7]; *OM.* 983). It deals with the five aggregates, eighteen spheres of sense, etc. (*AMG.* II, p. 503).

Of the two Chinese translations of this work, the (*Fu-shuo*) *Fa-ch'eng-i-chüeh-ting-ching* (法乘義決定經) (Japanese: *Hōjōgiketsujōkyō*), which Nanjio renders into Sanskrit also as '*Buddha-bhāṣita-dharma-* (*mahā-*)*yānārtha-viniścaya-sūtra*', is in three fascicles and agrees with the Tibetan. It was translated, about 1113 A. C., by Chin Tsung Ch'ih (Japanese: Konsōji; Nanjio suggests the Sanskrit equivalent Suvarṇa-dhāraṇī ?), of the later Sung dynasty, 960—1127 A. C. (*Nanjio*, No. 1015; *Taishō*, No. 763). The second Chinese version bears the title *Fo-shuo-chueh-ting-i-ching*, (Japanese: *Ketsujōgikyō*), 'Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the determination of the meaning (of the law)'. Nanjio, however, remarks that this work is not found in Tibetan. This translation was made by Fa Hsien, (Japanese: Hōken), also of the later Sung dynasty (*Nanjio*, No. 928; *Taishō*, No. 762).

In Mongolian this work is called: '*Ünemleküi teyin böged m̄ayadqui neretü nom-un jüil*' (*Ligeti*: 1077—231r to 252v).

There exists, in Tibetan, a commentary upon this work and it is called the *Arthaviniścayaṭīkā* (q. v.). See also ARTHAVINIŚCAYA SŪTRA.

T. R.

ARTHAVINIŚCAYA SŪTRA, an important Buddhist Sanskrit text dealing with the essential categories of Dharmas as in the *Abhidharma-piṭaka.* It has been referred to in other Sanskrit texts like *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-āloka*, *Sūtra-samuccaya*, *Mahāvyutpatti* (1405, Sakaki's edition) etc. According to the *Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā*, sūtras of this type are substituted in the place of the Abhidharma by sects like the Sautrāntikas, who do not recognise the Abhidharma but rely only upon the sūtras. According to the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, this sūtra was considered to be an authority for reference.

This sūtra contains 27 sections on the following essential categories of Dharmas:—

(1) five skandhas, (2) five upādāna-skandhas, (3) eighteen dhātus, (4) twelve āyatanas, (5) pratītya-samutpāda with its twelve factors, (6) four āryasatyas, (7) twenty-two indriyas, (8) four dhyānas, (9) four arūpya-samāpattis, (10) four brahmavihāras, (11) four pratipads, (12) four samādhibhāvanās, (13) four smṛtyupasthānas. (14) four samyak-pradhānas, (15) four ṛddhipādas, (16) five indriyas, (17) five balas, (18) seven bodhyaṅgas, (19) āryāṣṭāṅga-mārga, (20) sixteenfold ānāpāna-smṛti, (21) four srotāpattyaṅgas, (22) ten tathāgata-balas, (23) four vaiśāradyas, (24) four pratisaṃvids, (25) eighteen āveṇika-buddhadharmas, (26) thirty-two mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas, and (27) eighty anuvyañjanas.

It will thus be seen that all these categories are considered to be essential Dharmas, though some of the schools may not recognise one or the other of them. This sūtra was considered important and so it appears it was revised from time to time. The sūtra as it is handed down to the present times does contain obvious interpolations. In section 26 on the marks of a 'Great Man', there is mention, at the beginning, of thirty-two marks of a 'Great Man', but in the explanation that follows there are thirty-three marks mentioned. The additional thirty-third mark is: *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-sarīra-samanta-prāsādikatā*— an addition obviously made under the influence of Nārāyaṇa cult.

There are two Chinese versions (*Nanjio*, Nos. 928 & 1015; *Taishō*, vol. XVII, Nos. 762, 763) and one Tibetan version (*ŌM.* No. 983; *TM.* No. 317). The two Chinese versions do not contain the thirty-third mark mentioned above, while the Tibetan version does. There is one Sanskrit commentary (*nibandhana*) written by a bhikṣu named Vīrya-śrīdatta, living at Nālandā vihāra in the kingdom of Dharmapāla. Dated copies of the text and commentary have been discovered—that of the former bears the date saṃvat 319, Caitra śukla (bright half) ninth, and that of the latter bears saṃvat 319, Śrāvaṇa śukla first. The name of the copyist of the commentary is given as Vīryaśrīmitravīra. The saṃvat appears to be a Nepalese one and the date would correspond to 1199 A. C. approximately. These manuscripts are preserved in the Tibetan region of China and their photographic copies obtained by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana are preserved in the K. P. Jayswal Research Institute, Patna. Copies of this text are also available in the State Library of Kathmaṇdu, Nepal, and one copy (also from a Nepalese source) in the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

There is also one enlarged version of the commentary in Tibetan (*TM.* No. 4365).

The sūtra is divided into two parts: *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa*. The former enlists the different categories mentioned above and the latter gives the detailed explanation of those categories. It is in this latter part that we find some originality of the author, though he mostly draws upon well-known passages that occur in earlier literature.

In short, this sūtra appears to be like a reference book for the different categories of the Dharmas, like the *Dharmasaṅgraha* or *Mahāvyutpatti*, with this difference that this text also gives a brief explanation of the different categories of the Dharmas that are considered essential in Buddhism.

P. V. B.

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ARTHAVINIŚCAYA-ṬĪKĀ, the Sanskrit title of a commentary on the *Arthaviniścaya-nāma-dharmaparyāya* (q. v.). It is preserved in its Tibetan translation, the *Don-rnam-par-ṅdon-mi-za-baḥi ḥgrel-pa*. The names of the author and the translator have not been recorded. Nor has the work been numbered, though it is divided into very numerous sections (*TM.* 4365, lb[1] to 192a[7]; *Cordier*, cxxvii, 1).

T. R.

ARTIFICE or device in the practice of meditation to assist the mind in reaching one pointedness (*ekaggatā*) and the states of mental absorption (*jhāna*). See KASIṆA.

ĀRŪḌHA, name of one of the numerous samādhis accomplished by Avalokiteśvara. It is at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣ-kambhin (text reads nīvaraṇa) that the Buddha cites the list of samādhis acquired by Avalokiteś-vara in which this is, also, referred to (*Kvyu.* p. 52).

ARUKA SUTTA, the fifth sutta of the *Puggala Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 123 f.) preached to the bhikkhus on the man whose mind is like an open sore (*aruka*) as opposed to one whose mind is like lightning (*vijju*) and a diamond (*vajira*).

The Buddha declares that the mind that becomes angry for trifling matters and resents such anger and displays anger, hatred and sulkiness (*appaccaya*), is like a festering sore (*duṭṭhāruka*), which when struck by a stick discharges matter all the more.

A person who understands the meaning of the Four Noble Truths is like a man with good eyesight who sees objects in thick darkness by a flash of lightning.

A man who having put an end to all the *āsavas* himself in this life, comes to know the heart's release (*cetovimutti*), and the release by insight (*paññāvi-mutti*) and abides therein, is like a diamond which is able to cut anything, whether gem or rock.

I. K.

ARUṆA (1), a khattiya king, father of Sikhī Buddha and husband of Pabhāvatī, mother of that Buddha (*Buv.* xx, 28; *J.* I, 41; *AA.* I, 436). Aruṇavatī was his capital. He also had two other queens who in a later life during the time of Gotama Buddha entered the Order of nuns and were known

as Abhayā therī (*ThīgA*. 41) and Somā therī (*ThīgA*. 66). The latter is probably identical with Uppaladāyikā therī in the *Apadāna* (ii, 601 f.). The king is said to have given red lotuses to both these queens to be offered to Sikhī Buddha.

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* he is called Aruṇavā (*S*. I, 155).

H. R. P.

ARUṆA (2), name of a class of deities mentioned in the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D*. II, 260) as having been present at the great concourse of gods who attended the preaching of that sutta. Edgerton (*BHS*. Vol. II) does not mention a parallel name in the *Mahāsamāja Sūtra* (Waldschmidt, *Kl Turf*. 4).

B. J.

ARUṆA (3), name of a nāga king, mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS*. s. v.).

ARUṆA (4), also known as Assaka, but the commentator maintains that his real name was Aruṇa. He was the Assaka king of Potalī in the Assaka country. With his minister Nandisena's help he won a fight with the Kāliṅga king, thereby winning his four daughters (*J*. III, 3 ff.: *Cullakāliṅga Jātaka*).

The Kāliṅga king, longing for a fight, but finding none willing to accept his challenge, sent his four daughters in a covered carriage with an armed escort to the neighbouring countries with the message that any king who wished to marry the princesses would have to fight with their father.

Aruṇa alone accepted the challenge, but half-heartedly. Later, on Nandisena's instigation, he decided to marry the princesses and face the consequences.

The Kāliṅga king set out with his army to fight Aruṇa. On his way to Potalī he met the bodhisatta who was leading an ascetic life. Being consulted, the bodhisatta prophesied that he would be victorious.

Nandisena heard of this prophecy, but with great courage gathered together the Assaka forces and their allies. At the battle which was fought on the frontiers of the two countries he succeeded in killing the tutelary deity of Kāliṅga who was fighting for the Kāliṅga king. Thereupon, the Kāliṅga king was defeated and fled.

Later, at the suggestion of Nandisena, Aruṇa demanded from the Kāliṅga king a dowry for the four daughters. Kāliṅga acceded to the demand and thereafter the two kings lived amicably.

H. R. P.

ARUṆA (5), a pleasance near Anūpama (Anoma), where the Buddha Vessabhū preached his first sermon to his chief disciples Soṇa and Uttara one week after his enlightenment (*Buv*. xxii; *BuvA*. 248).

ARUṆĀ, name of a guardian goddess. When Trapuṣa and Bhallika met the Buddha, he invoked the blessings of a large number of gods, goddesses, planets, etc., for the protection of the two devotees. Aruṇā is one on the eight goddesses referred to as resident in the western quarter (*Lal*. 283, 30–33).

ARUṆAKA, name for Vatthadāyaka (q. v.) thera in a previous birth as a king.

ARUṆAÑJAHA, name for Asokapūjaka (q. v.) thera in a previous birth as a king.

ARUṆAPĀLA, a world ruler (*cakkavattin*) of thirty-five kappas ago and a previous birth of Kaṇikārapupphiya thera (*Ap*. I, 203) who is to be identified with Ujjaya thera (*ThagA*. I, 127). He is called Aruṇabala in the Sinhalese edition of the *Theragāthā* commentary (*ThagA*. *SHB*. I, 119).

L. R. G.

ARUṆAVĀ. See ARUṆA (1).

ARUṆAVATĪ (1), the city and the kingdom of king Aruṇavā or Aruṇa, and the birthplace of his son Sikhī Buddha (*Buv*. xxi, 15; *BuvA*. 243). The city was very prosperous. Close to the kingdom was a deer park where that Buddha preached his first sermon. It was also near this kingdom that Sikhī Buddha preached to his two chief disciples Abhibhū and Sambhava for the first time. The *Pātimokkha* was preached for the second time to his relations in this kingdom (*BuvA*. 243 f.). On one occasion the Buddha left Aruṇavatī with Abhibhū to preach to the Brahmā in the Brahma-world and returned to the city after the sermon (*S*. I, 155 f.). Salalapupphiya thera was a confectioner (*pūjaka*) in Aruṇavatī at the time (*Ap*. I, 218). It has been observed by Malalasekera (*DPPN*. I, 184), that Aruṇapura, where Ambapāli was born

in a brāhman family in the time of Sikhī Buddha, is probably identical with Aruṇavatī (*Ap.* II, 613; *ThīgA.* I, 213).

H. R. P.

ARUṆAVATĪ (2), a monastery in the village of Iṭṭhakāvatī in Magadha. Sāriputta once lived there with other monks (*PvuA.* 67).

ARUṆAVATĪ SUTTA (*S.* I, 155). The Buddha relates to bhikkhus the story of the visit of Sikhī Buddha and his chief disciple, Abhibhū, to a Brahma-world. At the request of Sikhī, Abhibhū instructed the Brahmā, his company and attendants with a religious discourse. Standing in the same Brahma-world, Abhibhū uttered two verses on action and energy, and made the thousand world systems hear his voice. This sutta is also known as *Aruṇavatī Paritta* (*DPPN.* II p. 1335).

U. K.

ARUNDHAVATĪ, a city in the time of Koṇḍañña Buddha. See AMARAVATĪ (2).

ARUNPURI, a legendary city from which, according to a tradition of the Nepalese Buddhists, the Buddha Sikhin arrived in what is now Nepal. He is then said to have merged into the celestial light immanent in the Svayambhunāth Caitya in Kathmandu.

ARŪPA, formless, incorporeal. The term is variously applied in reference to the sphere of formlessness (*arūpāvacara*), the formless element (*arūpa-dhātu*), the world of the formless (*arūpa-loka*), the mental state of formlesa concentration (*arūpa-jhāna*) and in many combinations and compounds relating to the above, such as desire for rebirth in the formless world (*arūpa-taṇhā*). The basic idea underlying all these concepts is the absence of form, figure, appearance, all of which are attributes of matter (*rūpa*). In *arūpa*, therefore, the concepts of beauty and its aesthetic opposite, the agreeable and disagreeable sensations resulting therefrom, and even the perceptive constructions such as the relations of order, purpose and logic, are transcended, as being attributes not of things, but of representative mental states. In other words the subjective finality of the 'I' is discarded, and the mind as thought is lost in the planes of infinite consciousness (*viññāṇañca*), of unbounded space (*ākāsānañca*), of the experience of not being anyone (*ākiñcañña*), of imperceptible perception (*neva-saññī-nāsaññā*). Aesthetic activity ceases to be the fundamental function of the mind, and the real succeeds both the actual and the ideal in psychic activity. But even this activity is stilled in the cessation of perception and sensation (*saññā-vedayita-nirodha*), when things are known and seen just as they are (*yathābhūta-ñāṇa-dassana*) without the colouring of previous experiences and classifications, without concepts and ideations, in pure awareness and realisation.

It is in realising that beauty and form (*rūpa*) have no existence either as a physical fact or as a psychic fact, but appear as the result of a close relationship between object and subject, that the formless spheres are attained as mental states, as spheres of rebirth, as states of absorption, as abodes beyond the concepts of form, where contemplation has taken the place of perception.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ARŪPA-DHĀTU, sphere of the formless. See ARŪPA-LOKA.

ARŪPAKKHANDA, the four 'Immaterial Groups of existence, namely, feeling, perception, mental formations and consciousness. See KHANDHA.

ARŪPA-LOKA, the immaterial world, the formless sphere of existence, the highest of the three spheres in which rebirth takes place the two lower spheres being the world of sense (*kāma-loka*) and the world of form (*rūpa-loka*).

In Arūpa-loka there is no corporeality (*rūpa*) whatsoever, and existence is entirely based on the corresponding attainments (*samāpatti*) or stages of concentration (*samādhi*). Thus, the four grades in this immaterial world bear the same names as the four attainments of concentration on the formless, viz., the sphere of unbounded space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*), where meditative thought has transcended all limitations even of space; the sphere of infinite consciousness (*viññāṇañcāyatana*), where this unbounded space itself is seen only as the product of thought which is therefore infinite itself; the sphere of nothingness or perhaps of not being anyone individually (*ākiñcaññāyatana*), where unbounded space and infinite consciousness are seen as truly empty; and finally the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, i.e., of

imperceptible perception (*neva-saññā-nāsaññāyatana*) where in perfect ease and calm, the thought-process becomes so sublime and refined, that in deepest concentration the very object of thought is lost sight of (*Dhs.* §§ 265—8).

Beings are reborn in those spheres as a result of having practised these forms of concentration.

Still, these spheres belong to the worlds of heavenly beings, and although superior to the spheres of the *brahmas*, they, too, are subject to the universal laws of impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and unsubstantiality (*anica, dukkha, anatta*), i.e., existence is temporary and, therefore, subject to cessation and rebirth in saṃsāra ; hence it is bound up with conflict, the solution of which cannot be found in any state of mental absorption but only in the realisation through insight (*vipassanā*) of the unreality of the conflict caused by the non-acceptance of impermanence, which is true actuality.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ARŪPĀVACARA, the sphere of the formless, of the immaterial. Whereas *loka* refers to the place or locality, *avacara* indicates the sphere of activity (*carati*, to move). Thus, the sphere of formless activity is that group of concentration which has the immaterial as object, e.g., space, thought, emptiness. Such practices will result in rebirth in a corresponding realm, bearing the same name.

As such mental concentration has no element of the senses (*kāma*), nor even of form or beauty (*rūpa*), no action of the mind can be unskilful (*akusala*), but will be either karmically wholesome (*kusala*) as action, or a neutral independent function (*avyākata-kriyā*).

Mental action in the sphere of the formless is fourfold according to the object of such concentration. And the mental absorption (*jhāna*) which results from such concentration is also called formless or immaterial (*arūpa*), although in the older texts these mental states are rather referred to as attainments (*samāpatti*). In a way, these four attainments in the immaterial sphere still belong to the fourth stage of mental absorption (*jhāna*), as they possess the same two constituents of equanimity and mindfulness.

The four spheres of immaterial mental action are the concentration on unbounded space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*), on infinite consciounsess (*viññāṇañcāyatana*), on nothingness (*ākiñcaññāyatana*), and on imperceptible perception (*neva-saññā-nāsaññāyatana*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀRUPPA, the four immaterial mental states of absorption (*jhāna*), namely, *ākāsānañcāyatana, viññāṇañcāyatana, ākiñcaññāyatana* and *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* (*Dhs.* 55 ff.). The four immaterial Brahma worlds where the possessors of these four jhānas would be born are also known by the same terms (*āruppāti arūpabhavā arūpasamāpattiyovā: SnA.* 508). The *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (pp. 3-4) gives three groups of the fourfold *arūpajhāna*, moral (*kusala*), resultant (*vipāka*) and inoperative (*kriyā*), thus, making them twelvefold.

The term *āruppa* means incorporeal or formless as opposed to *ruppa* or *rūpa* which means corporeal or having form. The term is applied to these four mental states because their objects of concentration are immaterial, viz., space (*ākāsa*), consciousness (*viññāṇa*), nothingness (*ākiñcaññā*) and neither perception nor non-perception (*nevasaññānāsaññā*), whereas the *rūpajjhānas* have material objects as their objects of concentration. In addition, the mental states of the *āruppas* are similar to those experienced in the formless Brahma worlds (*arūpa-loka*) where no trace of matter is held to be found. If a person having attained to any one of the *āruppas* would die in that same mental state he would be born in the *arūpa* world named after that *āruppa*.

Āruppa presents a higher stage of concentration than represented in the *rūpāvacara-jhāna*. In the various references to them in the canonical texts such as the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* (*D.* I, 178 ff.), *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D.* I, 34—5), *Sallekha Sutta* (*M.* I, 41—2) and the *Cūlasāropama Sutta* (*M.* I, 203—5) they appear consequent to the four *rūpāvacara jhānas*. The consciousness experienced in the *āruppa* is much more subtle and delicate than that of the *rūpāvacara jhānas*. Further, the four *āruppas* themselves show a gradual rise in degrees of concentration, one after the other, whereby the last *āruppa*, namely, *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*, is the closest to the cessation of perception and feeling (*saññā-vedayita-nirodha : D.* I, 184).

The terms by which the four *āruppas* are known are expressive of the consciousness experienced therein. The object of thought (*āyatana*) in the first *āruppa* is infinity of space ; unbounded consciousness in the second ; nothingness in the third and neither perception nor non-perception in the last.

The *Āruppaniddesa* of the *Visuddhimagga* gives in detail the method of developing the four *āruppas*. In short, the person who has developed the fourth material (*rūpa*) *jhāna* will surmount it

by becoming disgusted with its materiality and will give his attention to the base, consisting of boundless space. As he adverts to it again and again and strikes at it with thought and applied thought, the hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) are suppressed, mindfulness is established and his mind attains access-concentration (*upacāra-samādhi*). He cultivates that object of concentration again and again, develops and repeatedly practises it. As he again and again adverts to it and gives attention to it in this way, consciousness belonging to the base consisting of boundless space arises in absorption with space (*Vism.* 272). In the same way the other three *jhānas*, too, are obtained by renouncing the former and giving attention to the object of thought (*āyatana*) of the subsequent one.

The idea of the development of *āruppa* is earlier than Buddhism. Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddakarāma were two religious teachers who had developed the *ākiñcaññāyatana-jhāna* and the *nevasaññānā-saññāyatana-jhāna*, respectively (*M.* I, 164, f.). The *Jātaka* commentary often refers to these four *āruppas* as four of the eight attainments (*samāpatti*) practised by pre-Buddhistic recluses. But, unlike the Buddha, the other religious teachers made the attainment of these *jhānas* their aim.

According to the Buddha the *āruppas* were not an end in themselves, but only a means to obtain concentration and one-pointedness of mind (*ekaggatā*) which would be helpful for the realisation of the path. To imagine that experiencing them was equivalent to arahantship is condemned as a deadly heresy (*D.* I, 37 ff.). In the *Sallekha Sutta* (*M.* I, 41 f.) the Buddha says that they are not the ultimate goal (*na kho pana ete ariyassa vinaye sallekhā vuccanti*).

In the early Buddhist texts the four *āruppas* are known as the last four of the eight attainments (*vimokkhā* or *samāpatti*). It is only in the later *Abhidhamma* classification that the term *arūpajjhāna* has been used.

For details on the four *āruppas*, see ĀKĀSĀNAÑCĀYATANA, ĀKIÑCAÑÑĀYATANA, NEVASAÑÑĀNĀSAÑÑĀYATANA and VIÑÑĀṆAÑCĀYATANA.

H. R. P.

ARUPPALA, one of the many villages donated by king Kittisirirājasiṃha of Ceylon for the maintenance of the Gaṅgārāma vihāra. This village was situated close to the vihāra (*Mhv.* c, 212).

ĀRYA, noble, is frequently used in Sanskrit as an honorific prefix without forming an actual part of the title of the text, or sect, etc. In such cases the subject has been entered without the prefix. Thus, the Ārya-sarvāstivāda will be dealt with under SARVĀSTIVĀDA. But, if the word forms part of the name it will be found together with its prefix. Thus, e.g., ĀRYADEVA, ĀRYASIṂHA. The Sanskrit word *ārya* (Pali *ariya*, Jap. *sho*; Chin. *shêng*) may have derived itself from an old Indo-European root but its exact etymology has not so far been made clear. The first appearance of this word was in Sanskrit in the sense of a race. A race that had conquered India and disseminated their languages and culture through an invasion from the north-west frontiers assumed the term ārya to designate themselves. The name of the present Iran is linguistically cognate with this word and this fact furnishes strong evidence that the races of India and Iran had sprung from the common stock. For this reason, the race that had conquered India is also known as Indo-Aryans.

Development of the idea of Ārya in India. The word ārya is first noticed in the *Ṛg-Veda* where the aborigines are referred to as *dāsa* or *dasyu* to distinguish them from the Aryans themselves.

With the subsequent growth of the caste system, however, the three classes of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas came to be designated as ārya to distinguish them from the Śūdras who were of the lowest class. The land where the Aryans lived was called Āryāvarta or Ārya-deśa. It is also sometimes referred to as the place where the black antelopes wander, the reason for this being that the black antelopes were the symbol of Vedic festivities. Therefore, the land ruled by the civilisation founded on the Vedic religion has been called 'the sacred land', and it includes the whole of northern India with the Himalayas and Vindhya mountains on the north and south, respectively, with seas on the west and the east.

Being an Aryan was a great honour and in course of time, the word ārya came to denote 'one who is of noble birth' and again by further extension one who was faithful to the Aryan religion, customs and orders, and later these things themselves came to be qualified as being ārya or noble. The accepted standard was called dharma. In the modern interpretation, dharma is a code which covers the religion, ethics, philosophy, laws and

manners of the Aryans and it has its origin in the Vedas, the sacred books of revelation. The Vedic religion and sacerdotal ways as well as the āśrama which are founded upon it, and the metaphysics of *brahman* and *ātman* governed the spiritual life of the primitive Indians. Anyone or anything that complied with the dharma and conformed to it was ārya. As a consequence of this thinking, that which was elegant and noble came also to mean what was right and true.

The idea of ārya in Buddhism and its bearing upon other values. Buddhism had been born from the background of old Indian thought as already described and it developed into a further stage of humanitarian character.

On the one hand, Buddhism took up the doctrine of the negation of self as against the doctrine of *ātman*. It also disregarded the prejudices of the caste system and the ritual observances of the Vedas. On the other hand, it maintained a toleration of the customs and thinking that had been till then in general practice and, by idealising them cleverly, made them the way to the goal of the right human truth.

The significance of the term ārya (Pali: ariya, ayira, ayya), as it often appears in the Buddhist sacred books, reflects this attitude, having no particular sense aside from any of the various values, though it is sometimes accompanied with a new and special shade of meaning.

Buddhism recognised the equality of tribes and races and this idea gradually spread all over India. It was natural that this attitude of equality should have caused the term ārya to lose its original sense, in reference to a group of people. But the meaning of nobleness and truth in the term was retained and adopted into Buddhism and these meanings were further enriched by giving them Buddhist interpretations.

One of the most noteworthy uses of the term ārya appears in connection with the Buddhist doctrine known as the *catur-ārya-satya*. It deals with the Four Noble Truths regarding this world, its sorrows, the causes of those sorrows, their cessation and the way of arriving at such cessation. The reason why these truths are called ārya is that they are considered the noblest and most righteous of all truths.

The way of achieving cessation of suffering is known as the *āryāṣṭāṅgika-mārga* (Pali: *ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*).

It is the Noble Eightfold Path of right understanding, right thinking, right speech, right activity, right life, right effort, right mindfulness and right mental concentration. And in this connection the word ārya is replaced by the word *sammā* or *samyak* which means right.

Thus, the idea of ārya in Buddhism indicates the right and it is not mere rightness, but rightness demonstrated in actual discipline. To demonstrate rightness it is necessary to be free from illusions. Therefore, the study and classification of various human illusions form one of the major departments of Buddhist doctrine. Also, there exists the detailed path by which one gradually loses one's illusions and goes in the direction of a higher stage of mind. This path serves to keep one from feeling self-contented or diffident during the practice of the disciplines.

The most important division in this path is that of the common man (*pṛthagjana*) and that of the saint (*ārya-pudgala*).

One who intends to be a saint starts with the preliminary discipline and by degrees he arrives at a stage called *darśana-mārga* (path of insight). At this stage he will study and experience the *kāma-dhātu, rūpa-dhātu* and *arūpa-dhātu* in sixteen different courses. After he has been through this stage, he will be free from illusions of any sort and will not be tempted into any theories or doctrines other than those of Buddhism. It is only at this stage of discipline that he will be regarded as one who has come into the lineage of saints (*śrotāpanna*). But, there yet remain things to be done and truths to be learnt before he sees ultimate reality. Therefore, he disciplines himself all the harder and when he is absolutely free from any illusions whatsoever, he becomes an arhat, which is the highest rank in the Buddhist way of life.

When he reaches this stage, there will be no more for him to study and for this reason, he is known as one having no learning (*aśaikṣa*). In the early stage of Buddhism the Buddha himself was also called an arhat. The way of the saint is called the *lokottara-mārga*, the world-transcending way, as opposed to the *vyavahāra-mārga* or normal way.

The state of a saint is known as the holy state and its attainment is called the holy fruit (*phala*), since it is acquired as a resultant reward of the noble discipline. The qualities of a saint are called the holy qualities and a group of saints is the holy assembly. Sitting at the head of the saints is the Buddha and, therefore, he is the holy teacher and his teachings are known as the holy teachings.

In the initial stage of Buddhism the Buddha was no superhuman being as he came to be regarded later and though he was the supreme of the saints he was not essentially different from them.

Expansion of the idea of ārya in the Buddhistic doctrine and other developments in relation thereto. With the coming into being of many schools of thought in the history of Buddhist doctrines, the idea of ārya gave rise to various ramifications of its significance and this process was all the more complicated by having been brought into China and Japan.

Chi-i accomplished the doctrinal formation of the T'ien-t'ai sect, systematising both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism from the T'ien-t'ai point of view. Here, we consider the concept of ārya in Chi-i's teaching.

The Hīnayāna doctrine teaches one to attain enlightenment forsaking one's own suffering. But this teaching is merely the *upāyakauśalya* (method) devised by the Buddha to bring the less able people to maturity of being able to understand the superior doctrines of the Mahāyāna. In the so-called 'Round Teaching' (圓教 Yüan-chiao), which is the ultimate teaching according to Chi-i, all the phenomena are to be considered as empty (*śūnya*), and the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) is not outside the phenomena themselves. Thus, every phenomenon has two characteristics, viz., temporary existence and emptiness. The nature of phenomena that possess these two contrary characteristics simultaneously is designated as the middle. These three truths (*traya-satya*), namely, emptiness, temporal existence and the middle, are identical with each other and form themselves into one truth. The three truths are one in three and three in one. This is the ultimate truth common to all phenomena. Therefore, the *ārya-satya* of Buddhism lies in the harmonised three truths which can be attained through the grasp of the *tathatā*, the middle.

Chi-i found that the *catur-ārya-satya* correspond to his fourfold classification of Buddhism. The fourth and highest *catur-ārya-satya* is that of inactiveness (無作 wu-tso); and it corresponds to his 'Round Teaching'.

The illusions are classified into three. The first class comprises illusory views and thoughts. Illusory views mean heretical views and illusory thoughts mean the natural tendency of beings to cling to phenomena, misunderstanding them to exist really, in spite of the truths that all phenomena are empty.

The second class consists of the numberless illusions, by which is meant the lack of the vast amount of detail in knowledge and operation required for a bodhisattva's task of saving all beings. The last is the *avidyā*, i.e., the lack of the right understanding of *tathatā*.

Regarding the stages of attaining enlightenment, the T'ien-t'ai doctrine teaches two series of stages. The first is the series of stages followed by other sects as well, while the other is peculiar to the T'ien-t'ai doctrine. In the first series of stages, according to the Round Teaching, the stages of the ten dwellings (十住 *shih-chu*) and the stages higher than *shih-chu* are those of saints. According to the series of stages peculiar to the T'ien-t'ai doctrine, there are six stages, the fifth of which is *fên-chêng-chi* (分證即), which corresponds to *shih-chu*, *shih-hsing* (十行), *shih-hui-hsiang* (十回向), *shih-ti* (十地) and *têng-chüeh* (等覺) of the first type of series. At this fifth stage, a devotee gets rid of his *avidyā* little by little and realises gradually the truth of the middle of *tathatā*. Then, on the sixth and last stage called *chin-ching-chi* (究竟即), a devotee realises the ultimate truth. So, these two stages can be called sacred stages.

The philosophical organisation of Chi-i's theory was formulated on an extensive and logical scale. The doctrines of important schools of Buddhism were given their due positions in his teaching and in comparison with these doctrines Chi-i showed that the doctrine of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* was ultimate. R garding the practice of attaining enlightenment, Chi-i taught the *Mo-ho-chih-kuan* (摩訶止觀), which means perfect calmness (*śamatha*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*).

His philosophical system and the discipline, subsequently introduced into Japan, became one of the most important philosophical sources from which various schools of Japanese Buddhism drew freely.

There are some features in the concept of ārya in Buddhist thought which are noteworthy. First, the idea of ārya in Buddhism is peculiar in that it must be cultivated and acquired through one's own efforts from beginning to end. This is not only so in the theory expounded by Chi-i, but also in most of the other schools of Buddhist thought. However, in the course of time, a school of thinkers appeared who, though in a somewhat hesitant manner, assumed a dubious attitude towards this traditional way of thinking. This school is notably represented by a Chinese master, Tao-ch'o (562-645

A.C.), and much later it came to be followed by Hōnen (1133-1212 A.C.) and his ardent disciple, Shinran (1173-1262 A.C.), in Japan where this school of thought culminated in the sect of Jōdo. According to the stand assumed by this school of thought, it is almost impossible for any one to enter into the state of a saint, for, all the efforts on his part by way of discipline are ineffective, when he is in a world where the spirit of righteousness is in decline and the Buddhistic qualities (*chi-ken* 知見) are in a low state. And, therefore, so they further assert, the ways of the ancient saints will not serve as examples for the common people. The only way left open to our salvation is through our complete faith and we must place our whole and absolute devotion in the *pūrva-praṇidhāna* (former vow) of Amita Buddha whose benevolent intention is the salvation of all beings and creatures. Thus, by uttering the holy name of Amita Buddha, constantly and earnestly, we are enabled to die and go to the Pure Land of the West which is the region where the Buddha resides and therein we can be made saints at the hand of the Buddha. Thinking of this nature, it must be admitted, appears simple and easy on the surface, but also contains much danger in actual practice. The real object of this school of thought lies in the total oblivion of the self by placing one's absolute devotion in the Buddha.

On the other hand, the traditional way of Buddhist discipline is accompanied by a feeling that one depends on one's own efforts in seeking salvation and this draws a sharp criticism from the above school of thought headed by Hōnen. This difference in attitudes clearly indicates the peculiarity of the idea of ārya in Buddhism and, at the same time, it points out the fact that the most intricate problem encountered in the history of Buddhist thought in India, China and Japan lies in the methods that were adopted in this regard.

The idea of ārya and its analogies in Christianity, Western and Chinese philosophies. The thought of the Jōdo school is often compared with that of Christianity in recent years. In Christianity, it is the idea of God that corresponds to *ārya* and this is what distinguishes God himself from the creatures of his will. In the Christian doctrine, only what has the same worth or quality as God can participate in the Godhead (*ārya*).

Ārya is ethical and free from sin of any sort, and is worthy of being worshipped by men. In Europe ārya is generally held to be a thing that has to be revered. This kind of attitude towards the ārya is seen from the taboo of primitive nature right up to the 'Categorical Imperativism' of Kant, expounded in his ethical theories.

Whereas the idea of ārya in Buddhism is considered something human and to be acquired through personal experience, the ārya in Western thought is held to be somewhat of a superhuman character even if it does exist within men.

At this point a brief reference may be made to the idea of ārya in Chinese philosophy. The Chinese equivalent of the word ārya means cleverness or sagacity and in Chinese thought one who is possessed of the greatest degree of wisdom and virtue among men is known as a saint. Upon the appearance of a saint everything that is on earth and in heaven becomes distinct and, therefore, a saint must be possessed of infallible judgement and knowledge. And this infallible judgement presupposes absolute exemption on the part of the saint from human illusions of any kind. Yet in China a saint still remains a man and he is not the god that is the producer of all things but a man who is versed in the will and ways of heaven.

The major works of Buddhism had been translated into Chinese and it was mainly through these Chinese versions that Japan came to know and study Buddhism. Such being the case, it is quite natural that the idea of ārya in Buddhism and that of original Chinese philosophy should have certain points in common when these Chinese translations were brought over to Japan. In Indian or Buddhist thought the truth of human beings is held to be the truth of the universe, and originally there were no gods in Buddhism as objects of worship. Later, when the gods of the Brahmanic mythology were introduced and incorporated into Buddhism, they were made to occupy positions subordinate to that of the Buddha who is the highest of all the saints.

Again, Buddhism sharply differs from Chinese philosophy in that it does not recognise anything beyond the noble truth.

T. Ka. and K. Tmr.

ĀRYĀCALA - MAHĀKRODHARĀJA - GUHYA-DHĀRAṆĪ-SŪTRA, name of a protective spell belonging to the Tantrayāna. The existence of such a sūtra in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese is discussed by C. Puini in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, III, 1889, p. 38 (Winternitz, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.* II, p. 383, n. 1).

ĀRYACANDRA, also called Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra, author of the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa,* the prophecy about Maitreya, or *Maitreyasamiti,* the meeting with Maitreya. Though the extant Sanskrit manuscript is incomplete, it is found in its Chinese and Tibetan translations (*Nanjio,* Nos. 205—207); and also E. Leumann, *Maitreya-samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten* (Strassburg, 1919).

The work is in the form of a dialogue between the Buddha and Śāriputra (or Ānanda) and deals with the future Buddha Maitreya.

The date of the work is not certain.

S. K. N.

ĀRYADEVA (1), the most eminent disciple and a younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism. Often he is simply referred to as Deva or Bodhisattva Deva. He was also known as Kāṇadeva, Nīlanetra, Piṅgalanetra, Piṅgalacakṣuḥ and Karṇaripa. As he is said to have been blind in one eye he was known as Kāṇadeva, and he is called Nīlanetra etc. as he is said to have had two spots resembling eyes on his cheeks. He was probably so called because he had blue eyes. It is also said that his real name was Candrakīrti.[1] In Chinese his name is transliterated as T'i-p'o and translated as Shang-t'ien. The Japanese pronunciation of his name is Daiba (Deva) and the Japanese translation is Shoten. In Tibetan he is known as Ḥphags-pa lha.

As regards the date of Āryadeva we can be almost certain that, being a younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna, he lived during the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A. C. The eventful part of his life seems to fall in the 3rd century A. C. Although some scholars give different dates[2] the above date seems to be the most plausible.[3] Sometimes the three Mahāyānist teachers, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva are made contemporaries of king Kaniṣka who lived in the latter part of the 1st century A. C.[4] Even if Nāgārjuna was a younger contemporary of Kaniṣka it is highly doubtful whether Āryadeva was his contemporary.

Opinion is also divided as regards the birth-place of Āryadeva. While some hold the view that he was a south Indian brāhman, others maintain that he was a native of Ceylon. However, it is generally believed that he was from Ceylon. Hsüang-tsang, reporting in the 7th century A. C., says that he hailed from Ceylon. He says, "At a certain time there was the bodhisattva of the island of Siṃhala (*Cih-sse-tseu*) called Deva who profoundly understood the relationship of truth...... Moved with pity at the ignorance of men he came to this country (i.e., India) to guide and direct the people in the right way. At this time the men and women were all assembled with the young and old together on the banks of the river. Then Deva Bodhisattva composing his supernatural appearance, bent his head and dispersed it (the rays of his glory ?) again —his appearance different from that of other men. There was an unbeliever who said 'what does my son in altering thus his appearance?' Deva Bodhisattva answered 'My father, mother and relations dwell in the island of Ceylon............ I desire to appease them from this spot."[5] Elsewhere[6] Hsüang-tsang again says, 'At this time, Deva Bodhisattva, coming from the country of *Chi-see-tseu* (Ceylon)........." These words may be taken as a good piece of evidence for the Ceylonese origin of Āryadeva. However, Thomas Watters, in his translation of Hsüang-tsang's *Travels* (I, p. 321) thinks that the reference here may be to a country in south India, whereas S. Beal (ibid. II, 220, n. 76) thinks it probable that Deva was a native of Ceylon.

Another important piece of evidence to the effect that Āryadeva was a native of Ceylon is that in his commentary to Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka,* Candrakīrti says that Āryadeva was a native of the island of Siṃhala and came to south India (*tato dakṣiṇadikparamparāyāgatya*). It is significant that a commentator on Āryadeva (and therefore more reliable than Hsüang-tsang) refers to the birthplace of Āryadeva as the island of Siṃhala and not just Siṃhala (*Siṃhaladvīpa — Singa-laḥi-gliṅ*).[7] Then, in the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra,* too, the home of Āryadeva is said to be the island of Ceylon:

> *aparaḥ pravrajitaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ*
> *saiṃhikapuravāstavī*
> *anārya āryasajñī ca*
> *Siṃhaladvīpavāsinaḥ*

1 e.g., *JASB.* 1882, p. 94. See also *Nanjio,* Appendix I, No. 4 and *I-tsing's Record,* translated by J. Takakusu, Introduction, p. lix.

2 Aryadeva's date is given as 4th century A. C. by S. C. Vidyābhūsana in his *History of Indian Logic,* p. 261, and also by R. K. Mookerji in his *Ancient Indian Education,* pp. 557, 576.

3 See the chronological table at the end of E. Conze's *Buddhism,* and also T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism,* p. 92 and foot-note 3 on the same page.

4 *I-tsing's Record,* translated by J. Takakusu, introduction, pp. lvii and lix.

5 Hsüang-tsang's *Record* translated by S. Beal II, 219.

6 ibid. IV. 415.

7 V. Bhattacarya, *IHQ.* 1933, p. 978,

" Another great sage will appear in the city of the Sinhalese. Although he is not a saint (*ārya*: arhant) he will bear the appellation ārya and dwell in the island of the Sinhalese."[8] Here too, it is significant that the reference is to the island of Ceylon (*Siṃhaladvīpa*)and not just to Siṃhala.The historians Tārānātha [9] and Bu-ston [10] both record that Ārya-deva was born " in the island of Siṃhala (Siṃhala-dvīpa) ". If he were from a province in south India there is no reason why all these recorders should speak of the island of Siṃhala.. The Chinese tradition which makes him the son of a south Indian brāhman could be explained by the fact that when the close proximity of Ceylon to India is considered, it is not strange that Ceylon was considered as a part of south India by north Indian and Chinese writers. Further, there is trustworthy evidence to show that there was very close contact between Ceylon and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the centre of activity of both Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. The vase containing the ashes of Āryadeva was found there. In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley there is a temple dedicated to the therīs of Ceylon. In an inscription found on the spot, a vihāra built by a Ceylonese Buddhist is mentioned.[11] Hence, it would seem that Ceylonese Buddhists were not only in the habit of going there on pilgrimage, but that they even took up residence there permanently. There is nothing strange, therefore, in a learned monk like Āryadeva emigrating from Ceylon and settling down there as the pupil of Nāgārjuna.

In the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxxvi, 27 ff.), king Vohārika Tissa is said to have listened to the doctrine preached by a thera called Deva. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (xxii, 41), giving the same information, says that king Tissaka (i.e., Vohārika Tissa) heard the *Gilāna Sutta* from thera Deva.[12] Again in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (xxii, 50), king Saṅgha Tissa is said to have heard the *Andhakavinda Suttanta* from thera Deva. The accounts that follow in these records show that both these kings were greatly impressed by these preachings and consequently increased their patronage to the Sāsana. Here it should be noted that both kings lived during the 3rd century A. C., the period attributed to Āryadeva. But as Āryadeva had Mahāyānist leanings it is quite possible that he was not quite welcome with the kings and the monks of Ceylon.

It should be remembered that during this time, Mahāyānist ideas, which were gathering strength in Ceylon, were being suppressed by Sinhalese kings. Vohārika Tissa, who, as we have seen, had contacts with thera Deva, is mentioned among them. Thus, it is possible that Deva left Ceylon this not being a congenial place for him to live in, and went to India, where the intellectual atmosphere was more favourable to him. The theory that this thera Deva was the same as Āryadeva is made still more tenable by the fact that in Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit literature he is often referred to merely as Deva. Thera Deva of Ceylon came to be known as Ārya-Deva in India. If Āryadeva had remained in Ceylon he would probably never have attained the eminence that he did, for Ceylon could not provide the necessary encouragement for the development of his Mahāyānist tendencies. It was Nāgārjuna who furnished that leadership and guidance.

There are several sources of information as regards the life-story of Āryadeva. Among these are his life-story translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (*Nanjio*, No. 1462), Record of the 23 patriarchs (*Nanjio*, No. 1340), Hsüang-tsang's Record of his travels and the two books on the history of Buddhism written by Bu-ston and Tārānātha. The information furnished by all these works is almost the same. However, this information is embellished with much legendary material and it becomes difficult to sift the truth from fiction. There is yet another source of information in Candrakīrti's commentary to Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* which is not so full of details and which seems to be the most trustworthy.[13]

Bu-ston [14] starts his account of the life of Ārya-deva by saying that he was the spiritual son of Nāgārjuna. Born and bred in Ceylon, Āryadeva later went to Nāgārjuna and entered his school and became proficient in all the branches of science and all the heterodox and orthodox philosophical systems. Bu-ston then refers to a heretical teacher

8 N. Dutt, *IHQ*. 1934, pp. 137 ff.: Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, pp. 130–1. Here Bu-ston says that according to tradition Āryadeva had attained the 8th stage.

9 *Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, Anton Schiefner, pp. 83 ff.

10 *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, by Bu-ston, translated by E. Obermiller, p. 130.

11 *Early History of the Āndhra Country*, K. Gopalachari, p. 146.

12 The *Dīpavaṃsa* reference is not to king Abhaya as taken by Yamakami Sogen in his *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p. 190.

13 T. R. V. Murti, op. cit. p. 92 and n. 2.

14 op. cit. pp. 130–2.

called Mātṛceṭa who was a follower of the god Maheśvara and was exceedingly powerful as an exponent of his faith. By his teaching he had caused great harm to Buddhism and won many converts. When he came to Nālandā, the Buddhist monks there sent word to Nāgārjuna who was in Śrīparvata. Then Āryadeva, who was with him, said that he would subdue Mātṛceṭa and went to Nālandā.[15] On his way a tree-goddess begged him to give her an eye and he gave her one of his eyes. Āryadeva went there and defeated the heretic. The monks, not knowing who he was, asked his identity to which Āryadeva replied that Maheśvara, even with three eyes, cannot perceive the absolute truth nor Indra with a thousand eyes. But he, although he had only one eye, possesses this rare intuition. Mātṛceṭa was converted to Buddhism and became a great scholar.[16] Bu-ston concludes his account of Āryadeva by saying that according to tradition Āryadeva had attained to the 8th stage.

Chinese sources (*Nanjio*, No. 1462) give a different story about Āryadeva's loss of one eye. Āryadeva wanted to show that a golden statue of Maheśvara was not the god himself. To prove this he pulled out the left eye of the statue. When on the following day Maheśvara visited him he tore out his left eye and gave it to him in order to show that he was genuinely devoted to the god and that he had full faith in his spirit.[17] Because of his blindness Āryadeva was also called Kāṇadeva.

Hsüan-tsang, an earlier recorder than Bu-ston, gives a more detailed account of how Āryadeva became a follower of Nāgārjuna. He says that Āryadeva, coming from Ceylon, sought to hold a discussion with Nāgārjuna. When the gate-keeper announced the visitor monk to Nāgārjuna, the latter filled a bowl with water and asked the gate-keeper to hold the water before Āryadeva, who, seeing the water, was silent and dropped a needle into it. When Nāgārjuna was informed of this, he exclaimed that Āryadeva ought to be a very wise man and bade him enter. Here Nāgārjuna explains the meaning of the story that the water in the bowl symbolised his own wisdom and by dropping a needle into it Āryadeva meant that he had pierced to the bottom of that wisdom. When Āryadeva expressed his desire to be a pupil of Nāgārjuna, the latter said, " Your learning excels that of the world and your fine distinctions shine brighter than those of the former teachers. I am but an old and feeble man; but having met with one so learned and distinguished, surely it is for the purpose of speaking the truth and for transmitting without interruption the torch of the law and propagating the teaching of religion. Truly, this is one who may sit on the upper seat to expound dark sayings and discourse with precision."[18] According to Hsüan-tsang Āryadeva was as highly impressed by Nāgārjuna as the latter was by Āryadeva.[19]

Hsüan-tsang in his account of Magadha calls Āryadeva a disciple of Nāgārjuna, well-known for his wisdom and spiritual energy. A detailed account is given of how Āryadeva went to Vaiśālī and subdued the non-Buddhist teachers there. During this time there was hardly any Buddhism in Vaiśālī and Āryadeva, obtaining leave from Nāgārjuna, went there as Nāgārjuna's deputy, vanquished the heretics and re-established the Buddhist faith. It is said that in less than one hour[20] he was able to refute the heretics in a public debate and finally to win over the king and the people to his side. The account concludes with the information that a monument was also erected in memory of Āryadeva's victory.[21]

Hsüan-tsang again speaks of Āryadeva in his account of the Śrughna country in north India. Here too, the Chinese pilgrim refers to him as profoundly learned in the Buddha's teaching and going to India from Ceylon to lead the people on the right path. An incident is reported of how Āryadeva came across a group of people performing a Hindu religious rite at a holy ford and how Āryadeva first attracted their attention by trying to turn back the river's current. When the crowd began to criticise him he turned that criticism against themselves and convinced them how futile it was to indulge in such practices in the name of religion. Admitting their fault they became followers of Buddhism.[22]

Āryadeva is again referred to by Hsüan-tsang in his account of the Cola country in south India. Here is mentioned an interview Āryadeva had with

15 Compare this information with Hsüan-tsang's report of Āryadeva deputising for Nāgārjuna in subduing the non-Buddhist teachers at Vaiśālī referred to later in this article.

16 Could this Mātṛceṭa be the same Buddhist writer who is also sometimes called Māticitra ?

17 Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, pp. 187-8.

18 The English translation is that of S. Beal, op. cit. p. 416.

19 S. Beal, op. cit. pp. 415-6 and T. Watters, *On Yuang Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp. 200, 202.

20 One hour according to Beal, op. cit. p. 333. But, according to Watters, op. cit. II, p. 101, it took twelve days.

21 Beal, op. cit. pp. 331-3; Watters, op. cit. I, pp. 10-11.

22 Beal, op. cit. pp. 219-20 ;Watters, op. cit. I, pp. 320-1

an arhat named Uttara. Āryadeva had heard about Uttara as possessing supernatural powers and attainments and he wished to meet him. He stated his difficulties to Uttara who answered them one by one. However, Uttara could not answer Āryadeva's counter-questions upon which the arhat transported himself to Tuṣita heaven and obtained instructions from Maitreya who told him that Āryadeva was a Buddha-to-be [23] in the present kalpa and bade him respect Āryadeva accordingly. Once the answers of Maitreya were supplied to Āryadeva, he recognised those replies to be those of Maitreya, whereupon Uttara showed him great respect.[24]

In his description of Prayāga, Hsüan-tsang says that Āryadeva composed his *Śataśāstra-vaipulya* in a *saṅghārāma* there. This work could be identified as *Nanjio*, No. 1189 and *Taishō*, No. 1570. The relation of this work to the *Catuḥśataka*, the most celebrated work of Āryadeva, is discussed later on in this article. Hsüan-tsang also refers to a discussion of Āryadeva with a non-Buddhist brāhman at the end of which Āryadeva was able to defeat his opponent in argument. The discussion, as given by Beal, centres round the theory of soullessness as taught in Buddhism.[25]

Āryadeva, along with Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and Kumāralabdha, is referred to by Hsüan-tsang,[26] as one of the four suns that illumine the world. I-tsing, too, makes this comparison.[27]

In the Chinese work containing the history of the succession of the 23 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to bhikṣu Siṃha (*Nanjio*, No. 1340) Āryadeva, under the name Kāṇadeva, is mentioned as the 14th patriarch and the same position is accorded to him in his biography available in Chinese (*Nanjio*, No. 1462). According to the Chinese accounts of his life, Āryadeva died at the hands of a murderer. The story is that once in south India he had defeated some powerful non-Buddhists in argument and one of the pupils of a leading teacher who was defeated stabbed Āryadeva to death while the latter was taking a stroll in a lonely area. Many words are put into the mouth of Āryadeva at the moment of his untimely death, and according to this story even the last words of Āryadeva were a discourse on the *śūnyatā* doctrine.[28]

As regards the works of Āryadeva there is much confusion among the various sources of information due to the fact that a large number of works by a later tantric writer of the 7th or 8th century by the same name have also been attributed to our Mādhyamika exponent. This confusion, which has not been quite cleared so far, seems to have been there even at the time of Bu-ston, for he gives a list of works under the Mādhyamika teacher in which the works of the other Āryadeva are also included. However, it is noteworthy that what Bu-ston says about the life-story of Āryadeva pertains only to the senior Āryadeva and it is only in the list of works that he treats the two authors as one. It may be that either he overlooked the distinction or the confusion was there even at that time or it is also possible that as the second Āryadeva was a tantric writer an attempt was made by some, including Bu-ston, to attribute the works of the second Āryadeva also to the other, in order to invest those tantric works with greater authority. This last surmise seems to be the most probable. The confusion has continued, for in the catalogue of the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka (TM.)* the works of both writers are given under Āryadeva without making a distinction between them. However, in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* none of the works of the second Āryadeva is mentioned. This establishes the fact that as the Chinese versions of Āryadeva's Sanskrit works were made in the fifth and the seventh centuries there was no possibility for the works of the second Āryadeva, who lived in the 7th or the 8th century, to find a place in the Chinese canon. In the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* there is no mention of a second Āryadeva and the seven works attributed there to Āryadeva are genuinely the works of the first Āryadeva. But in the Tibetan canon there are 23 works attributed to Āryadeva, of which 9 are under the name Āryadeva and the rest under Ḥphags-pa lha, the Tibetan form of that name. Out of these 23 works only 5 works are by the first Āryadeva and out of those five works there are four different versions, sometimes commentaries, of the same work (i.e., *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*) and as such actually there are only two works (the other being the *Catuḥśataka*) of the first Āryadeva. Of these two works the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* is wrongly attributed to Diṅnāga in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. The *Akṣaraśataka* of Āryadeva

23 Compare this information with the fact that he is often referred to as Bodhisattva Deva by the Chinese writers. It is also worth mentioning here again that according to Bu-ston he attained the 8th stage.

24 Beal, op. cit. pp. 428–9; Watters, op. cit. II, pp. 224–5.

25 Beal, op. cit. pp. 251–2.

26 Beal, op. cit. p. 428; Watters, op. cit. I, p. 245.

27 *I-tsing's Record*, translated by J. Takakusu, p. 181.

28 For further details on these incidents see Yamakami Sogen, op. cit. pp. 192–4.

is given in the *TM*. as a work of Nāgārjuna. In the present article the works of the Mādhyamika teacher are sifted as shown above and there are 10 works by him as follows :

(1) *Catuḥśataka, Catuḥśatikā* or *Śataka* is the most celebrated work of Āryadeva (*Nanjio*, No. 1189 ; *TM*. No. 3846 ; *Taishō*, No. 1570). Except for some fragments, discovered and published by H. Sastri in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, No. 8, pp. 449—514, the book is lost in its original. But the complete text is preserved in its Tibetan translation (*TM*. No. 3846) along with the commentary of Candrakīrti. Although it is said that the last eight chapters of this work were translated into Chinese, actually the Chinese translation is not from the *Catuḥśataka*, but it is the translation of the *kārikās* of the *Śataśāstravaipulya*, the mistaken identification being due to the fact that its contents are the same as those of the last eight chapters of the *Catuḥśataka*. This is the work catalogued by Nanjio under the number 1189 and thus there is no mention of a *Catuḥśataka* in his catalogue as a work of Āryadeva. Hence, the *Catuḥśataka* proper was translated and preserved only in Tibetan. The Chinese translator was Hsüan-tsang.

(2) *Śata(ka)śāstra*, translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. This is more or less a summary of or an introduction to the *Catuḥśataka*. The commentary of this work is attributed to Vasu who is doubtfully identified as Vasubandhu of Vijñānavāda fame. This work, along with the *Mādhyamika-śāstra* of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva (see No. 8 below) and the *Dvādaśanikāya* of Nāgārjuna, comprises the basic texts of the San-ron sect of Japan and the San-lun sect of China (*Taishō*, No. 1569 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1188). This work is not found in the Tibetan canon.

(3) *Śataśāstravaipulya*, along with the commentary of Dharmapāla, was translated into Chinese by Hsüan-tsang (*Taishō*, No. 1571 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1198). The Chinese work, sometimes called the *Catuḥśataka* of Āryadeva is the translation of the *kārikās* of this work without the commentary. The contents of this work are almost identical with those of the last eight chapters of the *Catuḥśataka*, with some reshuffling, and hence it is identified with the *Catuḥśataka* (see No. 1 above).

(4) *Akṣaraśataka*, a synopsis of the Mādhyamika doctrine, translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci and available also in Tibetan (*Taishō*, No. 1572 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1254 ; *TM*. Nos. 3834—5). The two works catalogued in the *TM*. are the text and the commentary. The Tibetan tradition which ascribes it to Nāgārjuna seems to be incorrect.

(5) *Mahāpuruṣa-śāstra*, available only in Chinese (*Taishō*, No. 1577 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1242). Yamakami Sogen quotes from this work in his *Systems of Buddhist Thought* (pp. 63—4) and says that it was translated into Chinese by a Buddhist scholar Tao-t'ai of the northern Lian dynasty. According to the quotation of Sogen this is a work advocating the Mahāyānist ideal of bodhisattvahood, the ideal that one should not be afraid of saṃsāra and seek one's own salvation. One should feel an all-embracing love for all beings and rejoice in conferring bliss on them and by so doing attain Nirvāṇa (ibid. p. 64).

(6) *Śāstra* on the refutation of four heretical Hīnayāna schools mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci (*Taishō*, No. 1639 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1259). The four schools referred to are *Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nirgrantha* and *Gñātiputra*.

(7) *Śāstra* on the explanation of Nirvāṇa by twenty heretical teachers mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, translated by Bodhiruci (*Taishō*, No. 1640 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1260).

(8) *Mādhyamika-śāstra* co-authored by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva (*Taishō*, No. 1564 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1179 ; *TM*. No. 3824). This is not to be confused with the work called the *Mādhyamika-kārikā* of Nāgārjuna. In this work the authorship is shared between Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva in the sense that 500 verses of the former are commented upon by the latter. This is more or less a commentary by Āryadeva on the celebrated *Mādhyamika-kārikās* of Nāgārjuna, commonly known as *Chung-lun* in China. Along with the *Śataśāstra* of Āryadeva referred to above and the *Dvādaśanikāya* of Nāgārjuna, this forms one of the three basic texts of the San-lun sect in China and the San-ron sect in Japan. Yamakami Sogen quotes from this work in several places of his *Systems of Buddhist Thought* (e.g., pp. 14, n. 1 ; 20, 23 etc.). The work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. In the Tibetan canon the work is attributed to Nāgārjuna. Āryadeva's authorship of this commentary depends on the correct identification of Piṅgala, which is how the commentator is named in the Chinese works.

(9) This same work was later translated into Chinese by Prabhākaramitra (*Taishō*, No. 1566 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1185 ; *TM*. No. 3853).

(10) *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* and *vṛtti* (*TM.* Nos. 3844 and 3845), attributed to Āryadeva according to the Tibetan tradition but ascribed to Diṅnāga in the Chinese tradition (*Taishō*, Nos. 1620, 1621; *Nanjio*, Nos. 1255, 1256). As T. R. V. Murti says in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (p. 94), this is wrongly attributed to Diṅnāga, for this is a work in which the Mādhyamika teaching is summarised in six verses. As it denies the reality of both the subjective and the objective worlds it clearly is a Mādhyamika work and as such its attribution to Āryadeva is correct. The Tibetan and the Chinese texts with a restoration into Sanskrit have been published by F. W. Thomas in *JRAS.* 1918, pp. 267–310.

The teaching of Āryadeva is a progressive continuation of that of his teacher Nāgārjuna. He was the greatest exponent of the Mādhyamika system after Nāgārjuna, whose *śūnyatā* doctrine is upheld by him in all his works, chiefly in his *magnum opus*, the *Catuḥśataka*. Two commentaries were written to it, one by Dharmapāla and the other by Candrakīrti. Of the 16 chapters that compose this work, the first eight are devoted to the exposition of Mādhyamika theories and the second eight are a polemic against the rival schools of Buddhist thought as well as the Sāṅkhya and the Vaiśeṣika systems. In importance as a text of the Mādhyamika teaching it is second only to the *Mādhyamika-kārikās* of Nāgārjuna. For further details see CATUḤŚATAKA. Āryadeva's contribution to Mādhyamika teaching would be still greater if the Chinese version of the *Mādhyamika-śāstra*, number eight in the above catalogue, is actually his, which, most probably, is the case, for it is generally believed that the commentator Piṅgala is none other than Āryadeva. In this case Āryadeva becomes still more important, for the San-lun and the San-ron sects of China and Japan, respectively, are based on this *Mādhyamika-śāstra* with Piṅgala's commentary, the *Śataśāstra*, also of Āryadeva, and the *Dvādaśanikāya* of Nāgārjuna. All these works, the *Catuḥśataka*, the *Mādhyamika-śāstra*, the *Śataśāstra* of Āryadeva and the *Dvādaśanikāya* of Nāgārjuna, form the basic texts of the Mādhyamika school and deal with the same subject matter; only the treatment is different in each case.[29] Āryadeva's contribution to Mādhyamika teaching is enriched by another work known as the *Akṣaraśataka*, treated as number four in the above catalogue. With regard to this work T. R. V. Murti (op. cit. pp. 93—4) quotes the following words of Gokhale, "The title in itself is so typical of an Āryadevic production that one might easily be tempted to suggest a chronological sequence among the works: *Catuḥśataka*, *Śataka* (*Śataśāstra*) and *Akṣaraśataka*, where beginning from *Catuḥśataka* the logical arguments become more and more systematic and pointed, till in the present text they develop into a short and neat refutation solely directed against the *Sāṅkhyas* and *Vaiśeṣikas* who probably formed in Āryadeva's time the most powerful opponents of Buddhism." Murti, giving his own opinion, says, "It must be admitted, however, that the *Akṣaraśatakaṃ* does not seem to be very intelligible even with the commentary. The general drift of the treatise is to refute both identity and difference (*bhāvā naikatvaṃ bhinnatvaṃ api*), *sat* and *asatkāryavāda* and to establish that things are apparent (*svapnasamaṃ*). The twenty odd propositions which form the entire subject-matter of the treatise are introduced so abruptly and with so little argument that it singularly fails to add to our knowledge of the Mādhyamika system."

Hence, it is seen that the *Akṣaraśataka* is an abstract of the Mādhyamika teaching. In his *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*, number ten in the above catalogue, Āryadeva gives a very brief summary of the Mādhyamika teaching. It maintains the Mādhyamika standpoint of the unreality of both the subjective and the objective worlds. In the *Mahāpuruṣa-śāstra*, number five in the above catalogue as quoted by Yamakami Sogen, Āryadeva emphasises the value of devoting oneself to the good of others, which is the cardinal principle of Mahāyāna. According to the two works attributed to Āryadeva in the Chinese tradition, comprising the numbers six and seven in the above catalogue, Āryadeva has composed works solely to dispute the views of the various schools of philosophy, not only the Sāṅkhya and the Vaiśeṣika, but also Jainism.

It is an accepted fact that Āryadeva's *modus operandi* was to establish the viewpoints of his own school not only by its exposition, but also by criticising the rival schools. This he did by his critical writings and by public debates whenever the occasion demanded. He won great fame as a skilful debator in the whole of India. The rival schools during his time were in fear of both his pen and his tongue. In this respect he was one of the galaxy of great thinkers that enriched and enlivened the intellectual life of medieval India. Sharing the

29 Richard A. Gard says that even the *Dvādaśanikāya* as known in China and Japan has its commentary written by Piṅgala. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2, March 1954, p. 5.

honour of founding and establishing the Mādhyamika school with his guru, Nāgārjuna, he can undoubtedly be called a second Nāgārjuna. The firm and unshakable establishment of the Mādhyamika system by defending it against the criticisms of the rival schools was more the achievement of Āryadeva than of Nāgārjuna and as such this system owes much of its popularity and stability to him. If not for the post-Nāgārjuna protection and nursing that were afforded by Āryadeva to this system against the rival schools, specially Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika, the Mādhyamika revolution would not have become so permanent and acquired the popularity it subsequently came to possess.

A. G. S. K.

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ĀRYADEVA (2), a Buddhist tantric writer who lived in India during the 7th or the 8th century A.C.

A complicated problem has arisen due to the attribution of a number of Tantric works by this Āryadeva to the other Āryadeva, who was a disciple of Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school and who lived in the second and the third centuries A.C. There is no doubt about the existence of this Mādhyamika Āryadeva. But, as was shown in the preceding article, the Tibetan tradition ascribes a large number of Tantric works to the earlier Āryadeva and judging from the nature of these works they could not have been the works of that Mādhyamika teacher. In the Tibetan canon, as given in the *TM*., the works of both Āryadevas are catalogued under one name. There is no difficulty in selecting the works of the earlier Āryadeva. Once these works are removed from the list, it may be surmised that the remaining works were written by the later Āryadeva in the 7th or 8th century A.C. One significant point in this problem is the fact that all the works, referred to in the Chinese canon as those of Āryadeva, are genuinely the works of the Mādhyamika teacher. Hence, it will be seen that not a single work of the second Āryadeva was admitted into the Chinese canon. From this fact it would follow that the tantric works, which are catalogued below in this article, were written by an author different from the Mādhyamika Āryadeva. But the difficulty is with regard to the identification of this second Āryadeva.

P. B. Patel, who has prepared a critical edition of the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* (*Viśvabhāratī*, 1949) says in his introduction (p. xv) that this work is certainly not a work of the earlier Āryadeva. Here he also gives instances where many authorities had mistaken this work to have been composed by the Mādhyamika teacher. He further says that at the time the tenets of Vajrayāna were current in Bengal, there was a writer named Āryadeva and that he was supposed to have been known by two or three other names. Many works, both in Sanskrit and in Bengali, on the then Vajrayāna are attributed to him, and Patel identifies this tantric writer of Bengal as the author of the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa*. As regards the date of this Āryadeva he places him just before the 8th century A.C., a period during which Saraha's disciple Nāgārjuna, the Vajrayānist (not the founder of the Mādhyamika teaching), Indrabhūti, the king of Orissa, and the other *siddhas* were actively propagating the Vajrayāna.

These valuable findings of Patel can be further confirmed by sporadic, yet substantial pieces of information. Thus, in the *Blue Annals* (I, 359–60) it is said that Nāgārjuna, the disciple of Saraha, had four chief disciples known as Śākyamitra, Āryadeva, Nāgabodhi and Candrakīrti; and Patel says (op. cit., Introd. p. xvi) that Āryadeva was the predecessor of Śākyamitra, thereby substantiating the statement in the *Blue Annals*. It is generally accepted that Indrabhūti, Nāgārjuna (Saraha's disciple) and Nāgabodhi, were contemporaries in about the 7th century (see the Chronological Table at the end of E. Conze's *Buddhism*). Hence, it becomes clear that this later Āryadeva was a disciple of the later Nāgārjuna and they, with the other tantric writers, were active in Bengal when the Vajrayāna was gaining popularity there. Three of the works of the tantric Āryadeva given in the *TM*. are cited in the *Blue Annals*, one of which is the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* (*Cittāvaraṇaviśodhana*, *TM*. No. 1804; *Blue Annals*, II, p. 1019). The other two are the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (*TM*. No. 1803; *Blue Annals*, I.

pp. 362–3) and the *Pratipattisāraśataka* (*TM.* No. 2334; *Blue Annals*, II, pp. 803, 811). Since the autbor, named Āryadeva and referred to in the *Blue Annals*, as shown earlier, was none other than the tantric writer, it becomes clear that the tantric works attributed to Āryadeva in the Tibetan canon are the works of the later Āryadeva.

In the introduction to the *Sādhanamālā* II, p. cxxxiv, n. 1, B. Bhattacharyya also is definite about the existence of a second Āryadeva who composed Buddhist tantric works. There he admits that the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* was written by the tantric Āryadeva, but was wrongly attributed to the Mādhyamika Āryadeva. H. Sastri slightly differs when he says that the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* was written by the earlier Āryadeva and was revised by another Āryadeva later. He, too, admits the existence of an Āryadeva in Bengal who wrote also in Bengali (*IHQ.* 1925, p. 464).

In connection with this problem it may be remarked here that it was a practice commcn in many ancient literatures that the works composed by less-known writers were attributed to better known authors, in order to invest those works with greater authority. India was no exemption from this. The two Mādhyamika teachers, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, the teacher and the pupil, were well-known and were accepted as authorities on the Mādhyamika teaching, and the philosophy of the Vajrayāna also was based on that of the Mādhyamika. And when the Vajrayāna was gaining popularity in the 7th and the 8th centuries in India, specially in Bengal, there appeared a Nāgārjuna, a tantric writer. In keeping with the Mādhyamika tradition we see a pupil of this Nāgārjuna calling himself Āryadeva and composing tantric treatises. This being the case, one is tempted to suggest that the two names Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva were assumed by those two writers, probably in emulation of the Mādhyamika tradition. Hence, it may be that they were known by some other names before they assumed the role of Vajrayānist propagators and that they called themselves Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva to invest their works with greater authority. Thus, many works composed by the later tantric Āryadeva have been wrongly attributed to the earlier Mādhyamika Āryadeva owing to the obscure history surrounding the later Āryadeva. The absence of a proper sense of history among the ancient chroniclers—for they can hardly be called historians —such as Bu-ston and Tārānātha, has led them to regard both as identical. Thus, in Bu-ston's account of Āryadeva, as given in his *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, pp. 130 ff., he gives a more or less legendary account of the Mādyamika Āryadeva and in the list of works attributed to this Āryadeva are included the tantric works of the later Āryadeva. The fact that both the Tibetan canon and Bu-ston do not distinguish two writers and include the works of both teachers under one name shows that the Tibetan tradition has overlooked the distinction entirely.

In this connection it could also be suggested that these tantric works that have to be attributed to the second Āryadeva were perhaps composed by miscellaneous authors and were attributed to an imaginary Āryadeva for reasons just given. This could perhaps well be the case with the second Nāgārjuna, too.

The following is the list of works that have to be attributed to the tantric Āryadeva as taken from the *TM.* where the works of both Āryadevas are given indiscriminately, some under the name Āryadeva and the others under the Tibetan form of this name, Ḥphags-pa lha: 1. *Śrīcaturpīṭha-yogatantrasādhana* (*TM.* No. 1610). 2. *Śrīcaturpīṭha-tantra-rājamaṇḍalavidhisārasamuccaya-nāma* (*TM.* No. 1613). 3. *Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā* (*TM.* No. 1794). 4. *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (*TM.* No. 1803). 5. *Cittāvaraṇaviśodhana-nāma-prakaraṇa* (*TM.* No. 1804). 6. *Dpal gsaṅ-ba-ḥdus-paḥi rdsogs-rim mthar phyin-pa* (*TM.* No. 1808). 7. *Nirvikal-paprakaraṇa* (*TM.* No. 2279). 8. *Pratipattisāra-śataka* (*TM.* No. 2334). 9. *Madhyamakabhrama-ghāta-nāma* (*TM.* No. 3850). 10. *Jñāneśvarāsā-dhana-nāma* (*TM.* No. 1612). 11. *Dpal gdan bshi-paḥi zab-don-ston-pa-śrī gcig-gi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* (*TM.* No. 1614). 12. *Vajraghaṇṭapūjāsādhana-krama* (*TM.* No. 1615). 13. *Svādiṣṭhānakramapra-bheda* (*TM.* No. 1805). 14. *Abhibodhikramopadeśa* (*TM.* No. 1806). 15. *Śmaśānavidhi* (*TM.* No. 1807). 16. *Dug lṅa sbas-paḥi lam mchog-tu gsaṅ-ba bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-pa shes-bya-ba* (*TM.* No. 2457). 17. *Skhalitapramardanayuktihetusiddhi-nāma* (*TM.* No. 3847). 18. *Jñānasārasamuccaya-nāma* (*TM.* No. 3851).

Of these works the numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 17, 18 and probably 10 are referred to as Āryadeva's works by Bu-ston in his *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, p. 131.

A. G. S. K.

ĀRYAKA, name of a cakravartin (*Sdmp.* 160.14).

ĀRYĀKOṢA-NĀMA, literally a treasury of verses (? composed in the Āryā metre), the title of a short collection of gnomic verses occurring in the

Thuṅ-moṅ-ba lugs-kyi bstan-bcos (Nītiśāstra) section of the Mdo-hgrel (Sūtravṛtti) division of the Tengyur under the title *Tshigs-su bcad-paḥi mdsod ces-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 144, No. 5823). The authorship of the work is credited to Ñi-ma sbas-pa (Ravigupta) and the translation is attributed to Jñānaśānti and Dpal-gyi lhun-poḥi sde (Śrīmerusena according to *Cordier*, III, p. 482, No. 29).

Verses attributed to Ravigupta occur in Sanskrit anthologies. Fifty-five stanzas in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* are attributed to the poet Ravigupta. A poem called *Candraprabhā-vijaya* is said to have been composed by him, a quotation from which is given in Yaśodhara's commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmaśāstra*, the *Jayamaṅga'a* (The *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, edited by P. Peterson and Pandit Durgāprasāda, Bombay, 1886, pp. 99, 100). Vidyākara cites Ravigupta as the author of two stanzas in his anthology of verses, the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*. The editors of this text assign two more to the same author (see p. xciii in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* compiled by Vidyākara, edited by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, Harvard University Press, 1957).

The sun does not change though it sinks in the ocean nor does the waning moon; never is the greatness of a virtuous person impaired, even if he be in declining circumstances. That a calm person will not be subject to fear is uncertain for black smoke rises from a white lamp. A great person, though in distress, will not seize another's wealth; the sweet-voiced nightingale, though thirsty, will not drink sea-water. Men of virtue are found among the inferior classes and wicked ones among the superior; lotuses spring up from the mud and worms appear in lotuses. That which the great accomplish during the course of aeons, the wicked hastily destroy; the harvest that is slowly tended by the water, the fire burns in a moment. The misery felt at the wrong done to others is not equalled by that incurred through injustice done to oneself; the earth, motionless, when wronged, tramples at injustice to others; —these and other similar sayings form the content of the present collection of verses, the *Āryākoṣa-nāma*.

At the end of the work the author states that he composed the stanzas with the hope that others may practise the path taught by the great.

R. H.

ĀRYĀKṢA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

ĀRYĀMOGHA-PŪJĀ-MAṆI, a bodhisattva, the fifth figure from the south (i.e., from the right) among the figures of the eight venerable ones of the *susiddhi* section of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

His mystic name is 'Ju-i-chin-kang' (Cintā-maṇi-vajra ?) and his seed-syllable (*bīja*) is Oṃ. His symbol (*samaya*) is a gem or a trident.

On the figure, the *Pi-tsang-chi* (秘藏記) mentions, "This figure is in flesh colour and has four hands. One of the left hands has a string. One of the right hands holds a sword and the other a trident."

Amogha means 'completion' which is symbolised by the gem (*cintā-maṇi*). The sword resembles the wisdom which cuts off all delusions and by this wisdom all beings attain the realisation of the truth. Here the realisation is represented by a lotus and the truth by a gem. The trident resembles the three kinds of wisdom by which karma is purified, and the string resembles the fivefold wisdom, i.e., the wisdom of Mahāvairocana.

The Chinese work *Hsüan-fa-szŭ-i-kuei* (玄法寺儀軌) mentions this bodhisattva for the first time.

K. TMR.

ĀRYA-PUṄGALA, a model human personality. See ARIYA-PUGGALA.

ĀRYĀSAṄGA, a native of Gandhāra who lived mostly in Ayodhyā (Oudh)—probably, in the fourth century A.C.—and who was first a follower of the Mahīśāsaka school. He later founded the Yogācāra school with his *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* which is said to have been dictated to him by Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven. See ASAṄGA.

E. H. P.

ĀRYA-SATYA, the Four Noble Truths. See ARIYA-SACCA.

ĀRYASATYAKA PARIVARTA, name of a Sanskrit work, or a part of a work referred to in the *Śikṣā-samuccaya* (165.17).

ĀRYASENA, whose name was transliterated into Chinese as A-li-yeh-szŭ-na (阿梨耶斯那), or A-li-szŭ-na and translated as Shêng-chün, 聖軍), was a monk of Bāmiyān. He lived in the 7th century A.C., and belonged to the Mahāsaṅghika school, but was well versed in the doctrine of Vijñānavāda.

When Hsüan-tsang came to Bāmiyān, Āryasena and Āryadeva treated him hospitably, as is mentioned in his biography.

K. TMR.

ĀRYASIṂHA (var. Siṃha-bhikṣu, Siṃhalaputra), the 24th patriarch of Mahāyāna Buddhism in a line of succession beginning with Mahā-Kāśyapa and Ānanda, and including Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna, with Bodhidharma as the 28th and last Indian patriarch, after which the line of succession is continued in China.

He is mentioned in the *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Soothill and Hodous, p. 324) as the 23rd or 24th and final patriarch according to the T'ien-t'ai school, depending on the inclusion of Śāṇakavāsa who was contemporary with his predecessors Mahā Kāśyapa and Ānanda. But the Ch'an school reckons twenty-eight, in which line of succession Āryasiṃha or Siṃhalaputra ranks 24th.

He was born from a brāhman family in central India and became a most promising disciple of the then living patriarch Haklenayaśas or Padmaratna. Siṃhalaputra (lion-son ; Chinese : Shih-tzŭ 師子) asked his teacher one day : To what must I give my chief attention if I would attain the true knowledge of things ? And the reply was : By doing nothing you will comply with the teaching of the Buddha. The obviously implied thought is that any focussing of attention on self-attainment can never lead to true knowledge of things which are void of self.

On his teacher's death (209 A.C. Chinese chronology) he went to Candahar (Gandhāra), where he converted many people to Buddhism. Some heretics and criminals, however, in an attempt to evade the law also assumed the name of Buddhists, whereupon the king with little or no discretion cut off the head of the patriarch (259 A.C.).

Owing to this unfortunate incident the list of patriarchs was considered by some as terminated with his death. But the contemplative school of Bodhidharma have retained the twenty-eight names. Until we come, however, to the last of the Indian patriarchate, Bodhidharma (Chinese : P'u-t'i-ta-mo 菩提達磨) who died in 528 A.C., the historical dates given to the various patriarchs are not reliable.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀRYĀṢṬAṄGIKA-MĀRGA, the Noble Eightfold Path. See AṬṬHAṄGIKA-MAGGA.

ĀRYAŚŪRA, a Buddhist poet, well-known as the author of the *Jātakamālā*, a native of north India. He was a brāhman by birth, and was later converted to Buddhism, but one is in oblivion as to who converted him. Āryaśūra, whose name is translated as Shên-yung (lit. holy bravery), or Tā-yun (lit. great bravery) in Chinese, and as Sñam-dṅgas-mkhan-chen-po-slob-dpon-dpaḥ-bo = Mahākavi Ācāryaśūra (Ācāryaśūra, the great poet), and also as Slob-dpon-dpaḥ-bo = Ācāryaśūra in Tibetan (*Mdo Tengyur*, XCI, 1-48, 1 & 3, 2 & 3), is commonly referred to as Śūra and also Ācāryaśūra (Śura, the teacher) by Tārānātha, and it seems likely that as in the case of Āryadeva the prefix Ārya (q.v.) meaning noble was optional and could be omitted at pleasure. Nevertheless, the full form Āryaśūra was known to Tibetan translators, as is found in the colophon to No. 4 of the *Tengyur*, where it is given in transliteration. The Tibetan historian Tārānātha identifies Āryaśūra with Aśvaghoṣa, and attributes several other epithets to him, viz., Kāla Durdarśa, Durdarśakāla, Mātṛceṭa, Pitṛceṭa, Dhārmika-Subhūti and Maticitra. However, this Tibetan tradition, as recorded by Tārānātha does not seem to bear any vestiges of historical truth, for it is contradicted by internal evidence as may be seen by a comparative analysis of the works ascribed to these two authors, which apparently points to a diversity of style and thought. It would not be logical to assume that works so different in style and spirit could be of identical authorship.

Works. Of the several religio-literary works ascribed to Āryaśūra, the *Jātakamālā* (Garland of Birth-stories of the Buddha) attracts the attention of the reader most. The *Jātakamālā*, which is also known as the *Bodhisattva-avadāna-mālā* (the Garland of Stories of the Bodhisattva), is a treatise comprising legendary tales, dilating upon the past births of Gautama Buddha, and resembles the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* in style. As a Buddhist Sanskrit poet Āryaśūra belonged to the calibre of Aśvaghoṣa, whose path he has followed intuitively. Āryaśūra's aim is not to invent new stories, but

to retell the old legends in ornate and elegant language. In the composition of the *Jātakamālā*, for the elegant and interesting collection of homilies which are given in the form of edifying anecdotes of the Buddha's past births, Āryaśūra has primarily drawn from the Pali *Jātaka* collection and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. The motive of the author is not so much to excel in graphic poetic description, as to illustrate the *pāramitās* (perfections) ascribed by Buddhist theory to the Buddha-to-be, and in this respect the contents of the work bear much concordance with the Pali sources. Apart from these basic Pali texts, the author has also drawn material from Mahāyāna sources, a fact attested by the first anecdote of the *Jātakamālā*, viz., the *Vyāghrī Jātaka*, which tells of the extraordinary benevolence of the bodhisattva, who insisted on sacrificing his life in order to feed a hungry tigress who was intent on preying on her own cubs, whom she could no longer suckle. A few tales of the *Jātakamālā* have their parallels also in non-Buddhist works. The *Vartakāpotaka Jātaka*, for example, is evidently related to the *Śāraṅgopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 229). The story of Unmādayantī occurs thrice in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Ocean of Stories), where the heroine is called Unmādinī (*Taraṅga*, 15, *vv.* 63 ff.. 33, *vv.* 62 ff.. The story of Tārāvaloka in the same text (*Taraṅga*, 113, *vv.* 17—95) corresponds to the *Viśvantara Jātaka* (*Jm.* ix), and in *Taraṅga* 28, 29 ff. the outlines of the *Kṣānti Jātaka* are traceable. As observed by H. Kern, "In the *Śatapattra Jātaka*, every reader will recognise a well-known widespread fable, which is supposed to have its original home in ancient Egypt" (*HOS.* I, Preface to the *Jātakamālā*, p. 10).

The *Jātakamālā* in its present form comprises only thirty-four jātaka tales, viz., 1. Vyāghrī, 2. Sibi, 3. Kulmāśapiṇḍa, 4. Śreṣṭhi, 5. Aviṣahya, 6. Śaśa, 7. Agastya, 8. Maitrībala, 9. Viśvantara, 10. Yajña, 11. Śakra, 12. Brāhmaṇa, 13. Unmādayantī, 14. Supāraga, 15. Matsya, 16. Vartakā-potaka, 17. Kumbha, 18. Aputra, 19. Bisa, 20. Śreṣṭhi, 21. Cullabodhi, 22. Haṃsa, 23. Mahābodhi, 24. Mahākapi, 25. Śarabha, 26. Ruru, 27. Mahākapi, 28. Kṣānti, 29. Brahma, 30. Hasti, 31. Sutasoma, 32. Ayogṛha, 33. Mahiṣa and 34. Śatapattra. But a passage in Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism* (trsl. p. 90), the source of which is to be found in *Jātakamālā-pañjikā*, a shorter commentary on the *Jātakamālā* by an author named Vajrasiṃha (*Tengyur : Mdo*, xxx, 111—28 ff. 33), says that Āryaśūra's work was originally intended to contain ten times ten jātakas corresponding to the ten *pāramitās*, but owing to the non-completion of the work only thirty-four jātakas were composed, of which the first thirty are connected with the first three *pāramitās*.

Āryaśūra has made the *Jātakamālā* a means to impart religious instruction to devotees, and for the inculcation of virtues such as *śraddhā* (faith) and *bhakti* (devotion) in them, in which respect he has achieved his aim. The great popularity of the *Jātakamālā* is best evinced by the fact that the frescoes of the Ajaṇṭā caves include both pictures and verses, proving the existence then of the text. The *Jātakamālā* has also been praised by I-tsing, as one of the particularly popular works in contemporary Buddhist society.

Āryaśūra is also accredited with the authorship of the following works, which are, however, of less significance than the *Jātakamālā*:

1. *Bodhisattvajātakasya dharmaghaṇṭī*, a poem in thirty-five verses, of which the first thirty-four correspond to the stories of the *Jātakamālā*, and the last is a finale. Each verse ends in a refrain sounding the *ghaṇṭī* (crux) of the particular jātaka, and the whole forms a sort of versified table of contents.

2. *Supathādeśaparikathā* or *Supathādeśo munīndrenokto viracitaśca mayā prakāśanīyaḥ* (The Supathādeśa expounded and composed by the great Sage, Silent One, and which is to be elucidated by me), a general work of moral exhortation, which professes to be a commentary on the word of the Buddha. Verses are interpolated in the text, but any account of their prominence or other literary allusions are not observable.

3. *Subhāṣitaratna-karaṇḍakakathā*, comprising twenty-eight tales which correspond to the *Dvāviṃśatyavadāna*, is according to S. Lévi (see *Album Kern*, p. 406) composed merely of verses concluding the stories in that work.

4. *Pāramitāsamāsa*, as denoted by its title, is an abridged account, in verse form, of the *pāramitā* (perfections).

5. *Prātimokṣasūtrapaddhati*, a commentary on the Prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādins, is ascribed in the work itself, and in the Tibetan index, to Śūra, but by giving the authorship as reported, these seem to admit of a doubt.

6. *Karmaphalanirdeśa Sūtra*, translated into Chinese by Saṅghavarman (*Nanjio*, No. 1349) under the title *Ta-yung-fên-pieh-yeh-pao lüeh-ching* (a sūtra on the fruits of karma), briefly explained by the bodhisattva Āryaśūra, is also attributed to Āryaśūra by Chinese tradition.

The works of Āryaśūra are not only to be evaluated as religious texts dealing with the principles of Sanskrit Buddhism, but also as classical Sanskrit works of high, literary merit. From this point of view, the reader's attention is primarily attracted by the *Jātakamālā*, which may be regarded as the flower of Āryaśūra's poetry. Influenced and inspired by the classical Sanskrit literature as he was, Āryaśūra adopted the style of the elaborate *kāvya* in the composition of his monumental work, the *Jātakamālā*. The classical style employed by Āryaśūra best exemplifies the remarkable command he had over the Sanskrit language and the resources of his art. His language is well-balanced, careful and polished, despite the occasional recondite verbal constructions and expressions used by him. Āryaśūra is at his best in the delineation of scenes of pathos. His style is neither *vaidarbhī* nor *gauḍī*, in the strict sense, but presents a beautiful mixture of both.

Āryaśūra was not only an adept in Buddhist lore, but he was also equally acquainted with the thesaurus of Hindu wisdom, from which he often draws in support of his views, especially on polity. Thus, Āryaśūra deliberately parades his knowledge of the *Kauṭilya-arthaśāstra*, to which he has made several references in the *Jātakamālā* (*Maitrībala Jātaka*, No. viii, *v.* 14 ; *Viśvantara Jātaka*, No. ix, *v.* 10 ; *Sutasoma Jātaka*, No. xxxi, *vv.* 52–5).

Āryaśūra's proficiency in political science and Hindu law is seen at its best in the *Viśvantara Jātaka*.

The language of Āryaśūra's works is generally in conformity with that of the classical Sanskrit writers, and hence the linguistic peculiarities of Āryaśūra's Sanskrit and vocabulary seem to bear chiefly on lexiology, rather than on grammar or style. The fact that he has drawn his material from Buddhist works has, of course, necessitated the use of a pattern of terminology such as is to be found in Pali source-books.

Closely related to the question of linguistic peculiarities is that of metrical peculiarities. Āryaśūra's metres are generally in harmony with the elegant manner of his narration. As observed by Speyer, " In the choice of his metres he was guided by stylistic motives in accordance with the tone and sentiment required at a given point of the narrative " (*Jm.* Introduction, xxiv). However, he employs, at times, also some of the less common metres.

Date and thought of Āryaśūra. The problem of the date of Āryaśūra, who probably belonged to the school of Matṛceṭa although of a considerably later date, is of equal importance. However, owing to the paucity of evidence, nothing certain is known as regards the person of the author and his time. Unlike Bāṇa, the classical poet, Āryaśūra does not give any indications of the age to which he belonged. Hence, one is left only with external evidence with regard to the solution of this problem. As to the date of Āryaśūra, Dr. d'Oldenburg (Speyer, *Jm.* Introduction, xxviii) observes that the *terminus ante quem* is the end of the 7th century A.C., since it seems that the Chinese traveller I-tsing speaks of the *Jātakamālā*. Scenes from the *Jātakamālā* with inscribed strophes from Āryaśūra are found among the frescoes in the caves of Ajaṇṭā, and it has been accepted that these inscriptions belong palaeographically to the 6th century A.C. Number 1349 of Nanjio's Buddhist catalogue says that the *Karmaphalanirdeśasūtra* of Āryaśūra was translated into Chinese in 434 A.C., and hence circa 4th century A.C. may be taken to be the probable date of Āryaśūra. This conclusion is further supported by the purity and elegance of the language, which necessarily points to a period of a higher standard of literary taste and a flourishing state of letters. This has induced H. Kern to place Śūra approximately in the century of Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira, but as observed by Speyer, " equally favourable circumstances may be supposed to have existed a couple of centuries earlier " (*Jm.* Introduction, xxviii). An interesting legend, woven round the character of Āryaśūra which throws some light on the nature of the poet, has been preserved by the Tibetan historian Tārānātha. The legend runs thus : " Pondering on the bodhisattva's gift of his own body to the tigress (cp. *Jm.* I), he thought he could do the same, as it was not so very difficult. Once as in the tale, he saw a tigress followed by her young, near starvation. At first he could not resolve on the self-sacrifice, but, calling forth a strong faith in the Buddha and writing with his own blood a prayer of seventy ślokas (stanzas), he first gave them his blood to drink, and when their bodies had taken little force, offered himself (*Jm.* Introduction, xxviii). This anecdote seems to be corroborated by the ascription of the appellation ' bodhisattva ' to Āryaśūra. In this connection Speyer remarks (*Jm.* Intro., xxviii), " In this legend I recognise the sediment, so to speak, of the stream of emotion caused by the stimulating eloquence of that gifted Mahāyānist preacher on the minds of his co-religionists."

Although Āryaśūra was a propagandist of Sanskrit Buddhism, he seems to have closely followed the canon of the Hīnayāna Buddhists, in the

formulation of his religio-philosophical thoughts. The tenets of Buddhism expounded by Āryaśūra in his works bear more conformity with the doctrines of the Hīnayāna works than with those of Mahāyāna. His concept of the material aspect of human life is very much in accordance with that of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The triple concept of Hīnayāna, viz., *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta*, often finds expression in his works, as is best illustrated by the following excerpt from the *Jātakamālā* (i, *v.* 22):

Nirātmake bhedini sārahīne
Duḥkhe kṛtaghne satatāśucau ca
Dehe parasmāyupayujyamāne
Na prītimānyo na vicakṣaṇaḥ saḥ

"This body, being void of a soul, frail, pithless, ungrateful, always impure, and a source of suffering, he is not wise who should not rejoice at its being spent for the benefit of another."

Āryaśūra was more attracted by the popular aspect of Buddhism than by the philosophico-doctrinal aspect which it contains. He often extols *karuṇā* (compassion), *dāna* (generosity) and *prajñā* (discriminative knowledge) which last one is the pivot round which the principal doctrines of Buddhism are woven. This may be because of the fact that Āryaśūra composed his works for the Buddhist populace in general and not for the student of the philosophy of Buddhism. Āryaśūra assumed the responsible position of a religious preacher. He was an active advocate of the new faith and showed much zeal in his task. As a skilled writer, the contribution made by him to Sanskrit Buddhist literature is remarkable.

W. S. Kt.

Bibliography: M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, 273 ff.; F. W. Thomas, 'Works ascribed to Āryaśūra' in *Album Kern*—405 ff.; A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 67 ff.; J. S. Speyer, *Jātakamālā*, translation — (*SBB*. Vol.I); Nariman, *Sanskrit Buddhism*; *Jātakamālā*.

ĀRYAVAṂSA, the fourfold noble family, i.e., of recluses content with the four requisities. See ARIYAVAṂSA (1).

ĀRYAVAṂSAKETU, a former Buddha mentioned in a list given in the *Mahāvastu*. He appears in the "second hundred of the host of Āryans in the ninth bhūmi", and between Prakāśadharma and Devarājaprabha Buddhas (J. J. Jones, trsl. I, p. 111).

ĀRYAVARMAN (1) of the Sarvāstivādin school is said to be an author of a work on Vaibhāṣika philosophy (*DCBT*. 288 b).

ĀRYAVARMAN (2), Arinapalma or Ariyapalma: A-li-yeh-po-mo (阿離耶跋摩), a Korean monk of the Silla dynasty (57 B.C.–935 A.C.), who flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.C. He left Ch'ang-an, the then capital of China, during the Chên-kuan era (627–49 A.C.). He stayed at the Nālandā temple and engaged himself in copying many sūtras, and was deeply versed in both the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. According to the *Hai-tung-ko-sung-chŏn* (海東高僧傳 *Taishō*, Vol. 51, p. 1022), he died at the Nālandā temple shortly after his arrival there. The *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-ch'iu-fa-kao-sêng-chuan* (大唐西域求法高僧傳 *Taishō*, Vol. 51, p. 2) mentions that he was about seventy years of age then.

Some other Silla monks who went to India with him at that time were He-ŏb, who stayed at the Bodhi temple, Hyŏn-gak and Hyŏn-jo, who both stayed at the Tai-gak temple. (cp. *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 三國遺事 *Taishō*, No. 2039; *JRAS*. New Series, XIII, 565; and *IA*. X, 246, for notes by S. Beal.)

K. Tmr.

ĀRYAVATĪ, a name for the river Aciravatī. See ACIRAVATĪ.

ĀRYĀVṚTTAṂ, a Buddhist Sanskrit work, containing four short commentaries on 'the śloka of the four truths', each of which is called a *pakṣa* (*Bendall*, p. 14).

ĀRYOGRATĀRĀ-SĀDHANA-NĀMA, the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥphags-ma sgrol-ma drag-moḥi sgrub-thabs shes-bya-ba*. The authorship of the work is credited to Rtag-paḥi rdo-rje (Śāśvatavajra) and the translation is attributed to Śrī Vanaratna and Mañjuśrī (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 59, No. 2598). The Sde-dge edition contains another translation made by Nag-gi rin-chen and Bsod-nams rgya-mtshoḥi sde (*TM*. No. 1728).

The work deals with the procedure of worship for the invocation of the goddess Ugratārā. After formulas of salutation addressed to Tārā and Ugratārā, the saviour goddess of the three worlds, the author states that he would set out the sādhana as taught by the lamas. Instructions follow, according to which the worshipper is enjoined to practise meditation in a large, walled enclosure or a cemetery and to obtain spiritual powers (*siddhi*). He should then take refuge in the Three Jewels, confess his sins, reflect on the four Divine Abodes (*brahmavihāra*), cultivate thoughts of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) and contemplate on the voidness of all worldly phenomena (*śūnyatā*). Further, he should think of himself as Tārā, a youthful deity originating from the syllable *hūṃ*, who instills dread and fear. She is short, has an ugly, drooping head, a bulging belly and a face with three red, round eyes, a rolling tongue and a grinning expression. She has a tiger's skin around her waist, carries a sword in her right hand and a blue lotus and a skull in her left.

As a result of the meditations and the recitation of the sādhana the worshipper is said to reach Mañjuśrī. The author ends his work with a stanza, expressing homage to Ugratārā, where she is further described as having a plaited tuft of hair and wearing a large cobra as an ornament.

R. H.

ĀSĀ, one of the four daughters of Sakka the others being Saddhā, Sirī and Hirī. They figured in an incident (described in *Sudhābhojana Jātaka*: *J*. V, 392 ff.) which is reminiscent of the judgment of the Trojan prince, Paris. A brāhman ascetic by the name of Nārada was carrying a celestial flower (*pāricchattaka*), when he came across the maidens who were resting after sporting in Anotatta lake. Each desired the flower for herself, but he undertook to give it to the one among them whom they would elect as their queen. They called upon him to make the choice, but he referred it to their father. Sakka did not wish to bring about dissension among his daughters by any judgment of his and he sent them to Macchariya Kosiya who was then an ascetic in the Himālayas. To the ascetic he sent ahead a cup of divine food and remarked to his daughters that the one among them whom Macchariya Kosiya called upon to share it with him would be the one to be selected. The ascetic had the habit of always sharing his food with another and, when Āsā and her sisters came before him, his invitation fell not to her but to Hirī. He did not summon Āsā to share the meal, adducing as his reason that she indulged in the practice of giving life to those who pleased her and declining to give it to those who were not pleasing to her; that, therefore, she brought about the destruction of some people. Her two other sisters were similarly rejected. In the Trapuṣa-Bhallika story of the *Mahāvastu* (III, 309), Āśā and her three sisters were included among the eight young deva-maidens in the region of the northern quarter.

D. T. D.

ĀŚĀ, a female lay disciple to whom the monk Sāradhvaja refers Sudhana for advice with regard to the course of conduct a bodhisattva should adopt. She was the wife of king Suprabha, living in the Samantavyūha park to the east of the city of Mahāprabha in the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatha). Āśā refers Sudhana to the sage Bhīṣmottaranirghoṣa living in the district of Nālapu in the Deccan (*Gvyū*. 99–110).

U. K.

ASABA-SHŌ (阿娑縛抄), a Japanese work in two hundred and twenty-eight fascicles by Shōchō (1205–82 A. C.), which mentions the rituals and the orally transmitted doctrines of esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai sect.

The name 'Asaba' is from the commentary on the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* by I-hsing (*Taishō*, No. 1796). *A* means the section of the Buddha, *Sa* the section of the Lotus and *Ba* or *Va* the section of the Diamond. These three sections signify the *Garbhakośadhātu*.

This work was completed in the second month of the twelfth year of the Bunei era (1275 A. C.), but the author continued to revise it for some years. It is included in the *Dainippon-Bukkyō-Zensho* (a collection of works by Japanese authors on Buddhism) and the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*.

K. Tmr.

ASABASHŌ-MEISHŌTŌ-RYAKUDEN (阿娑縛抄明匠等略傳), a Japanese work in three fascicles by Shōchō (1205–82 A. C.) of the T ndai sect. This work contains the abridged biographies of the Buddha and seventy-one eminent monks of India, China and Japan. They are: Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Upagupta, Vasubandhu, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Bhāvaviveka,

Dharmapāla, Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Bodhidharma, Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra (the 18 Indians), Hui-zū, Hui-yüan, Chih-i, Chang-an Hsüan-tsang, Tao-hsüan, Shan-tao, I-hsing, I-lin, Hsüan-ch'ao, Hui-kuo, Shun-hsiao, Tao-Sui, Hsing-man, I-ts'ao, Fa-jun, I-chên, Fa-ch'üan (the 18 Chinese), Saichō, Kūka, Kōjō, Ennin, Enchin, Sōō, Gensyō, Sonni, Ryōgen, Myōtatsu, Jōzō, Kōhei, Chōen, Myōkai, Ryōshin, Gyōgi, Gensō, Gishin, Enchō, Anne, Shūei, Shinzei, Annen, Tankei, Zōmyō, Shōbō, Shōkū, Kūya, Ankei, Inshō, Enin, Genshin, Keiso, Jyōjin, Inson, and Kakuchō (the 36 Japanese).

As many of the works quoted in this text are no longer extant and as it contains many quotations from those works, it remains valuable for the study of the history of Buddhism.

This work has been published in the *Dainippon-Bukkyō-Zensho.*

K. TMR.

ASADDHAMŪLAKA SUTTA, a group of five suttas with a common title (*Asaddhamūlakā pañca*) contained in the second chapter of the *Dhātu Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 160—2). One finds in these a restatement of the contents of some of the suttas of the same chapter and the next, all of which centre round the fact that people of similar disposition are drawn together. The Buddha declares that beings come together according to their nature: thus, unbelievers associate with unbelievers, the shameless with the shameless, believers with believers, the wise with the wise, etc.

This group of suttas was preached by the Buddha when he was staying at Sāvatthi. The five suttas contain repetitions, each one beginning with *asaddhā* (unbelievers)—hence the title. There are only minor variations among them. The second one differs from the first in that *anottāpino* (the reckless) and their opposites *ottāpino*(the scrupulous) are substituted for *ahirikā* (the shameless) and their opposites *hirimanā* (the modest). In the third these give way to *appassutā* (the uneducated) and their opposites *bahussutā* (the learned). The fourth has *kusitā* (the indolent) and their opposites *āraddhaviriyā* (the energetic). In the fifth they are replaced by *muṭṭhasatino* (the muddleminded) and their opposites *upaṭṭhitasatino* (the attentive).

L. R. G.

ASADDHA SUTTA (*S.* II, 159—60). The Buddha says to his monks that it is through an element (*dhātu*) that beings join with beings of similar character; unbelievers with unbelievers, the unconscientious with the unconscientious and similarly with the indiscreet, the untaught, the lazy, the muddleminded, and the unwise. So do believers join with believers, etc.

U. K.

ĀṢĀḌHA, name of a householder in the time of Kāśyapa Buddha, mentioned in the *Avadāna-śataka* (*Avś.* 151).

ASĀḌHĀRAṆA-SAṄGHĀRĀMA, a temple in Kucīna. The *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi* (大唐西域記 *Taishō*, No. 2087) by Hsüan-tsang speaks of this temple as follows :

" The hall of this temple is open and spacious. The image of Buddha is beautifully carved. The disciples are grave and decorous and very diligent in their duties; rude and rough men come here together; the aged priests are learned and of great talent, and so from distant spots the most eminent men who desire to acquire just principles come here and fix their abode. The king and his ministers and the great men of the realm offer to these priests the four sorts of requisites and their fame spreads farther " (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 22).

The same work relates an interesting story about the name of this temple. A king who believed in Buddhism founded it in order to commemorate an extraordinary deed of his brother. Hence, the name *asādhāraṇa* or ' extraordinary '.

Hsüan-tsang (600—64 A.C.), on his way to India, stayed here for over sixty days owing to snowbound roads, and he discussed the doctrine of the Sarvāstivāda and of the *Yogācāryabhūmi-śāstra* with Mokṣagupta who lived there.

K. TMR.

ASADISA, the bodhisatta, born as prince of Bārāṇasī and heir-apparent to the throne. He, however, rejected kingship and later took to asceticism. After death he was reborn in the Brahma world. He was the elder son of king Brahmadatta and the chief character of *Asadisa Jātaka* (q.v.).

L. R. G.

ASADISA DĀNA, ' the Gift Incomparable ', the celebrated alms-giving held under the guidance of queen Mallikā by the king of Kosala. For six days

the king and the citizens of Sāvatthi were engaged in a competition, as it were, to entertain the Buddha and the monks, each party taking a turn on alternative days. When the king saw the rich gifts offered by the citizens on the sixth day he thought that he would never be able to outdo them and was greatly worried. However, Mallikā came to his rescue with the idea of an Asadisa Dāna which she said would never be equalled by the citizens.

According to Mallikā's plan a pavilion was erected using only the best of sāla-wood. In this were made five hundred seats for the Buddha and the monks over each of whom an elephant held a white parasol. There were maidens of the warrior-caste, one for each pair, fanning the seated monks and between each pair of monks was also a warrior-caste maiden crushing perfumes. The crushed perfumes were put into golden ships set in the centre of the hall, by other maidens. These were mingled with clusters of blue water lilies and made the air scented with their smell.

The king gifted everything that was there to the Buddha and the monks. It is said that he spent fourteen crores of money in one day. Four gifts of priceless value, a white parasol, a couch (*nisīdana-pallaṅka*), a stand (*ādhāraka*) and a foot-stool (*pāda-pīṭhikā*) were offered to the Buddha. There was no one else able to offer gifts in such a manner. Hence it was called the Gift Imcomparable. Every Buddha receives such a gift once in his life-time and always it is arranged by a woman (*DhpA*. III, 183 ff.).

The commentary of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (II, 653–4) gives a similar description of the Asadisa Dāna but with a few variations in detail. According to this, the alms were continued for seven days. The Sinhalese version of the story found in the *Pūjāvaliya* adds a few more details to the story.

The *Āditta*, the *Dasabrāhmaṇa* and the *Sivi* jātakas were all preached in reference to the Asadisa Dāna.

C. W.

ASADISA JĀTAKA. The Buddha related this jātaka in connection with his Great Renunciation in order to show that it was not the first time he had renounced kingship.

The bodhisatta was once born as the elder son of Brahmadatta, king of Bārāṇasī and was named Asadisa. His brother was Brahmadatta. The bodhisatta in due course learnt all the arts at Takkasilā and became an exceptionally skilled archer. On his father's death the kingship was offered to Asadisa, but he rejected it and his younger brother succeeded to the throne.

The bodhisatta, hearing that his presence in Bārāṇasī was causing anxiety to Brahmadatta, left the kingdom and entered the service of another king as an archer. He performed great feats of archery. Once he offered to bring down a cluster of mangoes with the downward shot of an arrow. He first shot an arrow which rose to the realm of the Cātummahārājika. He sent another shaft which hit the first one bringing it down and itself went to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. The first one in its descent neatly cut through the stalk of the mango-cluster. Asadisa caught the mangoes in one hand and the arrow in the other so that they should not fall on the ground. There was great applause at this marvel and the bodhisatta received much wealth and honour from the king.

Meanwhile seven kings taking advantage of Asadisa's absence from Bārāṇasī besieged the kingdom. Brahmadatta in his fright appealed to his brother. Asadisa returning to Bārāṇasī, shot an arrow bearing a message threatening the warring kings. The arrow fell right into the dish the kings were eating from and they fled in fear. Having brought his brother to safety, the bodhisatta became an ascetic and after death was born in the Brahma world.

The Buddha identified prince Brahmadatta as a previous incarnation of Ānanda (*J*. II, 86–92).

The *Śarakṣepaṇa Jātaka* (*Mhvu*. II, 82 f.) bears some resemblance to the last part of this jātaka. A scene from the *Asadisa Jātaka* is depicted on the Bhārhut stūpa (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 70, plate xxvii, 13). Beal was of opinion that a bas-relief at Sāñcī was a representation of this jātaka (See note on p. 152 in Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, which refers to pl. xxxvi, fig. 2. of the same work). A poem based on this jātaka was composed by king Rājādhirājasiṃha of Ceylon (*Mhv*. ch. ci, 13).

L. R. G.

ASADISA VAGGA, the nineteenth chapter of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* which forms the fourth section of the *Duka Nipāta* (*J*. II, 86–113). It consists of ten jātakas, and takes its title from the first of them, the *Asadisa Jātaka*.

ASADṚSAGUṆAKĪRTIDHVAJA, a Tathāgata whose name occurs, between Dharmavimāna-nirghoṣa and Pralambabāhu, in a list of Tathāgatas

who were propitiated (*ārāgita*) by the Śākya-girl, Gopā, in her previous births (*Gvyū.* 422.22).

ASAHI-YAMA (朝日山), a mountain in Hyōgo prefecture of Japan. On the top there is the Dainichi temple. It is believed that this temple was founded by Hōdō around the Taika era (645–50 A.C.). Although buildings of this temple were destroyed during the Tenmon era (1532–55), they were restored later. This temple became famous when Shinjaku-bō and others who were disciples of Hōnen (1133–1212) stayed there.

At present, there are a main hall, a hall for the *homa* (sacrificial fire) ceremony, a hall in commemoration of the founder, a belfry, etc. This temple belongs to the Kōya sub-sect of the Shingon (esoteric) sect of Japan.

K. TMR.

ASAHYA, a former Buddha given in a *Mahāvastu* list. He is named in the group between the Buddhas Sudarśana and Jinendra. He was proclaimed by Ketuttama and he himself, in turn, proclaimed Jāmbūnada (J. J. Jones, trsl. III, p. 228).

ASAIKṢA (=Pali: *asekha, asekkha*), one who no longer needs religious training. See ARIYA-PUGGALA.

ASAKṚT-SAMĀDHI, a samādhi or a concentration of mind in more than one formula, or mode (*DCBT.* 104).

ASAKUSA-KANNON, the Avalokiteśvara (Kannon) of Asakusa, which is the name of a temple in Japan, better known as Sensō-ji (q.v.).

ĀSAḶA-PERAHĀRA, a procession (perahāra) held in Ceylon, during the month of Āsaḷa (July–August). See FESTIVALS (Ceylon).

ASALLAKKHAṆĀ SUTTA, a discussion (*S.* III, 261) between Vacchagotta and the Buddha. Vacchagotta asked the Buddha the reasons why there were diverse views as to whether the world is eternal or not, finite or not, whether life and body are identical or not, whether the Tathāgata exists after death or not. The Buddha answers that these diverse views arise because of not discerning the nature of the five groups of existence (*pañcakkhandha*).

U. K.

ASAMA (1), chief disciple of Buddha Sobhita (*Buv.* vii, 21 ; *J.* I, 35 ; *ApA.* p. 38). He was the half-brother of the Buddha, their father being king Sudhamma. It was to Asama and another half-brother Sunetta that Buddha Sobhita preached his first sermon (*BuvA.* p. 167)

ASAMA (2), king of Campaka and father of Paduma Buddha (*Buv.* ix, 16 ; *BuvA.* pp. 177, 181 ; *ApA.* p. 40). However, the name appears as Paduma in the Sinhalese edition of the *ApA.* and in the *Jātaka* (I, 36).

ASAMA (3), one of the two chief lay supporters of Paduma Buddha (*Buv.* ix, 23). According to other sources Varuṇa was the chief lay supporter (*J.* I, 36 ; *BuvA.* p. 181 ; *ApA.* p. 40).

ASAMA (4), a class of devas mentioned as being present at the preaching of the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D.* II, 259). They are mentioned along with the Yāma gods.

ASAMA (5), a *cakkavattin* (world-ruler) of sixty-three kappas ago and a previous birth of Suvaṇṇabibbohaniya thera (*Ap.* I, 234).

ASAMĀ (1), mother of Paduma Buddha and wife of king Asama of Campaka (*Buv.* ix, 16 ; *J.* I, 36).

ASAMĀ (2), one of the two chief woman disciples of Padumuttara Buddha (*Buv.* xi, 25 ; *BuvA.* 196 ; *J.* I, 37 ; *SA.* II, 90 ; *AA.* I, 287 ; *DA.* II, 489).

ASAMĀHITA SUTTA (*S.* II, 166). The Buddha says that it is through an element (*dhātu*) that beings join with beings of like temperament, e.g., unbelievers with unbelievers, the unconscientious with the unconscientious, etc.

ASAMAPEKKHANĀ SUTTA, a discussion (*S.* III, 261) between Vacchagotta and the Buddha. Vacchagotta puts the same question as in the *Asallakkhaṇā Sutta* (q.v.). The Buddha answers that these views arise because people do not consider the nature of the five groups of existence (*pañcakkhandha*).

U. K.

ASAMASAMA-PAÑCA-SKANDHA (Tibetan: mi-mñam-pa daṅ mñam-paḥi phuṅ-po lṅa; Chinese: wu-fên-fa-shen, 五分法身), five kinds of merits which are obtained by Buddhas and arahants, viz., *śīla-skandha, samādhi-s°, prajñā-s°, vimukti-s°* and *vimukti-jñāna-darśana-s°*.

The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* says, "But tell me, Ānanda, when the venerable Sāriputta passed away, did he take with him the constituents of virtue (*sīlakkhandha*)? When he passed away did he take with him the constituents of concentration (*samādhikkhandha*), or those of wisdom (*paññakkhandha*)? Did he take with him when he passed away, the constituents of release (*vimuttikkhandha*), the constituents of release by knowing and seeing (*vimutti ñāṇadassanakkhandha*)?" (*S.* V, p. 162; trsl. *Kindred Sayings*, V, p. 142)

The *P'u-sa-yin-lo-pên-yeh-ching* (菩薩瓔珞本業經 *Taishō*, No. 1485) states, "By precepts (*śīla*) one excludes impure acts of the body; by meditation (*samādhi*) one attains tranquillity of the mind; by wisdom (*prajñā*) one realises the voidness of thinking; and by emancipation (*vimukti*) one puts an end to all fetters. Then one realises that all beings have no bondage (*vimukti-jñāna-darśana*), because one has attained enlightenment and because all dharmas are void equally" (*Taishō*, Vol. 24, p. 1013).

The *śīla-skandha* is pure activity of body and speech. The *samādhi-skandha* constitutes the threefold concentration of the one who no longer needs religious training (*aśaikṣa*), viz., voidness-concentration (*śūnyatā-samādhi*), desirelessness-concentration (*apraṇihita-samādhi*) and signlessness-concentration (*animitta-samādhi*). The *prajñā-skandha* means the correct wisdom and perception of the *aśaikṣa*, and by *vimukti-skandha* is meant the clear understanding (*adhimokṣa*) which is connected with the correct perception of an *aśaikṣa*. And the *vimukti-jñāna-darśana-skandha* is the knowledge of perishability (*kṣaya-jñāna*) and the knowledge of non-origination (*anutpāda-jñāna*).

The *Ta-ch'êng-i-chang* (大乘義章 *Taishō*, No. 1851) explains the *asama-sama-pañca-skandha* of the Buddha: The body of the Buddha is taintless, so no evil deeds can be done by the Buddha and this is called 'virtue'; meditation means the stillness of the nature of the Buddha; by wisdom is meant that the Buddha has no darkness of ignorance as his mind is clear; emancipation means that the Buddha has no fetters; and by knowledge and the experience of emancipation (*vimukti-jñāna-darśana*) are meant that the Buddha knows that he has realised the truth and that he has no taint. Thus, according to the doctrine that the dharma-kāya (body of the doctrine) is taintless in itself, *asamasama-pañca-skandha* is explained as the meritorious aspects of the Buddha.

K. TMR.

ASAMATTA SUTTA, also called the *Appamatta Sutta* (*S.* V, 412), where the Buddha says that association with the good, listening to the Dhamma, systematic reflection of the mind and living in accordance with the precepts of the Dhamma—these four things, if cultivated, lead to infinite (*asamatta*) insight.

U. K.

ASAMA-YAMA, a mountain in the Mie prefecture of Japan, on which there is the temple, Kongōshō-ji, of the Rinzai sect. It is believed that this temple was founded by Gyōdai or, according to another tradition, by Kyōtai, and was restored by Kūkai (774–835 A.C.), the founder of the Shingon sect. Later, the temple became the centre of Zen (meditation) as well as Shingon or esoteric Buddhism.

In the thirteenth year of the Keichō era (1608 A.C.), all buildings except one hall were burned down, but in the following year Terumasa Ikeda restored them. During its most prosperous time, there were fifty temples and forty-nine monasteries. But owing to fire on many occasions, many buildings were lost.

Now, ten buildings are there, and the main hall is under the special protection of the Japanese government. Among the many precious things of this temple, the image of Uhō-dōji (雨寶童子), the picture of Yoshitaka Kuki, a copper mirror with a pair of phoenixes, a clay tube for holding sūtras and a sword are national treasures of Japan.

K. TMR.

ASAMBANDHADṚṢṬI-NĀMA, the Sanskrit title of two different Tibetan texts occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥbrel-med-kyi lta-ba shes-bya-ba*.

Of these two texts, that written by Kampala (Kambala) and translated by Ratnaphala contains an argumentative consideration (*ḥjal-byed tshad-ma*) of the term (Skt. *saṃjñā*, Tib. *tha sñad*) *ḥjig-rten* (world) with the intent of elucidating its true

sense (*don dam*). The doctrines of the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) of the three worlds (Tib. *khams gsum*) and the impermanence of all component things (*saṃskāra*) are also explained (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip.. ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 69, No. 3206).

The second *Asambandhadṛṣṭi-nāma* in the Tibetan canon, a short text, begins with a statement on the impermanence of wealth, youth and pride of descent, which disappear at the time of the annihilation of one's self (*bdag ñid ḥjig-ṗur ḥgyur-baḥi dus*). Fathers, mothers, children and grandchildren, it is stated, are like spectators assembled at a performance. The refrain running through the text poses the questions, "Where can there be another meeting of the so-called you and I? Will there be a reassembling of the parts of a boat that falls to pieces in the ocean?" Nag-po-pa (Kṛṣṇa) is the author of the work (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki Vol. 69, No. 3215).

R. H.

ASAMBANDHA-SARGA-DṚṢṬI-NĀMA, the Sanskrit title of a short work, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Shen-med-kyi ta-ba shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 69, No. 3207). The author's name is Kambala. The text describes a heroic horseman, the equal of whom is not found in the world, according to the refrain *rta-pa bdag ḥdraḥi dpaḥ-bo ni ḥjig-rten na ni yod ma yin*, occurring throughout the work. He traverses the six Pure Abodes (*tshaṅs-paḥi gnas drug*) and, doing so, subdues the three poisons (*kāma, krodha* and *moha*). The five Buddhas (*bde-gśegs lṅa*) ride on the horse and the four 'Great Gods' (*lha chen*) cling to the saddle.

R. H.

ASAṂBHRĀNTAVACANA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi (q.v.) acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 141).

ASAṂJÑISATTVA, beings without consciousness, one of the classes of Rūpāvacara gods of the fourth dhyāna-bhūmi. See ASAÑÑASATTA.

ASAṂKĪRṆA, a former Buddha in a list in the *Mahāvastu* (I, 139.1). He is placed next to Vartitārtha and immediately before Devagarbha, both of them Buddhas.

ASAMPADĀNA JĀTAKA (No. 131), related by the Buddha when he was staying at Veḷuvana, in connection with Devadatta's ingratitude.

The bodhisatta was once born in Rājagaha as a banker named Saṅkha. He was worth eighty crores. He had a friend named Piliya, a banker in Bārāṇasī, of equal worth. The latter lost all his wealth and looked to his friend for assistance. The bodhisatta in his munificence gave him half his entire estate.

In course of time a similar fate befell Saṅkha and he went with his wife to Bārāṇasī to seek his friend's help. The ungrateful Piliya, however, dismissed him with only half a quartern of pollard (*palāpatumbaṃ*). An erstwhile servant of Saṅkha who had been given to Piliya recognised his old master and mistress and brought the matter to the king's notice.

The king wished to punish Piliya for his ingratitude by ordering him to give his entire wealth to Saṅkha, but the latter agreed to accept only what had originally belonged to him. The bodhisatta returned to Rājagaha, re-established himself and spent the rest of his days engaged in works of merit.

The ungrateful Piliya was Devadatta (*J.* I, 465–9).

This jātaka derives its title from the first word in the stanza '*asampadānena*' (unequal charity).

L. R. G.

ASAMPADĀNA VAGGA, the fourteenth chapter of the *Ekanipāta* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, consisting of ten jātakas (Nos. 131–40) and deriving its title from the first of them, viz., *Asampadāna Jātaka* (*J.* I, 465–86).

ASAMPRAMOṢA, a samādhi or a concentration of both mind and body, wherein one does not forget the samādhis to which one has already attained (*BB.* XIII, p. 9; *ŚsP.* 1416).

ĀSANA (*ā+sad*: to sit), seat; posture.

In both Pali and Sanskrit the primary meaning of the word is seat. In the Buddhist scriptures the word is of very common occurrence. Sitting being one of the main postures, it certainly had an important place in the daily behaviour of the Buddhist monk. As the behaviour of the Buddhist monk was highly disciplined, it was natural that the Vinaya rules demanded that a monk should be

quite discriminating even in the selection of a seat or a bed. He was not at liberty to use every type of seat, bed or couch that laymen used. Only certain types were allowed. In this, too, the monk had to follow the Middle Path, which is a cardinal teaching of Buddhism. He was prohibited from using extremely comfortable or luxurious types of seats and beds, but he was not asked to use uncomfortable seats and beds and thereby to inflict unnecessary pain upon himself.

Thus, in *Vin.* I, 57 and 72 it is said how some monks were in the habit of enjoying choice food and sleeping on very comfortable beds, well-protected from wind, etc., (*subhojanāni bhuñjitvā nivātesu sayanesu sayanti*). When the Buddha was told about this he had to lay down the rule that such practices were taboo. Then again in *Vin.* II, 123, the Buddha prohibits monks from sleeping on beds scattered over with flowers (*pupphākiṇṇesu sayanesu*).

On the other hand, in *D.* I, 167 and *A.* I, 296, it is said that the refusal of a seat (*āsanapaṭikkhitta*) and remaining on one's feet is one of the many self-tormenting practices of those who practise extreme self-mortification which is not allowed for the Buddhist monk.

In *A.* III, 389, in a list of things that a genuine monk should avoid, an unsuitable seat (*anāsana*) is given as one. Now it is worthwhile to find out what the suitable and what the unsuitable *āsana* is for a Buddhist monk.

A close perusal of the Pali literature helps us to solve this question. In the *Mahāniddesa* (I, 131) there is a description of the type of seat that is suitable and therefore recommended for the meditating monk: "A seat is a thing on which one sits; it can be a bed, chair, mattress, mat, skin, rug, spread of grass or a spread of leaves. Such a seat which is free from unsuitable sights (i.e., seated on which one is not distracted by unsuitable sights), sounds, smells, tastes and contacts and thus free from the fivefold unsuitable (for a monk) sense-attractions, is the seat suitable for the meditating monk."

Thus, it is clear that one of the primary considerations given in defining the type of seat suitable for a monk is the environment in which the seat is placed. The indispensable prerequisite for a meditating monk is the openness and the quietness of environment (*vivittaṃ appanigghosaṃ*). He should practise his meditation in an atmosphere where his sense-organs are not distracted by various objects. Any environment in which attractive forms such as those of women, or sounds as those of sweet music, or pleasant smells, or where choice food is easily available, or any seat which gives too much comfort is prohibited for the monk who practises meditation. The seat should also be in surroundings that are quiet. This is why the monks are requested to retire to a solitary place (*suññāgāra*) free from any disturbance.

The other consideration regarding suitability is the size of the seat or the bed. Irrespective of whether a monk is engaged in meditation or not, his seat should conform to these requirements. Thus, in *Vin.* (I, 192 and II, 163) high and broad seats and beds (*uccāsayana mahāsayana*) are referred to as unsuitable for monks. Although it is the term *sayana* (bed) that is used here it is clear from the context that this term includes seats (*āsana*) as well. Here a long list is given as coming under *uccāsayana* and *mahāsayana* : *āsandi* (sofa), *pallaṅka* (divan), *gonaka* (long-haired coverlet), *cittaka* (many-coloured coverlet, i.e., a coverlet made of various colours embroidered with pictures of wild beasts), *paṭika* (white coverlet made of wool), *paṭalikā* (a woollen cover into which a floral pattern is woven), *tūlikā* (cotton quilt), *vikatikā* (woollen coverlet decorated with animals' forms such as lions and tigers), *uddhalomin* (woollen covering with hair on the upper side), *ekantalomin* (woollen covering with hair at one side), *kaṭṭhissa* (silken sheet studded with jewels), *koseyya* (sheet made with silk threads and studded with jewels), *kuttaka* (dancer's carpet, i.e., a sheet made of wool suitable for the dances of sixteen dancing girls), *hatthatthara* (elephant-rug), *rathatthara* (chariot-rug), *ajinappaveni* (rugs of black antelope skins), *kadalimigapavarapaccattharaṇa* (splendid sheeting of the hide of the *kadali* deer, the best kind of sheet), *sauttaracchada* (sheet with a red awning attached above) and *ubhatolohitakūpadhāna* (couch with a red cushion at either end). These things are prohibited for a monk.

When the term *uccāsayana* is examined it is seen that the word *ucca* defines that a monk should avoid seats, beds, etc., which are more than of a particular height. Now this height is given in *Vin.* IV, 168 as eight finger-breadths (*aṭṭhaṅgula*) said to be eight inches. Hence, a chair or a couch or any other seat used by a monk, if it is higher than this, becomes an *uccāsayana* and thus unfit for his use.

The idea in laying down this height seems to be that the monks were not intended to use seats that were noted as comfortable. Thus, a high seat meant a comfortable seat. This fact has to be examined from both the religious and the

sociological point of view. Indian religious literature, such as the *Brāhmaṇas*, reveals that at religious functions the priests were given the highest seat, because of their superiority over all the others on earth, being regarded as gods. The concept that the religious or moral superiority of a person should be physically expressed by giving him a high seat is a universal idea. For the same reason, the gods are in heaven, above us, whereas those who are inferior to us are in hell, in the nether regions.

Hence, when venerable and superior men were given higher seats it goes without saying that such seats were more comfortable than those of lesser height for they were meant for higher dignitaries. Thus, a high seat (*uccāsayana*) became almost synonymous with a comfortable seat. This seems to have been so in Indian society even prior to the Buddha. Therefore, when monks were prohibited from using high seats and beds, it meant not so much the literal idea of height alone but also this extended idea of comfort, which such high seats provided. An examination of the list of *uccāsayana* and *mahāsayana* as given above from the *Vinaya Piṭaka* will confirm this view. The list contains twenty such seats, and all are such as to provide a great degree of comfort.

It should be noted that the terms *āsana* and *sayana* did not have the same connotation as they have today. Any kind of material used to sit, recline or sleep on was denoted by these two terms. A mat or even a spread of leaves was called an *āsana* or a *sayana*.

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* furnishes us with further information about the seats used by the Saṅgha during the time of the Buddha. It was a custom during that time to prepare various kinds of seats also in the open air. In *Vin*. IV, 40 some seats (*āsana*) are enumerated such as *mañca* (couch), *pīṭha* (chair), *bhisi* (mattress) and *koccha* (stool). Here too, it is seen how both the *āsana* and *sayana* (seats and beds) were treated as coming under one category.

The couch (*mañca*) was of four kinds: (1) *masāraka*, a long couch, (2) *bundikābaddha*, a couch with slats, (3) *kulīrapādaka*, one with curved legs, (4) *āhaccapādaka*, one with removable legs.

The *pīṭha* (chair) was also of four kinds with the same four names given to them.

The *bhisi* (mattress) was of five kinds: (1) *uṇṇabhisi*, one made of wool, (2) *colabhisi*, one made of cotton cloth, (3) *vākabhisi*, made of bark, (4) *tiṇabhisi*, one made of dry grass, (5) *paṇṇabhisi*, made of dry leaves. Similar lists are found also in *Vin*. II, 150 and *VibhA*. 365.

Koccha was a kind of seat like a stool or a settee made of bark (*bākamaya*), of *usīra* grass (*usīramaya*), of *mañju* grass (*mañjumaya*) or of reeds (*babbajamaya*). It seems to have been a small seat or a settee made by stuffing these kinds of grass with stitching on the sides, somewhat like a modern cushion, for it is said that it was bound, after the grass was tucked in (*anto saṃvaṭṭhetvā baddhaṃ hoti*). It was bound in the middle and spread out above and below. The middle, being made of the hides of lions and tigers, gave the *senāsana* the appearance of being made of gold.

These kinds of *āsana* and *sayana* are given as being used by the monks during the time of the Buddha and they were not prohibited.

A comparison of this list with the one given above as unsuitable for the monks also shows that the idea of disapproving certain kinds of *āsana* and *sayana* was to prevent the monks using an *āsana* or a *sayana* that could be called luxurious. In the prohibited list are included highly comfortable woolen mattresses and cushions which were made beautiful by working floral and other patterns on them. It was this type of luxurious *sayanas* and *āsanas* and which exceeded the prescribed height of eight inches that were taboo to the monks.

The second list of *āsanas* and *sayanas* given above includes the same kinds of seats and beds as in the first list, but with the difference that they are simple and have only utility value. Simplicity and utility were the characteristics of the *āsanas* and *sayanas* allowed to the monk. The aesthetic aspect of a seat or a bed was of little value to a meditating monk. Simplicity, so characteristic of Buddhism, was what the monks required to practise meditation. *Sayana* and *āsana*, being two indispensable items in the life of a monk, had to be selected in consonance with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching, with due regard to simplicity and by avoiding the two extremes of excessive comfort or discomfort.

These facts are further demonstrated by a list of beds (*seyyā*), as given in *Vin*. IV, 41. Here the types of bed (*seyyā sayana*) allowed to a monk are further enumerated and consist of *bhisi* (mattress), *cimilikā* (carpet), *utthattharaṇa* (bed-cover), *bhummattharaṇa* (ground covering), *tattikā* (straw mat), *cammakkhaṇḍa* (animal's skin), *nisīdana* (rug), *paccattharaṇa* (sheet), *tiṇasanthāra* (grass mat) and *paṇṇasanthāra* (leaf mat). All these

kinds of *seyyā* are allowed and it is said that they should be under a roof and at least partially enclosed (ibid. 196). Hence it is seen that the term *āsana* meant anything which was used for sitting upon and *sayana*, any place used for sleeping (*PvuA*. 80). It might be a mat, a plank or even some grass or leaves (e.g., *J*. V,110 : *rukkhamūle sayanaṃ attharāpetvā*).

So much for the suitability or otherwise of a particular seat to be used by the monks. Then there were various traditions and customs built around the use of the *āsanas* and *sayanas*. Such conventions had become part and parcel of the social life of the Buddhist fraternity.

For instance, it is often said in Buddhist literature that when the Buddha visits any place where there is a gathering of monks, he sat on the seat set apart for him (*paññatte āsane nisīdi*). This would mean that, wherever there was a gathering of monks, it was the established custom during the time of the Buddha to have a seat specially reserved for him. Even where a monk dwelt alone this custom was observed (*DA*. I, 48). The origin of the custom was that when the monks took instructions from the Buddha and engaged themselves in meditation, it might happen that they become distracted and thus fail to attain their goal. The Buddha would see this through his divine eye and suddenly make his appearance in order to give encouragement and guidance. When the Buddha did this, the monks found it difficult hastily to prepare a seat for him. Therefore, they made a point of having a seat in readiness for him beforehand. There was nothing special in this seat except for the fact that a cloth was spread over it. The seat itself was one of the kinds of seats referred to above. Very often it was an improvised seat like a stone, a heap of sand or a heap of dry leaves.

This practice of having a seat set apart for the Buddha later assumed a different meaning, since such a seat came to be regarded as a symbol representing the Buddha. Thus, in later times it became a practice among the Buddhists to regard a stone seat as a symbol of the Buddha's presence and pay respect to it as if it were to the living Buddha. Till the Buddha image was created this practice continued to be in vogue.

There is another item of interesting information contained in the Pali technical term *āsanakusala* (skilled as regard seats : *M*. I, 469). This meant that a monk, when in an assembly of monks, should know how to select his seat according to his status and without violating the rules of discipline. Such knowledge was regarded as one of the necessary qualifications of a good monk. It was a part of proper social behaviour (*abhisamācāra*). A monk who was ignorant of these niceties of conduct was regarded as uncouth in his habits (*padarasamācāra*). A monk had to be careful not to occupy a seat that was meant for a monk senior to him nor was he to unseat a novice and sit there. Both these acts were regarded as violations of social etiquette among the brethren.

Mention is also made sometimes of a particular monk who was responsible for arranging and appointing the seats according to the accepted canons of social behaviour among the fraternity. Such a monk was technically called *āsanapaññāpaka*, one who assigns seats (*Vin*. II, 305). His task was to see that in a gathering of monks the seats were allocated with due regard to seniority etc.

As it is nowadays, in the time of the Buddha, too, the offering of an *āsana* to a stranger was a part of social etiquette, as token of hospitality. The phrase that a stranger was offered a seat (*āsanena nimanteti*) is common in Pali literature (*J*. IV, 435, etc.). From *J*. V, 214 it would appear that not everyone was considered worthy of a seat. It was only the virtuous that deserved to be offered a seat. The important thing is that preparing a *senāsana* (lodging) for a monk was the chief item of hospitality in the Buddhist fraternity. Seeing to it that visiting monks were given proper accommodation was an accepted form of social duty among them. Thus, in *Vin*. I, 196, the Buddha asks Ānanda to prepare lodgings (*senāsana*) for a visiting monk (*āgantukassa bhikkhuno*).

In the allocation of *senāsana* those responsible for such allocation had to be careful not to put together in one place those who could not fit into each other's company, due, for instance, to temperamental incompatibility. Seats and beds were given to a group of monks in one place only if they were able to live together peacefully. Thus, in *Vin*. I, 356, the Buddha categorically says that the quarrelsome monks of Kosambī, when they came to Sāvatthi, should be given *senāsana* separately and not be allowed to consort with the other monks. Further, in no way should a *senāsana* of a senior monk be taken.

Vin. II, 176 gives a list of five qualifications that are required of a monk who is responsible for the distribution of *senāsana*. He should be free from partiality (*chanda*), malice (*dosa*), folly (*moha*), fear (*bhaya*) ; he should know what votes have been taken and what have not been taken

(*udditthānuddittham ca jāneyya*). The first four are collectively called the four *agatis* or improper doings. To be free from these four is the qualification always ascribed to one who rightly fills any judicial office.

Vin. II, 74–6 shows how a regulator of *senāsana* is appointed; and, here, his duties are given as allocating *sayana* and *āsana* to the monks according to their interests and duties, e.g., monks who meditate are given a particular place suitable for meditation and those who chant the suttas are put together in an environment suitable for them.

All these rules and regulations that have to be observed with regard to *sayana* and *āsana* are collectively called *senāsana-vatta* (*Vin.* II, 217–20).

A practice prevalent during the time of the Buddha and referred to in the Pali literature was that of placing a number of beds one over the other and making a " grandstand " in order to get a good view of something (e.g., *J.* III, 456 ; VI, 277 ; *DhpA.* IV, 59).

Then there was the *dhammāsana*, a flat piece of stone or a mat on which a preacher sat, while a hall with seating accommodation used for large gatherings was commonly called *āsanasālā* in Buddhist literature (*DhpA.* II, 65; *Vism.* 69).

Āsana (posture). When used in Buddhist and Hindu literature the original meaning of the term *āsana* is extended to mean posture. The word is commonly used in referring to the various postures in which the Buddha and various deities are iconographically represented.

Most of the postures enumerated were the creations of artists. But, there was one common posture adopted by meditating yogins. It was this particular posture that the Buddha and his disciples adopted. It is described in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. Here it is said that the meditating yogin should sit cross-legged on a raised seat, with erect body, and fix his awareness in front (*nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujuṃ kāyaṃ paṇidhāya parimukhaṃ satiṃ upaṭṭhapetvā*). Another early description of this posture is found in the *Bhagavad Gītā* which says that the yogi should be steady, holding his body, head and neck balanced and motionless, fixing his gaze on the end of his nose and looking not about him (*samaṃ kāyaśirogrīvaṃ—dhārayannacalaḥ sthiraḥ : samprekṣya nāsikāgraṃ svaṃ—diśaścānavalokayan* : VI, 13).

It was this posture that was later developed into various other postures with minor changes, for instance in the *vajrāsana*, the commonest attitude in which the Buddha is represented iconographically. The *vajrāsana* is the pose of meditation in which the legs are firmly interlocked with the soles of both feet turned upwards. This attitude signifies deep meditation and introspection. It is the pose of absolute immobility.

When the Buddha is represented in this manner, as is most commonly the case, the position of the hands (*mudrā*) varies according to the idea meant to be conveyed by the particular representation. A number of different mudrās are represented with the Buddha seated in this attitude. See MUDRĀ.

Very often the Dhyānibuddha in Mahāyāna Buddhism is seated in this attitude on a full-blown lotus, or sometimes it may be the double-lotus (*viśvapadma*), with one row of petals turning up and the other turning down. The Ādibuddha, the highest deity in the Mahāyāna pantheon, is also always represented in the *vajrāsana* attitude.

The oblong seat under the Bodhi tree at Gayā, which the Buddha occupied when he attained enlightenment, is also described as the *vajrāsana*, the " diamond " seat, in the Buddhist texts. Here the term refers not to the posture but to the material seat ; this will be subsequently discussed.

A less common posture of sitting found in Buddhist iconography is the *bhadrāsana* (*pralambapāda*) in which both legs are pendant, commonly rendered as the " modern style " of sitting. For instance, in the Ajaṇṭā caves XVI and XVII and in Caṇḍi Mendut (Middle Java) the Buddha is seated in this fashion (See Vol. II, Pl. VIII). The seated figures of Maitreya are often depicted in this style.

There are other, less common postures such as the *paryaṅka* attitude in which case the legs are placed one upon the other, with both soles invisible. Then, there is the *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* (*aḍḍha-pallaṅka*) also called the *mahārājalīlā* (pose of royal ease) where both legs are on the same pedestal with one of the knees raised while the other is bent as in the *vajrāsana*. This *āsana* has to be distinguished from the *lalitāsana* where one of the legs is pendant while the other is bent in the manner described before. Tārā, one of the most popular Buddhist goddesses, sits in this posture.

The term *āsana* is also used to denote the pedestal upon which a statue is placed. The term *pīṭha* is also used in this sense. Thus, the throne shaped

like a lotus or adorned with lotus petals is very common in Indian art and is called the *padmāsana* (lotus throne). The standing figure of the Buddha is then placed on a *padmāsana*. According to Buddhist tradition, the Buddha, when preaching his first sermon, is usually depicted as being seated on a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*). The *siṃhāsana* is normally connected with kings, for the royal throne is consistently referred to as the *siṃhāsana*. The couch upon which the Buddha passed away is also represented in art most frequently with lion's feet. The connection of the lion with his seat is a symbolical expression of the greatness of the Buddha.

Then there is the *vajrāsana*, the 'thunder,' 'diamond' or 'adamantine' throne. The tradition has grown that the Buddha should be seated on a *vajrāsana* in depicting him while engaged in his struggle against Māra. Now, the word *vajra* means both the thunderbolt and the diamond. The hardness and the destructive power of these two have resulted in the *vajra* being regarded as a symbol of destruction of evil forces. This seems to be one reason for the Buddha's seat under the bodhi tree being called *vajrāsana*, for it was on this seat that he overcame the evil forces of Māra. This magical concept of the *vajra*, as being powerful enough to destroy any enemy, is much older than Buddhism, for it is found even in the *Ṛgveda*. To express this idea artists have sometimes marked the stone-throne with *vajra* jewels or the thunderbolt. For instance, the seats of the 12th century Buddha statues at the Galvihāra in Polonnaruva (Ceylon) have thunderbolts carved upon them.

Unlike the *vajrāsana* and the *padmāsana* the term *siṃhāsana* does not designate a special attitude of sitting.

Regarding the various Buddhist deities of the Mahāyāna, almost all of them are represented either seated or standing on lotus supports, with a few exceptions. In Tibet and Nepal this lotus support (*padmāsana*) is very often the *viśvapadma* or the double lotus with two rows of petals, one turned up and the other turned down.

The foot-rest of a god or goddess is also called *āsana* and it is generally in the form of a small lotus flower with a stem attached to the lotus throne. Maitreya as bodhisattva has this support. Mahāyāna Buddhist gods like Mahākāla, Yama, Hevajra, and others, are represented standing on various supports, which are also called *āsana* or *vāhana* such as elephants, bulls and such other animals.

Āsanas, in the sense of postures, are multiplied to thousands in the Yogic practices and are commonly called the *yogāsanas*.

A. G. S. K.

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ASANABODHIYA (var. °bodhika), an arahant thera. Ninety-two kappas ago, in Buddha Tissa's time, he planted an *asana* tree. which became the Buddha's *bodhi* tree, and tended it for five years. The Buddha predicted a bright future for him in later births. He was born as king of the devas for thirty kappas. Seventy-four kappas ago he was a cakkavattin (world ruler) by the name of Daṇḍasena. A kappa later he was born seven times as a cakkavattin, Samantanemi by name. Twenty-five kappas ago he was a cakkavattin named Punnaka (*Ap*. I, 110—11).

The commentary goes on to say that in Buddha Tissa's time he was born of a high family. It was a fruit from the *asana-bodhi* tree that he planted. He tended it with great care. In this Buddha age he was born into a high family and entered the Saṅgha at the age of seven. Although young in years, being advanced in saṃsāra, even while his hair was being shaved he attained arahantship (*ApA*. pp. 383—4).

L. R. G.

ĀSANAGHARA (the House of the Seat) was a type of shrine known in ancient Ceylon. The sole object of veneration here was a throne (*āsana*), the symbolical seat of the Buddha; the teacher himself was not represented, his presence being merely indicated in this manner. The origin of this idea may be traced to the Vajrāsana in Buddha Gayā which is, to this day, a most revered memento of the Buddha's Enlightenment. The *āsana* itself was, in Ceylon, a smoothly chiselled, large rectangular slab of stone. It was mounted on a raised platform which stood deep within, at the end of a circular building, as may be seen in the sole identified survival in Puḷukunāvi, on the east coast of the island. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxxvi, 104) refers to the setting up, in the 2nd cent. A.C. (king Goṭābhaya), of a stone seat

(*pallaṅka*) at the south gate of the bodhi tree in Anurādhapura. (See S. Paranavitana in the University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon,* I, Pt. 1, p. 263 and Pl. VI b.)

D. T. D.

ĀSANATTHAVIKA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth, thirty-one kappas ago, having lost his way in a forest he came across the Uttama Cetiya built in honour of Buddha Sikhī. He paid homage to the Buddha's seat and sang his praises. As a result he knew of no evil birth thereafter. Twenty-seven kappas ago he was born cakkavattin (world-ruler) seven times by the name of Atulyā (*Ap.* I, 255; *ApA.* p. 476).

L. R. G.

ASANDHIMITTĀ, chief queen of the emperor Asoka. She was so named because the joints of her limbs were invisible except when she bent or stretched them out (*MhvA.* 203). She was also of perfect beauty. Both these were the good results of her directing a paccekabuddha who was looking for honey, to her husband who was a honey-dealer in one of her previous births. The honey-dealer was Asoka himself. After this meritorious act she made a wish to be the chief queen of the king of Jambudvīpa (*Mhv.* v, 51, ff.).

The "*Extended*" *Mahāvaṃsa* (v, 350 ff.) says that Asoka put Asandhimittā to a test, as she had boasted of merit acquired. She was ordered to provide robes for 60,000 monks in one day. With the help of the god, Kubera, who remembered the kindness shown by her to the paccekabuddha, she accomplished what the king demanded of her.

Asandhimittā was a devout follower of the Buddha. When preparations were being made to bring the branch of the bodhi-tree to Ceylon, she offered to it all kinds of ornaments and flowers (*Mhbv.* 85). Having heard that the voice of the Buddha was like that of the *karavīka* bird, she obtained a bird and became a stream-enterer (*sotāpanna*) through the joy of listening to its song (*MA.* II, 771; *DA.* 453).

Asandhimittā died in the twelfth year of Asoka's reign (*Mhv.* xx, 2).

H. R. P.

ASAṄGA (1), founder of the Yogācāra system of Buddhism. (See Vol. II, Pl. IX).

There is no ancient biography of Asaṅga[1]. Whatever we know about him we learn mainly from his brother Vasubandhu's biography: *The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha*[2], which is the oldest and best authority.

According to this account, Asaṅga was born at Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar) in North-West India (now Pakistan). In that city there lived a court priest, a brāhmaṇa of the Kauśika clan who had three sons. Although all three were given the common name Vasubandhu, the eldest became known as Asaṅga, the youngest as Viriñcivatsa, while only the middle one retained the name Vasubandhu.[3]

The third son, Viriñcivatsa, became a bhikṣu in the Sarvāstivāda Order and attained arhatship. Nothing more is known about him.

The second son, Vasubandhu, also became a monk in the same Order. "His learning was

1 There seems to have existed a biography of Asaṅga in Chinese about the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A. C. Hui-ying, a pupil of Fa-tsang, quotes in his *Ta-fang-kuang-fu-hua-yĕn-ching-kan-ying-chuan* (*Taishō*, 2074, p. 173b, 8 ff.) a biography of Asaṅga. See E. Frauwallner, *On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law, Vasubandhu* p. 47 (Rome, 1951).

2 *The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha* translated by J. Takakusu, T'oung-pao, 1904, or Reprint, E. J. Brill, Leiden.

Paramārtha, a learned Buddhist monk from Ujjain, sent by the Indian court at the request of the Chinese emperor Wu-ti (502-549), arrived in China in 546 A. C. and stayed there till his death, mostly engaged in translating into Chinese the Sanskrit texts (about 240 bundles of palm leaf manuscripts) which he took with him.

3 According to a Tibetan tradition, both Asaṅga and Vasubandhu had the same mother, a woman of the brāhmaṇa caste called Prasannaśilā (Tibetan: *gsal baḥi tshul khrims*). But Asaṅga's father was a kṣatriya, while Vasubandhu's was a brāhmaṇa. The Tibetan tradition relating to Asaṅga has been recorded in Tāranātha's History of Buddhism (German translation from Tibetan by A. Schiefner, St. Petersbourgh, 1869).

wide, his knowledge many-sided, ... his intellectual genius brilliant and transparent........ his personal discipline pure and high."[4]

The eldest son, Asaṅga, was a man "endowed with the innate character of a bodhisattva." He, too, became a bhikṣu in the Sarvāstivāda Order,[5] and afterwards he practised meditation and "became free from desires." Though he investigated the doctrine of "voidness" (*śūnyatā*), he could not penetrate and realise it. In disappointment and desperation he was about to commit suicide. Then an arhat, named Piṇḍola, from Pūrvavideha, expounded to him the doctrine of "voidness" according to the Hīnayāna. Although Asaṅga comprehended and realised it, he was not content and did not find full satisfaction in the exposition of *śūnyatā* as given in the Hīnayāna. But he did not like to abandon it. On the contrary, he was determined to go further and realise the full significance of this deep and subtle doctrine. So he went up to the Tuṣita heaven by the supernatural power (*ṛddhi*) which he had acquired through the *dhyāna* meditation according to the Hīnayāna, and there saw Maitreya, the bodhisattva, who expounded to him the doctrine of *śūnyatā* (voidness) according to the Mahāyāna.

On his return to Jambudvīpa (India), Asaṅga investigated the doctrine of *śūnyatā* according to the methods taught by Maitreya and soon became enlightened. Afterwards he often went up to the Tuṣita heaven in order to learn from Maitreya the doctrines of the Mahāyāna sūtras which the bodhisattva expounded to him extensively.

Asaṅga explained this doctrine to others. But most of those who heard him did not believe him. So he prayed to the bodhisattva Maitreya to come down to Jambudvīpa and expound the Mahāyāna. Thereupon, Maitreya came down to Jambudvīpa at night, had a large assembly of those interested in the doctrine convened in a hall, and began to recite the sūtra of the *Saptadaśabhūmi*[6]. The recitation of the seventeen parts or sections (*bhūmi*, lit. 'ground' 'stage') of the sūtra was completed during the nights of four months. At night people assembled in the hall and heard the religious discourse by Maitreya, but in the day-time Asaṅga commented, for the sake of others, upon what was taught by the bodhisattva. In this way people could hear and believe in the doctrine of the Mahāyāna. Further, Maitreya bodhisattva taught Asaṅga how to practise the 'sunlight' samādhi (*sūryaprabhāsamādhi*). Asaṅga thus attained to this abstract meditation, and what he could not understand formerly became all clear to him now. Afterwards he composed several treatises and commentaries on some important sūtras in which he expounded the doctrines of the Mahāyāna.[7]

The relation of Asaṅga to Maitreya in this story cannot be taken as a historical fact, although some eminent scholars[8] have tried to prove that Maitreya, or Maitreya-nātha, was a historical personage who was Asaṅga's teacher. It was a universal tendency of religious psychology in the ancient world to attribute sacred texts (even some secular and literary works) to divine origin

4 There is difference of opinion as to whether it was this Vasubandhu or another Vasubandhu of a later period who was the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*.

5 According to Hsüan-tsang, Asaṅga first belonged to the Mahīśāsaka sect. These two accounts should not be considered as contradictory, because Mahīśāsaka was a branch of the Sarvāstivāda. See André Bareau, *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, p. 24 (*BEFEO*. Saigon, 1955). But according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. v, 8, the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptakas were offshoots of the Mahīśāsakas. In any case, Mahīśāsaka and Sarvāstivāda are in the same line.

6 Saptadaśabhūmis are the seventeen books or sections of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Asaṅga's *magnum opus*. Its 17 *bhūmis* are: 1. pañcavijñānakāyasamprayuktā bhūmi, 2. mano bhūmi, 3. savitarkā savicārā bhūmi, 4. avitarkā vicāramātrā bhūmi, 5. avitarkā avicārā bhūmi, 6. samāhitā bhūmi, 7. asamāhitā bhūmi, 8. sacittikā bhūmi, 9. acittikā bhūmi, 10. śīrutamay bhūmi, 11. cintāmayī bhūmi, 12. bhāvanāmayī bhūmi, 13. śrāvaka bhūmi, 14. pratyekabuddha bhūmi, 15. bodhisattva bhūmi, 16. sopadhikā bhūmi, 17. nirupadhikā bhūmi.

7 Such as: *Yogācārabhūmi*, *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, *Madhyāntavibhāga* or *Madhyāntavibhaṅga*, *Prakaraṇāyaśāsanaśāstra* or *Āryaśāsanaprakaraṇaśāstra*, *Trimśatikāyāḥprajñāpāramitāyāḥ kārikāsaptatiḥ* (a commentary on *Prajñāpāramitā*); also attributed to Asaṅga are: *Āryasandhinirmocanabhāṣya*, *Madhyāntānusāraśāstra*, *Pañcaviṃśati-prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, *Abhisamayālaṅkāraśāstra*, *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhaga*, *Tattvaviniścaya* (on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*), *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstravyākhyā* and a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā*.

8 e.g., H. Ui, *Maitreya as a historical personage*, Lanman Studies, 1929, p. 101; G. Tucci, *On some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha) and Asaṅga*, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 3, 9, 12: E. Frauwallner, *On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu*, Série Orientale Roma III, Rome, 1951, pp. 22, 38. For a further bibliography on this question, see E. Lamotte, *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*, Preface, p. 25 (Louvain et Paris, 1935).

or inspiration.[9] In India not only the *Vedas* but also some secular sciences like the Āyurveda (medical science) are attributed to divine origin. Buddhists, too, were affected by this religio-psychological tendency of the times. If the Mahāyāna tradition attributes the Yogācāra-Abhidharma to the bodhisattva Maitreya who is in the Tuṣita heaven, the Theravāda tradition claims that the Buddha preached the Abhidhamma not to human beings on this earth, but to the gods in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, himself residing there for three months.[10] It might be possible that Asaṅga considered the bodhisattva Maitreya as his titular deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) and that he thought or felt he derived inspiration from him.[11]

Asaṅga's second brother, Vasubandhu, a man of extraordinary talents and attainments, was a 'Hīnayānist' and criticised the Mahāyāna. Asaṅga was afraid that his younger brother, who was a man of great gifts, might compose a *śāstra* (treatise) and crush the Mahāyāna.

At that time Vasubandhu was living at Ayodhyā where he was greatly honoured and venerated by king Bālāditya, while his elder brother was staying at his native place Puruṣapura (Peshawar). Asaṅga, therefore, sent a messenger to his brother saying, "I am seriously ill at present. You had better attend on me quickly." Vasubandhu came, saw his brother and inquired what the cause of his illness was. Asaṅga said "I have now a serious disease of the heart which arose on account of you." Vasubandhu asked, "Why do you say on account of me?" "You do not believe in the Mahāyāna", said Asaṅga, "and you are always attacking and discrediting it. For this evil action you will be sure to sink for ever into a miserable life. I am now grieved and troubled for your sake to such an extent that my life will not last long."

On hearing this, Vasubandhu was surprised and alarmed, and requested his brother to expound the Mahāyāna to him. Asaṅga did so and his brother saw at once that the Mahāyāna excelled the Hīnayāna. Vasubandhu further studied and investigated, under his brother, and realised that the Mahāyāna was the right and more complete teaching. If there were no Mahāyāna, he thought, then there would be no Path (*mārga*) and no Fruition (*phala*) or the Triyāna (i.e., Bodhisattvayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna and Śrāvakayāna). Thus was Vasubandhu, the great Master of the Law, converted to the Mahāyāna by his elder brother Asaṅga.

Because he had formerly done harm by speaking against the Mahāyāna in which he then had no faith, Vasubandhu was now afraid that he might fall into a miserable life as the result of that wickedness. He reproached himself, earnestly repented, and came to his brother and said, "I now desire to make a confession. I do not know by what means I can be pardoned for my former evil action. I did harm speaking ill of the Mahāyāna by means of my tongue. I will now cut it out in order to atone for my crime." But his brother answered, "Even if you cut out your tongue a thousand times, you cannot wipe out your crime. If you really want to wipe it out, you must find some other means." When Vasubandhu requested his brother to suggest the way to wipe out his offence, Asaṅga said, "Your tongue was able to speak very skilfully and efficiently against the Mahāyāna, and thus discredit it. If you want to wipe out your

9 See, e.g., Paul Demiéville who in his study *La Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa* (*BEFEO*. XLIV,fasc. 2 (1954) p. 381, note 4) says: 'C' est par une surprenante méconnaissance des données les plus élémentaires de la psychologie religieuse (et littéraire), aussi bien que de la notion d'historicité, qu'on a voulu faire de Maitreya un "personage historique". He points out how Christianity, Islam, Taoism, etc. have attributed their sacred writings to gods and angels, and says that the attempt to prove Maitreya as a "historical personage" is due to a "manie historiciste introduite de l'Occident", and G. Tucci who also now accepts Demiéville's opinion says, ". . . . The discussion whether Maitreyanātha was a historical personage or not . . . . has been, to my mind, definitely settled by P. Demiéville in his recent study on the *Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa*" (Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part I, Série Orientale Roma, IX, Rome, 1956, p. 14, n. 1).

10 *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, ed. Fausböll, IV, p. 265; *DhpA*. III, pp. 216–8.

11 In fact Sthiramati says that Maitreya was like the titulary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of Asaṅga. Also, many other great teachers in India and China are similarly reported to have been in relation with and under the inspiration of Maitreya. For details, see Demiéville, op. cit. pp. 376 ff. section: *Maitreya l'inspirateur*.

Even today there are people who believe in titular deties and in their help and inspiration.

offence, you must now expound the Mahāyāna equally skilfully and efficiently." So, one might say, at the instigation of his elder brother, Vasubandhu wrote several important works to expound the Mahāyāna doctrines.[12]

According to Tāranātha[13], Asaṅga visited many parts of India spreading the Mahāyāna and established about twenty-five monasteries for Mahāyāna bhikṣus.

Date. From all the evidence brought to light through researches by competent scholars during the last several decades, we may now safely say that Asaṅga flourished in the 4th century A.C. in the north-west of India presently Pakistan.[14]

Mahāyāna systematised. Early Buddhist schools (the so-called Hīnayāna schools) had already given a definite shape to the ideas contained in the original sūtras by elaborating their Abhidharma texts: The Theravādins had their seven Abhidhamma *Pakaraṇas*[15]; the Sarvāstivādins had their *Jñānaprasthāna* and the *Vibhāṣā*. The Mahāyānists also had to elaborate and to formulate their Abhidharma. This task was done by two great Masters who might be considered as the founders of the two principal schools of the Mahāyāna: Nāgārjuna (about the later half of the 2nd century A.C.) established the Mādhyamika system by his *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā* and his enormous commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Asaṅga established the Yogācāra (Vijñānavāda) system by his monumental work *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*. What the Pali *Abhidhammapiṭaka* is to the Theravādins, the *Jñānaprasthāna* to the Sarvāstivādins, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśātra* to the Mādhyamikas, so is the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* to the Yogācārins.

Today all serious students of history of Buddhism and Buddhist thought agree that the Mahāyāna is a later development. This should not be considered a new discovery. The earliest Buddhist schools, at least some of them, seem to have held that the Mahāyāna was not only a later development, but also a system expounded by *tīrthikas* (heretics, non-Buddhists), and that it was not really the Buddha's teaching. The *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* relate that at the time of Asoka in the 3rd century B.C. *titthiyā* (Skt. *tīrthikā*), in order to gain comfort and honour, entered the *Sāsana* (Buddhist Order) and expounded and propagated their own theories and views as the word of the Buddha.[16] It was in order to denounce and reject these new opinions and views that the *Kathāvatthu* was composed by Moggaliputta-Tissa, the president of the Third Council held under the patronage of Asoka.

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12 Paramārtha says, ". . . . all those who study Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in India and in all the frontier countries use the works of Vasubandhu as their text-books." (*The Life of Vasubandhu*, p. 27)

13 Tāranātha or Tārānātha, a Tibetan lama (whose Tibetan name is Kun-dgaḥ sñyin-po, "The Essence of Happiness") was born in 1573 A. C. Later he went to Mongolia where he spent the last part of his life and established several monasteries there under the auspices of the Chinese emperor. His "*History of Buddhism in India*" based on Indian and Tibetan sources, was completed in 1608 A. C. In Tārānātha's account, too, Vasubandhu was Asaṅga's younger brother and was converted to the Mahāyāna by Asaṅga.

14 Asaṅga's date is decided after his brother Vasubandhu's date. The question whether the author of the *Abhidharmakośa* was the same as Asaṅga's brother or whether they were two Vasubandhus belonging to two different periods, does not concern us here. Whatever it may be, all opinions agree that Asaṅga's brother Vasubandhu lived in the 4th century A. C. So we take the 4th century as Asaṅga's period. For details see, J. Takakusu, *A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the date of Vasubandhu*, *JRAS*. 1905, pp. 33–53; Sylvain Lévi, *Mahāyānasūtrālankāra*, (Paris, 1911), Introduction, pp. 1–7; Noël Péri, *A propos de la date de Vasubandhu*, *BEFEO*. XI (1911), pp. 339–390; H. Ui, *On the Author of Mahāyānasūtrālankāra*, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VI, (1928), pp. 215–25; J. Takakusu, *The date of Vasubandhu, the Great Buddhist Philosopher*, *Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, pp. 79–88; T. Kimura, *The date of Vasubandhu seen from the Abhidharmakośa*, ibid. pp. 89–92; G. Ono, *The date of Vasubandhu seen from the History of Buddhist Philosophy*, ibid, pp. 93–4; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, (Calcutta, 1933) p. 355, n. 6; E. Frauwallner, *On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu*, (Rome, 1951); Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, (Mouton & Co., 1958) pp. 31 f.; Alex Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript* (University of California Press, 1961) pp. 19 ff.

15 viz., *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka*, *Paṭṭhāna*, *Kathāvatthu*.

16 *VinA*. I, 35; *Mhv*. v, 229–30.

These old accusations against the new ideas and developments were still current in the 4th century A.C., for we find from Asaṅga's writings that he was quite aware of these orthodox charges. It is interesting to see how he tries to redeem the Mahāyāna from these accusations and to establish its authority as the word of the Buddha himself.

In the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*[17] Asaṅga says that if the Mahāyāna is a later invention by someone (*paścāt kenāpyutpāditam*), then the Buddha should have predicted it as a future danger (*anāgatabhaya*). But he did not. The Mahāyāna originated at the same time as the Śrāvakayāna, and not later (*samakālaṃ ca śrāvakayānena mahāyānasya pravṛttirupalabhyate, na paścāt*). So why should it not be considered as the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*) ? This sublime and profound doctrine is not within reach of sceptical dialecticians (*tārkikā*), for such a teaching is not found in the treatises of heretics (*tīrthikaśāstra*). Even if it is explained, they (the heretics) do not understand it. It is not right to say that the Śrāvakayāna (=Hīnayāna) is the *buddhavacana* and the Mahāyāna is not, for without the Buddhayāna (=Mahāyāna) Buddhas cannot appear. Further, in the *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, after quoting a passage, Asaṅga says, "This passage of the sūtra shows that the Mahāyāna is the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*).[18]

We know that the Mahāyāna is a new and highly developed interpretation derived from the ideas contained in the original sūtras. Asaṅga himself admits[19] that the sense (*artha*) given in the Mahāyāna is not after the letter (*na yathā rutam*). It is an interpretation beyond the letter. Therefore, says Asaṅga, following the meaning of the letter one should not think that the Mahāyāna is not the word of the Buddha. "The sense is not to be understood according to the letter."[20]

Ālayavijñāna. In the Yogācāra (=Vijñānavāda) school of Buddhism, *ālayavijñāna* is one of the most important doctrines developed by Asaṅga. He divides the *vijñānaskandha* (aggregate of consciousness), the fifth of the five *skandhas* into three different aspects or layers, namely, *citta*, *manas* and *vijñāna*. In the Theravāda *Tipiṭaka* as well as in the Pali commentaries, these three terms (*citta*, *manas*, *viññāṇa*) are considered as synonyms denoting the same thing.[21] The Sarvāstivāda also takes them as synonyms.[22] Even the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, which is purely a Mahāyāna text, calls them synonyms[23] although their separate functions are mentioned elsewhere in the same sūtra.[24] Vasubandhu, too, in his *Viṃśatikā-vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* considers them as synonyms.[25] Since any one of these three terms (*citta*, *manas*, *vijñāna*) represents some aspect

17 *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, I, *v*. 7 and commentary.

Alex Wayman (*Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript*, Univ. of California Press, 1961, p. 30) thinks that the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* was not written by Asaṅga because he (Asaṅga) refers to this work elsewhere. This opinion is not tenable for two reasons : first, we cannot be certain that the term *sūtrālaṅkāra* in the passage quoted by Wayman (Derg. T., Zi, 198a–4) refers to this particular text *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*. The word *alaṅkāra* in the Mahāyāna tradition was a special term used to denote a kind of explanatory composition, a sort of commentarial work, just like the term *aṭṭhakathā* (Skt. *arthakathā*. commentary) in the Theravāda tradition. *Alaṅkāra* here is equivalent to *varṇanā* "explanation", "description". (In Pali also *vaṇṇanā* is sometimes used for *aṭṭhakathā*, as *suttavaṇṇanā*, for *suttaṭṭhakathā*). Any work, and commentary, which explained the ideas expressed in the *sūtras* was called *sūtrālaṅkāra*. That is exactly what Asaṅga says in the passage quoted by Wayman: " . . . . the commentary truly representing the meaning of the *sūtras* promulgated by the Tathāgata is called *Sūtrālaṃkāra*." The Theravāda tradition also believes that the *aṭṭhakathā* contains "the meaning of the *sūtras* promulgated by the Tathāgata." For an interesting discussion on the term *alaṅkāra* in the Mahāyāna tradition see G. Tucci, *On some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha) and Asaṅga*, p. 10 ff. A *Sūtrālaṅkāra* is attributed also to Aśvaghoṣa. (See M. Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* II, p. 258 ; P. Demiéville, *L'Inde Classique* II, section 2079)

Secondly, even if the above passage (quoted by Wayman) refers to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* itself, there is no reason why Asaṅga should not refer to his own work. Buddhaghosa refers to his own *Visuddhimagga* quite often in his other works, e.g., *MA*. I, pp. 10, 52, 77, 124, 125, 126, 154, 155, 157, etc. ; to his own *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Commentary on the *Dīgha*) *MA*. I, p. 2.

18 *La Somme du Grand Véhicule d' Asaṅga* (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha*), traduction Etienne Lamotte, (Louvain, 1938) p. 7.

It is interesting to note here that Theravādins never try to prove that the Theravāda is the *buddhavacana*. It is usually accepted as the teaching of the Buddha.

19 *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, I, 7 and commentary.

20 ibid. 1, 4. *vyañjanato'rtho na ca jñeyaḥ*.

Laṅkāvatārasūtra, p. 154, also says : *yathārutārthagrahaṇaṃ na kartavyaṃ bodhisattvena mahāsattvenā'nyaiśceti* "The sense according to the letter should not be taken by the bodhisattva, the Great Being, and by others."

21 In the *Vbh*. p. 403, to the question *katamāni satta cittāni* "What are the seven minds?" the answer is: *cakkhuviññāṇaṃ, sota-ghāna-jivhā-kāyaviññāṇaṃ, manodhātu, manoviññāṇadhātu*. So *citta*, *mano* and *viññāṇa* are synonymous. *Dhs*. also (p. 209, § 1187) to the question *katame dhammā cittā ?* gives the same answer as the above in *Vbh*. *Vism*. p. 383 says : *viññāṇaṃ cittaṃ manoti atthato ekaṃ*. See also *D*. I, p. 21 ; *S*. II, pp. 94–5 ; *Vbh*. p. 87.

22 *Cittaṃ mano'tha vijñānam ekārthaṃ : Abhk*. II, 34.

23 *Cittaṃ vikalpo vijñaptir mano vijñānam eva ca ālayaṃ tribhavaśceṣṭā ete cittasya paryayāḥ. Laṅk*. p. 322.

24 ibid. p. 46 : *Cittena cīyate karma, manasā ca vicīyate, vijñānena vijānāti, dṛśyam kalpeti pañcabhiḥ*.

25 *Cittaṃ mano vijñānaṃ vijñaptiś ceti paryāyāḥ: Viṃt*. p. 3.

even though not all aspects, of the fifth aggregate, *vijñānaskandha*, they may roughly be considered as synonyms.

However, for Asaṅga, *citta*, *manas* and *vijñāna* are three different and distinct aspects of the *vijñānaskandha*. He defines this aggregate as follows:

"What is the definition of the aggregate of consciousness (*vijñānaskandha*)? It is mind (*citta*), mental organ (*manas*) and also consciousness (*vijñāna*)."

"And there what is mind (*citta*)? It is *ālaya-vijñāna* (store-consciousness) containing all seeds (*sarvabījaka*), impregnated with the traces (impressions: *vāsanāparibhāvita*) of aggregates (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*) and spheres (*āyatana*)........

"What is mental organ (*manas*)? It is the object of *ālayavijñāna*, always having the nature of self-notion (self-conceit, *manyanātmaka*) associated with four defilements: viz., the false idea of self (*ātmadṛṣṭi*), self-love (*ātmasneha*), the conceit of 'I-am' (*asmimāna*) and ignorance (*avidyā*)....

"What is consciousness (*vijñāna*)? It consists of the six groups of consciousness (*ṣaḍ vijñānakāyāḥ*): viz., visual consciousness (*cakṣurvijñāna*), auditory (*śrotra*), olfactory (*ghrāṇa*), gustatory (*jihvā*), tactile (*kāya*) and mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*)............"[26]

Thus we can see that *vijñāna* represents the simple reaction of response of the sense-organs when they come in contact with the external objects. This is the uppermost or superficial aspect or layer of the *vijñānaskandha*. *Manas* represents the aspect of its mental functioning, thinking, reasoning, conceiving ideas etc. *Citta*, which is here called *ālayavijñāna*, represents the deepest, finest and subtlest aspect or layer of the aggregate of consciousness. It contains all the traces or impressions of the past actions and all good and bad future potentialities. The *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra* also says that *ālayavijñāna* is called *citta* (Tibetan *sems*).[27]

It is generally believed that *ālayavijñāna* is purely a Mahāyāna doctrine and that nothing about it is found in the Hīnayāna. But in the *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*[28] Asaṅga himself says that in the Śrāvakayāna (=Hīnayāna) it is mentioned by synonyms (*paryāya*) and refers to a passage in the *Ekottarāgama* which reads: "People (*prajā*) like the *ālaya* (*ālayarata*), are fond of the *ālaya* (*ālayārāma*), are delighted in the *ālaya* (*ālayasammudita*), are attached to the *ālaya* (*ālayābhirata*). When the Dharma is preached for the destruction of the *ālaya*, they wish to listen (*śuśrūṣati*) and lend their ears (*śrotram avadadhati*), they put forth a will for the perfect knowledge (*ājñācittam upasthāpayati*) and follow the path of truth (*dharmānudharmapratipanna*). When the Tathāgata appears in the world (*prādurbhāva*), this marvellous (*āścarya*) and extraordinary (*adbhuta*) Dharma appears in the world."

Lamotte identifies this *Ekottarāgama* passage with the following passage in the Pali *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. II, p. 131): *Ālayarāmā bhikkhave pajā ālayaratā ālayasammuditā, sā Tathāgatena anālaye dhamme desiyamāne sussūyati sotaṃ odahati aññācittaṃ upaṭṭhāpeti. Tathāgatassa bhikkhave arahato sammāsambuddhassa pātubhāvā ayaṃ paṭhamo acchariyo abbhuto dhammo pātubhavati.*

Besides this *Aṅguttara* passage, the term *ālaya* in the same sense is found in several other places of the Pali canon.[29] The Pali commentaries explain this term as "attachment to the five sense-pleasures"[30], and do not go deeper than that. But this also is an aspect of the *ālayavijñāna*.

In the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* the term *tathāgatagarbha* is used as a synonym for *ālayavijñāna*[31], and it is described as "luminous by nature" (*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*) and "pure by nature" (*prakṛtipariśuddha*), but appearing as impure "because

26 *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (Pradhan Ed., Visva-Bharati, 1950) pp. 11–12. The same definitions of *citta*, *manas* and *vijñāna* are given briefly in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 174 (XIX, 76): *Cittam ālayavijñānam, manas tadālambanam ātmadṛṣṭyādisamprayuktam, vijñānaṃ ṣaḍ vijñānakāyāḥ.*

27 *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*, texte tibétain, édité et traduit par Etienne Lamotte, Louvain et Paris, 1935, pp. 55, 185.

28 *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, trsl. Lamotte, p. 26.

29 e.g., *M*. I, p. 167; *S*. I, p. 136; *Vin*. I, p. 4.

30 *Ālayarāmāti sattā pañcasu kāmaguṇesu ālayanti*, *MA*. II, p. 174; *Ālayarāmāti sattā pañcakāmaguṇe allīyanti* (*VinA*. 961); *pañcakāmaguṇālaya*, *Vism*. 242.

31 *Laṅk*. pp. 221, 222.

it is sullied by adventitious defilements" (*āgantukakleśopakliṣṭatayā*).[32] In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[33], *citta* is described as "luminous" (*pabhassara*), but it is "sullied by adventitious minor defilements" (*āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭham*).[34] One may notice here that *ālayavijñāna* (or *tathāgatagarbha*) and *citta* are described almost by the same terms. We have seen earlier that the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra* says that *ālayavijñāna* is also called *citta*. Asaṅga, too, mentions that it is named *citta*.[35]

It is this *ālayavijñāna* or *citta* that is considered by men as their 'Soul', 'Self', 'Ego' or *Ātman*.[36] Here we may remember, as a concrete example, that Sāti, one of the Buddha's disciples, took *viññāṇa* (*vijñāna*)[37] in this sense and that the Buddha reprimanded him for this wrong view.[38]

The attainment of Nirvāṇa is achieved by "the revolution of *ālayavijñāna*" which is called *āśrayaparāvṛtti* or *ālayaparāvṛtti*.[39] The same idea is conveyed by the expression *ālayasamugghāta* "uprooting of *ālaya*" which is used in the Pali canon as a synonym for Nirvāṇa.[40] Here we should remember also that *anālaya* "no-*ālaya*" is another synonym for Nirvāṇa.[41]

The *ālayavijñānaparāvṛtti* is sometimes called *bījaparāvṛtti* "revolution of the seeds" as well.[42] *Bīja* here signifies the "seeds" of defilements (*sāṃkleśikadharmabīja*) which cause the continuity of *saṃsāra*. By the "revolution of these seeds" one attains Nirvāṇa. Again, the Pali term *khīṇabīja*[43], which is used to denote an arahant whose "seeds of defilements are destroyed", expresses the same idea.

Thus, one may see that, although not developed as in the Mahāyāna, the original idea of *ālayavijñāna* was already there in the Pali canon of the Theravāda.

Vijñaptimātra (ideas only). According to the Vijñānavāda (Yogācāra) philosophy, the external world or objects exist only as ideas or mental conceptions (*vijñaptimātra* or *cittamātra*). In order to understand this, one must have even a very brief idea about the Buddhist conception of matter.

According to Buddhist philosophy, both the Theravāda and the Mahāyāna, matter is reduced to such extreme subtlety and fineness that even a part of our thoughts, ideas and conceptions is considered to be composed of matter[44], which in philosophical language is called "matter included in the sphere of mind-objects" (*dharmāyatanasaṃgṛhītarūpa*).[45] Asaṅga enumerates five kinds of matter (*rūpa*) included in "the sphere of mind objects": 1. extremely concentrated matter (*ābhisaṃkṣepika*) which is atom (*paramāṇu*); 2. extremely diffused matter (*abhyavakāśika*) which is space; 3. sensation or experience pertaining to

32 ibid. pp. 77, 222. Suzuki (*Studies in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, p. 182) says, "... The *Laṅkāvatāra* differs from the Yogācāra in one important point, i.e., that while the latter maintains that the *ālaya* is absolutely pure and has nothing to do with defilements and evil passions, the *Laṅkāvatāra* and Aśvaghoṣa maintain the view that the *Tathāgata-garbha* or the *ālaya* is the storage of the impure as well as the pure ...." But this is not so. The Yogācāra also considers that the *ālaya* is the storage of defilements. Cp. *sarvasāṃkleśidharmabījasthānatvād ālayaḥ*: "It is called *ālaya* the seeds of all the defilements." *Triṃś*. p. 18. cp. also *ālayavijñānāśritadauṣṭhulya*, ibid. p. 22.

33 *A*. I, p. 10.

34 The commentary says that here "*citta* means *bhavaṅgacitta*": *cittanti bhavaṅgacittaṃ*.

35 *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, p. 15.

36 ibid. p. 14; *Triṃś*. pp. 16, 22; *D*. I, p. 21.

37 Here it should be remembered that *ālayavijñāna* is one of the eight *vijñānas*.

38 *M*. I, pp. 256 ff.: *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta*.

39 *āśrayasya parāvṛttir iti: āśrayotra sarvabījakam ālayavijñānaṃ* (*Triṃś*. p. 44).

ālayavijñānāśritadauṣṭhulyaniravaśeṣaprahāṇād ālayavijñānaṃ vyāvṛttaṃ bhavati. Sai va ca arhad avasthā (ibid. p. 22.).

. . . . . *vijñānānāṃ parāvṛttiḥ anāśravo dhātur vimuktiḥ* (*Sūtrālaṅkāra*, xi, 44).

āśrayasya parāvṛttim anutpādaṃ vadāmyahaṃ (*Laṅk*. p. 202).

40 e.g., *A*. II, p. 34; III, p. 35: . . . *madanimmadano pipāsavinayo ālayasamugghāto vaṭṭupacchedo taṇhakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ*.

41 *S*. IV, p. 372; also *yo tassāyevataṇhāya asesavirāganirodho paṭinissaggo mutti anālayo*: *S*. V, p. 421 and *passim*.

42 *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, xi, 44; *bījaparāvṛtter ity ālayavijñānaparāvṛttitaḥ*.

43 *Te khīṇabījā avirūḷhicchandā nibbanti dhīrā* .... in the *Ratana Sutta*: *Sn*. p. 41.

The *bīja* theory of the Yogācāra should be compared with the *abhisaṅkhāraviññāṇa* (*bīja*) of the Theravāda.

44 Modern science knows little about this aspect of matter.

45 *Abhsy*. p. 4; *Vbh*. p. 72; *Dhs*. p. 133 § 594. Matter is included also in the *dhammadhātu*: *Vbh*. p. 89.

practices (*sāmādānika*, i.e., *avijñaptirūpa*) ; 4. things produced by imagination (*parikalpita*) and 5. things produced by *ṛddhi* or supernatural powers (*vaibhutvika*).

It is significant that these five categories, though considered as composed of matter, are not included in the spheres of visible forms, sound, odour taste or the tangible (*rūpa-śabda-gandha-rasa* or *spraṣṭavyāyatana*), but in the sphere of mind-objects (*dharmāyatana*). With reference to the *vijñaptimātra* (idea-only) or *cittamātra* (mind-only) philosophy, we must remember here that the atom (the first in the above list) is a mind-object and not an object perceived by any of the physical senses (eye, ear, nose, tongue or body).

In this connection, Asaṅga's definition of the atom is extremely important and interesting. He says, " .... It is said that a mass of matter (*rūpasamudāya*) is composed of atoms (*paramāṇu-sañcita*). There, the atom (*paramāṇu*) should be understood as not having a body (physical form: *niḥśarīra*). The determination of the atom (*paramāṇuvyavasthāna*) is done by the intellect (*buddhyā*) through the ultimate analysis (*paryanta-prabheda*) of mass of matter."[46]

So, if the atom has no physical form and if it is only conceived by mind, then the objects and the world which are composed of atoms are only mental conceptions, mental representations or notions. This idea is corroborated by the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* when it says that " Analysed into atoms, there is really no physical form to be discriminated as such ; what can be established (as a fact) is only the mind (i.e., mental conception or notion). One does not clearly see (or believe) this due to erroneous views. "[47] So " the whole world is only a conception. "[48]

This in brief is what is meant by *vijñaptimātra*, but many treatises are written to explain this doctrine in detail. It is not a mere intellectual or scientific theory ; it is a way to realise the truth of 'no-self', of 'no-substantiality' both with regard to the individual (*pudgala*) and things (*dharma*, i.e. *pudgaladharmanairātmyapratipādanārtham*), to destroy defilements and the obstructions to knowledge (*kleśajñeyāvaraṇaprahāṇārtham*) and to attain deliverance and omniscience (*mokṣasarvajñatvādhigamārtham*).[49]

Here again, it is interesting to draw attention to some statements found in the original Theravāda Pali canon—such as " There is nothing more than name "[50], " All things (*dhamma*) are ways of notions (conceptions or designations) "[51], " The world is led by mind "[52]—which may be considered as the germs of this doctrine of *vijñaptimātra* or *cittamātra* now regarded as purely Mahāyāna.

The Bodhisattva Ideal. Asaṅga's Yogācāra system which quite rightly extols the bodhisattva ideal, is not opposed to and does not exclude or run down the attainment of Nirvāṇa as a śrāvaka or a pratyekabuddha. In fact, in his *magnum opus*, the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, Asaṅga devotes two entire sections to *Śrāvakabhūmi* and *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi*, which shows that both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna are included in the Yogācāra system. In his other works also Asaṅga does not ignore the Pratyekabuddha-yāna and Śrāvaka-yāna. But these are inferior (*hīna*) to the ideal of a bodhisattva (Mahāyāna) who aspires to become a Buddha to save other beings. This is quite in keeping with the Theravāda tradition which, too, holds that one may be a bodhisattva and attain the highest ideal, the state of a Buddha, if one achieves the required qualities and perfections (*pāramitā*) ; but if one cannot, one may attain the state of a pratyekabuddha or of a śrāvaka according to one's capacity. These three states may be considered as three stages or destinations on the same path. In fact, the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra* clearly says that the Śrāvakayāna (i.e., Hīnayāna) and the Mahāyāna constitute one *yāna* (*ekayāna*), and that they are not two different and distinct 'vehicles'.[53]

Asaṅga's definition of the three *yānikas* (followers of the three vehicles) is very interesting and instructive.[54] A *śrāvakayānika* (one who takes the vehicle of disciples) is a person who, living according to the law of the disciples, by nature having feeble faculties (*mṛdvindriya* : i.e., *śraddhā*, *vīrya*, *smṛti*, *samādhi*, *prajñā*), bent on his own

46 *Abhsy*. p. 41. It is interesting to note here that even today the atom can be regarded as being nothing more than this. It has no physical form. It cannot be seen or touched, but is conceived by the intellect and its existence is proved by its effects and traces.

47 *Laṅk*. p. 54, v. 128 : *aṇuśo bhajyamānaṃ hi naiva rūpaṃ vikalpayet, cittamātraṃ vyavasthānaṃ kudṛṣṭyā na prasīdati*.

48 ibid. p. 270 : *lokaṃ vijñaptimātraṃ* (Sagāthakam 44); 274 : *vijñaptimātraṃ tribhavam* (Sagāthakam 77) ; *Viṃś*. p. 3.

49 *Triṃś*. p. 15.

50 *nāmā bhīyo na vijjati* (*S*. I, p. 39).

51 *sabbe dhammā paññattipathā* (*Dhs*. pp. 226 & 1308).

52 *cittena nīyati loko* (*S*. I, p. 39) ; *cittena kho bhikkhu loko nīyati* (*A*. II, p. 177).

53 *Sandhinirmocana*, pp. 73, 147, 198, 255.

54 *Abhsy*. p. 87.

liberation through the cultivation of detachment (*vairāgyabhāvanā*), depending on the canon of the disciples (*Śrāvakapiṭaka*), following major and minor rules through the cultivation of energy (*vīryabhāvanā*), gradually puts an end to suffering. A *pratyekabuddhayānika* (one who takes the vehicle of individual Buddhas) is a person who living according to the law of the individual Buddhas, by nature having medium faculties (*madhyendriya*), bent on his own liberation through the cultivation of detachment, having the intention of attaining enlightenment exclusively through his own mental culture, depending on the *Śrāvakapiṭaka*, practising major and minor qualities, born at a time when there is no Buddha in the world, gradually puts an end to suffering. A *mahāyānika* (one who takes the great vehicle) is a person who, living according to the law of the bodhisattvas by nature having sharp faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*), bent on the liberation of all beings, not having the intention to be fixed in Nirvāṇa or Saṃsāra[55], depending on the canon of the bodhisattvas (*Bodhisattvapiṭaka*), matures other beings (*sattvān paripācayati*), cultivates the pure Buddha-domain (*buddhabhūmi*), receives predictions (*vyākaraṇa*) from other Buddhas, and finally realises perfect and complete enlightenment (*samyaksambodhi*).

From this we may see that anyone who aspires to become a Buddha is a follower of Mahāyāna, though he may belong to a Buddhist country or community popularly and traditionally regarded as the Theravāda or the Hīnayāna. Similarly, a person who tries to attain Nirvāṇa as an arahant is a śrāvakayānika, though he may belong to a country or a community belonging to the Mahāyāna.

A Buddha, a pratyekabuddha and a śrāvaka (disciple) are equal and alike with regard to their purification or their deliverance from the obstructions of defilements (*kleśāvaraṇaviśuddhi*). This also is called *vimuktikāya* and in it there is no difference between them. But only a Buddha achieves the purification or deliverance from obstruction to the knowable, i.e., obstructions to knowledge (*jñeyāvaraṇaviśuddhi*), not the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas. This also is called *dharmakāya*, and in it the Buddha distinguishes himself from the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas. It is this second purification or perfection that produces the omniscience (*sarvajñatva*), the perfect enlightenment of the Buddha.[56]

A bodhisattva is different and distinguished from a śrāvaka and a pratyekabuddha in four ways. 1. A bodhisattva possesses sharp faculties (*śraddhā, vīrya, etc.: tīkṣṇendriya*); a pratyekabuddha has medium faculties (*madhyendriya*), while a śrāvaka possesses feeble faculties (*mṛdvendriya*). 2. A śrāvaka or a pratyekabuddha is devoted to his own good (*ātmahita*) whereas a bodhisattva is devoted to his own good and "to the good of others, to the good of the many, to the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, to the welfare, to the good, to the happiness of gods and men". 3. A śrāvaka or a pratyekabuddha is versed in *skandha* (aggregates, *rūpa, vedanā, etc.*), *dhātu* (elements), *āyatana* (spheres), *pratītyasamutpāda* (conditioned genesis), *sthānāsthāna* (possibilities and impossibilities) and *satya* (truths); but a bodhisattva, in addition to these things, is versed in all other forms of knowledge. 4. A śrāvaka obtains as fruit (*phala*) *śrāvakabodhi*, a pratyekabuddha a *pratyekabodhi*, but a bodhisattva obtains as fruit, supreme and perfect enlightenment (*anuttaraṃ samyaksambodhiphalam*).[57]

Further, a śrāvaka abandons the entire Path and attains Nirvāṇa without residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu*), but not a bodhisattva. Hence, bodhisattvas are called "those whose wholesome roots are inexhaustible" (*akṣayakuśalamūla*) and "whose virtues are inexhaustible" (*akṣayaguṇa*). A bodhisattva realises the truth and cultivates the path which counteracts or destroys the obstacles to the knowable (*jñeyāvaraṇapratipakṣamārga*) through the path of mental culture (*bhāvanāmārga*) in the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*), but he does not cultivate the path which counteracts or destroys the obstacles of defilements (*kleśāvaraṇapratipakṣamārga*). However, when he attains

55 He does not like to be fixed in Nirvāṇa because of his great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) for all beings, and is not fixed in saṃsāra because of his great wisdom (*mahāprajñā*).

56 *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 3; *Sandhinirmocana*, pp. 149, 257; *Triṃś.* p. 15; *Siddhi*, p. 566.

It is interesting to note here that *S.* III p. 66 also says that the Tathāgata and a *paññāvimutta bhikkhu* (a bhikkhu liberated through wisdom) are equal with regard to their *vimutti* (liberation), but the Tathāgata is different and distinguished from the *paññāvimutta bhikkhu* in that he (Tathāgata) discovers and shows the Path (*magga*) that was not known before.

57 *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 3.

enlightenment (*bodhi*) he abandons both the obstacles of defilements and the obstacles to the knowable and becomes an arhat, a Tathāgata.[58]

Some of the bodhisattva doctrines found in the Yogācāra system, such as the ten stages of a bodhisattva (*daśabhūmi*), which are: 1. *muditā* (joyous), 2. *vimalā* (immaculate), 3. *prabhākarī* (clarifying), 4. *arciṣmatī* (radiant), 5. *durjayā* (hard to win), 6. *abhimukhī* (facing direct), 7. *dūraṅgamā* (far reaching), 8. *acalā* (immovable), 9. *sādhumatī* (good comprehension) and 10. *dharmameghā* (rain of Dharma), are unknown to the Theravāda.

A bodhisattva has to fulfil six *pāramitās* (perfections): 1. *dāna* (charity), 2. *śīla* (morality), 3. *kṣānti* (patience, forbearance, tolerance), 4. *vīrya* (energy, effort), 5. *dhyāna* (concentration) and 6. *prajñā* (wisdom). When it concerns the *abhisamayapāramitācaryā* of a bodhisattva, four more *pāramitās* are added — *upāyakauśalya* (ability in skilful means), *praṇidhāna* (determination), *bala* (power) and *jñāna* (intelligence).[59]

The Personality of the Buddhas. The theory concerning the personality of the Buddhas is highly developed in the Yogācāra system.[60] The Buddhas have three different bodies (*kāya*):

1. *Dharmakāya* (truth-body) which is the *svabhāvakāya* (essence-body).

2. *Sambhogakāya* (enjoyment-body) which depends upon the *dharmakāya* and which enjoys the *Mahāyānadharma* as well as the extremely pure domains and the assemblies of the Buddhas. It is through this body that a Buddha enjoys himself and leads bodhisattvas to maturation (*paripācana*). This is a material body though extremely subtle and mystic.

3. *Nirmāṇakāya* (visible or apparition or transformation or manifestation-body) also depends on the *dharmakāya*. This is the physical body of the Buddha who was born among men, renounced his family, went through various religious practices and meditation, attained enlightenment under the bodhi tree, preached the Dharma and attained parinirvāṇa. This is all appearance or manifestation based on the *dharmakāya*. It is with the help of this body that the Buddha leads śrāvakas (disciples) to maturation.[61]

Of these three bodies of the Buddha, the *dharmakāya* is the real Tathāgata, the essential body. This state of the Buddha is called *Tathatā*[62] "Truth-ness" (or 'Thus-ness'). The purest *Tathatā* is the absolute absence of Self, and that is the "self" of the Buddhas in the sense that it is their own nature.[63] *Tathatā* is the sameness or equality of all dharmas;[64] hence *Buddhatva* (Buddhahood) is identical with all dharmas as it (*Buddhatva*) is inseparable from *Tathatā*.[65] The *Tathatā* which is the *Buddhatva* is beyond duality. So it cannot be called "existence" (*bhāva*) or "non-existence" (*abhāva*).[66] It cannot be called "existence" because it is characterised by the non-existence of the individuality and of the dharmas (*pudgaladharma-abhāvalakṣaṇatvāt*), and it should not be called "non-existence" because there is the characteristic of Tathatā (*tathatālakṣaṇabhāvāt*). That is why the Buddha did not

58 *Abhsy.* p. 101.

59 *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, pp. 58, 371.

According to the Theravāda tradition there are always ten *pāramitās*: 1. *dāna*, 2. *sīla*, 3. *nekkhamma*, 4. *paññā*, 5. *viriya*, 6. *khanti*, 7. *sacca*, 8. *adhiṭṭhāna*, 9. *mettā* and 10. *upekkhā*.

60 For details see: *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, *La Somme du Grand Véhicule*, ch. x (trad. Lamotte, Louvain, 1938); *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, ix, 60–66; *The Three Bodies of the Buddha* by La Vallée Poussin in *JRAS*. Oct. 1906.

61 Of these three bodies of the Buddha, only the *dharmakāya* (=*dhammakāya*) is specifically mentioned in the Pali canon: *D.* III, p. 84. The Tathāgata is identical with Dhamma: "Vakkali, he who sees the Dhamma sees me, he who sees me sees the Dhamma" *yo kho Vakkali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati, yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati*: *S.* III, p. 120.

62 *Tathatā buddhatā matā*. *Sūtrāl.* ix, 22.

63 ibid. ix, 23: *agraṃ nairātmyaṃ viśuddhā tathatā, sā ca buddhānām ātmā svabhāvārthena.*

64 ibid. xviii, 37: *sarvadharmasamatāṃ tathatām.*

65 ibid. ix, 4–5.

66 This conception of non-duality—neither existence nor non-existence—is unfamiliar to Western thought which is still under the influence of the tradition of the last 2 or 3 centuries' science and philosophy, but it is now gradually being understood due to recent scientific discoveries, particularly in the field of atomic science. In this connection, it is interesting to note here a statement by Robert Oppenheimer, the well-known scientist: "If we ask, for instance, whether the position of the electron remains the same, we must say 'no'; if we ask whether the electron's position changes with time, we must say 'no'; if we ask whether the electron is at rest, we must say 'no'; if we ask whether it is in motion, we must say 'no'. The Buddha has given such answers when interrogated as to the conditions of man's self after death but they are not familiar answers from the tradition of the 17th and 18th century science." Here Oppenheimer's referenc to 'man's self after death' is of course not correct. The Buddha has given such answers to the question whether the Buddha (or an arahant) after death exists or not.

answer the question whether the Tathāgata after his death exists or not.[67] When the heat of an iron disappears, that state cannot be called "existence", because it is characterised by the non-existence of heat; but it cannot be called "non-existence" either, because it has the characteristic of cooling (*śānti*).[68]

The *Dharmakāya, Tathatā* or *Nairātmya*, which is the truth, is the essence of the Tathāgata. It is the same for all Buddhas. Hence, in the pure realm (*anāśravadhātu*) one cannot speak of unity or plurality of Buddhas. There is no unity because the Buddhas previously had separate physical bodies, and there is no plurality because in their real essence they have no physical body.[69] Just as space is universal, so is *Buddhatā* (Buddhahood) universal. Just as space is universal in all objects, so is *Buddhatā* universal in all beings. But when the water-vessel is broken, the image of the moon is not reflected therein. Similarly, the image of the Buddha is not reflected in perverted beings.[70] *Tathatā* is common to all beings without any discrimination, and *Tathatā* is Tathāgata. Hence, all beings are called *Tathāgatagarbha*, matrices of the Tathāgata.[71]

Asaṅga rejects as false the theory of *Ādibuddha* (original or first Buddha) which was current among some Mahāyānists. He says that without *sambhāra* (equipment for enlightenment) a *Buddhatva* is impossible, and *sambhāra* is impossible without a Buddha. Hence there cannot be an Ādibuddha.[72]

Falling away of Arhats. Asaṅga holds that certain types of arhats may fall away (*parihāni*) from their state of arhatship.[73] The Sarvāstivāda also maintains this theory.[74] But the Theravāda rejects it as false.[75] Nevertheless, there is an interesting case in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*[76] which suggests something like the falling away of an arahat; Godhika thera attains *sāmādhika-cetovimutti* (a mystic state) six times and falls away from it each time. But when he attained it for the seventh time, he committed suicide lest he should fall away from it. The Buddha declared that he was *parinibbuto.* Now, the term *parinibbuto* is used with reference to the death of a Buddha or an arahant. So Godhika died an arahant. But Godhika attained all seven times the same *sāmādhika-cetovimutti.* The text gives no indication of the slightest difference between the seventh and the previous six attainments. Every time the words *sāmādhika-cetovimutti* are used. If he could be considered an arhant when he attained *sāmādhika cetovimutti* on the seventh occasion, then he should also be considered an arahant when he was in it on the earlier six occasions, although he fell away from it later.

Antarābhava. Asaṅga accepts the *antarābhava* (intermediate existence), i.e., an existence between the death and the rebirth of a being.[77] The *antarābhava* is for beings who are going to be born in the world of sense-pleasures (*kāmadhātu*) or in the world of form (*rūpadhātu*) and for those who are departing from the world of no-form (*ārūpyadhātu*). A being in the *antarābhava* is also called *gandharva* who is mind-made (*manomaya*). He lives for seven days the most, and may depart even earlier, and then he is reborn in another existence. The Sarvāstivāda also accepts the *antarābhava.*[78] But the Theravāda rejects it as false.[79]

Anātma (no-self) and śūnya (void). There are some who maintain that Asaṅga seems to have postulated a sort of a transcendental self (*ātman*). This opinion is absolutely misguided. Like all other great Buddhist masters, Asaṅga, too, definitely and clearly in unequivocal terms denies the existence of an *ātman* and treats the doctrine of *anātma* (no-self) in its highest sense. In the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*[80] he examines the *skandha* (aggregates), *dhātu* (elements) and *āyatana* (spheres) in about fifty-nine ways from all points and angles such as mundane and supramundane, time and space, good and bad and neuter, relative and absolute etc., and proves that there is no *ātman.* He says that an individual (*pudgala*) exists as designation or convention (*prajñapti*), but not as substance

67 *Sūtrāl*, ix, 24. According to *MA.* III, p. 141, the term *tathāgata* in the question: *hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā* . . . . means *satto* 'a being', but this explanation is questionable. Asaṅga's opinion that it refers to the Buddha is much more acceptable.

68 *Sūtrāl.* ix, 25.

69 ibid. ix, 26.

70 ibid. ix, 15, 16.

71 ibid. ix, 37.

72 ibid. ix, 77

73 *Abhsy.* p. 91.

74 *Abhk.* vi, p. 253 ff.

75 *Kathāvatthu*, i, pp. 69–93.

76 *S.* I, pp. 120–2.

77 *Abhsy.* p. 42.

78 *Abhk.* iii, pp. 36 ff.

79 *Kathāvatthu*, ii, pp. 361 ff.

80 pp. 16–31.

(*dravya*).[81] In his great work *Yogācārabhūmi*, in the section on *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Asaṅga defines *pudgalanairātmya* (no-selfness of the individual) and *dharmanairātmya* (no-selfness of the *dharmas*) and says that there is no self either within or without:

"Again, a bodhisattva understands in reality (*yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti*) the twofold no-selfness (*dvividhaṃ nairātmyam*) of all things conditioned and unconditioned (*saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtānāṃ sarvadharmāṇām*), namely, the no-selfness of the individual (*pudgalanairātmya*) and the no-selfness of the dharmas (*dharmanairātmya*). There, the *pudgalanairātmya* is this: that neither these existing things (*vidyamānā dharmāḥ*) are individuals nor does there exist another individual (*pudgala*) free from (apart from) these existing things. There, the *dharmanairātmya* is this: that in all things expressible (*sarveṣu abhilāpyeṣu vastuṣu*) there exists no dharma possessing the nature of (corresponding to) all that expression (all that is expressed). Thus, a bodhisattva understands in reality that all dharmas are without self (*sarvadharmā anātmānaḥ*)."[82]

The famous words *niḥsvabhāvāḥ sarvadharmāḥ* (all dharmas or things are devoid of their own nature) in the *Vaipulya* also signify the same *dharmanairātmya*. Commenting on these words, Asaṅga says that all dharmas are devoid of their own nature because of their non-existence in themselves (*svayaṃ abhāvatā*), because of the non-existence of their own self (*svenātmanābhāvatā*), because of the instability in their existence (*sve bhāve'navasthitā*).[83]

The opinion expressed in some quarters that while the Mahāyāna teaches both the *pudgalanairātmya* and the *dharmanairātmya*, the Theravāda teaches only the *pudgalanairātmya* but not the *dharmanairātmya*, is unfounded. Exactly like the Mahāyāna, the Theravāda teaches *dharmanairātmya* too. The well-known words *sabbe dhammā anattā* (all dharmas are without self) found in many places in the Pali canon[84] clearly signify *dharmanairātmya* in unequivocal terms.[85] Quoting these words, Asaṅga himself says: *sarve dharmā anātmānaḥ paramārthena śūnyatā* "all dharmas are without self, this is *śūnyatā* (void) in the ultimate sense."[86]

Here again, the doctrine of *śūnyatā* should not be considered as only Mahāyānist. The Theravāda, too, teaches it in the same way. The Buddha tells Mogharāja to see the world as void (*suñña*=*śūnya*) by removing the idea of self.[87] Sāriputta says that a virtuous monk should consider the five aggregates as *suñña* (void) without self (*anatta*).[88] Ānanda asks the Buddha: "Sir, they say the world is *suñña*, the world is *suñña* (*śūnya*, void); but, Sir, in what respect is the world called *suñña*?" The Buddha answers, "Ānanda, as it is void of self or anything pertaining to self, so the world is called *suñña*."[89] Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* says that *nāma-rūpa* (name-form) is *suñña*.[90]

The terms *nairātmya* or *anātma*, *dharmaniḥsvabhāva*, *śūnyatā*, *tathatā* express the same truth in different ways. This doctrine should not be considered as negative. It is the truth, and the truth is never negative (though there is a popular expression as 'negative truth'). As Asaṅga very aptly says: "There is the fact of no-self" (*nairātmyāstitā*).[91]

Pratītyasamutpāda. Asaṅga's treatment of the *pratītyasamutpāda* (conditioned genesis or dependent arising) is masterly.[92] It has three main characteristics: 1. it arises through non-directing conditions, i.e., without an agent, mover or creator (*nirīhapratyaya*); 2. it arises through impermanent conditions (*anityapratyaya*) and 3. it arises through efficient conditions (*samarthapratyaya*). These are the characteristics of the conditions of existence and continuity.

The *pratītyasamutpāda* reveals eleven facts (*artha*): 1. that there is no creator (*niḥkartṛkārtha*), 2. that there is causality, cause and effect (*sahetukārtha*), 3. that there is no being, no individual (*niḥsattvārtha*), 4. that everything is relative and interdependent (*paratantrārtha*), 5. that there is no mover behind the movement (*nirīhakārtha*), 6. that everything is impermanent

81 *Sūtrāl.* xviii, 92: *prajñaptyastitayā vācyaḥ pudgalo dravyato na tu.*

82 *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 280.

83 *Abhsy.* p. 84.

84 e.g., *Dhp.* xx, 7 (verse 279); *M.* I, p. 228; *S.* II, pp. 132, 133; IV, p. 401 etc.

85 For a detailed discussion on this point, see ch. vi, *What the Buddha Taught* by Walpola Rahula (Gordon Fraser Gallery, Bedford, England, 1959 or Grove Press, New York, 1962).

86 *Sūtrāl.* xviii, 101.

87 *Sn. v.* 1119: *suññato lokaṃ avekkhassu, Mogharāja sadā sato, attānudiṭṭiṃ ūhacca.*

88 *S.* III, p. 167.

89 *S.* IV, p. 54: *suñño loko suñño lokoti bhante vuccati, kittāvatā nu kho bhante suñño lokoti vuccati? Yasmā kho Ānanda suññaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā, tasmā suñño lokoti vuccati.*

90 *Vism.* pp. 509–10

91 *Abhsy.* p. 31.

92 ibid. pp. 26–8.

(*anityārtha*), 7. that it is momentary (*kṣaṇikārtha*), 8. but that there is the unbroken flux of cause and effect (*hetuphalaprabhandhānupaccheda*), 9. that there is conformity of cause and effect (*anurūpahetuphalārtha*), 10. that causes and effects are varied and manifold (*vicitrahetuphalārtha*), and 11. that there is regularity of cause and effect (*pratiniyatahetuphalārtha*).

The doctrine of *pratītyasamutpāda* is extremely deep and subtle: although it is momentary (*kṣaṇika*), yet there is also duration and stability (*sthiti*); although its conditions are without an agent or a mover behind them (*nirīhakapratyaya*), yet they are efficient in themselves (*samarthapratyaya*); it admits no being (*niḥsattva*) in reality, yet one may find a being in the conventional sense; it admits no doer, no creator (*niṣkartṛka*), yet the results of actions are not annulled (*karmaphalāvipranāśa*). It arises not from itself, nor from another, nor from both; it is produced not by its action, nor by another's action, nor without causality. Hence, the *pratītyasamutpāda* is profound.

Mārgasatya. According to the Theravāda texts, the fourth Noble Truth is always defined as the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga*). But Asaṅga's treatment of the Path (*mārgasatya*) is quite different, and the Noble Eightfold Path is not given its traditional position. According to Asaṅga, the Path (*mārga*) consists of five categories:

1. *Sambhāramārga* (path of preparation or equipment). This consists of the moral practices (*śīla*), the control of the senses (*indriyesu guptadvāra*), meditation (*śamathavipaśyanā*), etc., practised by the ordinary man (*pṛthagjana*, worldling).

2. *Prayogamārga* (path of application). This leads to the acquisition (through the previous path) of the wholesome roots (*kuśalamūla*) conducing to penetration (*nirvedhabhāgīya*) into the truths to some extent at different degrees.

3. *Darśanamārga* (path of insight). This leads to insight into the truths. Such expressions as *virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dharmacakṣur udapādi* (Pali: *virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkuṃ udapādi*), *dṛṣṭadharmā prāptadharmā viditadharmā paryavagāḍhadharmā* . . . (Pali: *diṭṭhadhammo pattadhammo viditadhammo pariyogāḷhadhammo* . . .) found in the sūtras[93] refer to this path.

4. *Bhāvanāmārga* (path of mental culture or development). This consists of, among others, the 37 *bodhipakṣadharmas* (37 dharmas conducive to enlightenment). As is well-known, the 37 *bodhipakṣadharmas* are composed of 4 *smṛtyupasthānas* (Pali: *satipaṭṭhāna*), 4 *samyakpradhānas*, 4 *ṛddhipādas*, 5 *indriyas* (*śraddhā*, *vīrya*, etc.), 5 *balas* (*śraddhā*, *vīrya*, etc.), 7 *bodhyaṅgas* (Pali: *bojjhaṅga*) and the Noble Eightfold Path. In the *bhāvanāmārga* these are considered from different aspects under different names. Thus, 4 *smṛtyupasthānas* are called the path of examining objects (*vastuparīkṣāmārga*); 4 *samyakpradhānas*, the path of strenuous exertion (*vyāvasāyikamārga*); the 4 *ṛddhipādas*, the path of preparation for concentration (*samādhiparikarmamārga*); the 5 *indriyas*, the path of application for perfect realisation (*abhisamayaprāyogikamārga*); the 5 *balas*, the path of adhering to the perfect realisation (*abhisamayaśliṣṭamārga*); the 7 *bodhyaṅgas*, the path of perfect realisation (*abhisamayamārga*); and the Noble Eightfold Path is called the path leading to purity and emancipation (*viśuddhinairyānikamārga*). So, we may see that the Noble Eightfold Path is only one aspect of the *mārgasatya*.

5. *Niṣṭhāmārga* (path of culmination). This consists of *vajropamasamādhi* (diamond-like *samādhi*) attained by a person who has gone through the *bhāvanāmārga*. This *samādhi* is called *vajropama* because it destroys all defilements (*kleśa*) even as a diamond cuts all other gems.[94]

Again, Asaṅga's definition of *madhyamā pratipadā* (Pali: *majjhimā paṭipadā*), "Middle Path", is different from that of the Theravāda tradition. According to the Theravāda, the *majjhimā paṭipadā* is the Noble Eightfold Path, and it is called the Middle Path because it avoids the two extremes (*ubho ante*), namely, self-indulgence (*kāmasukhallikānuyoga*) and self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*). But, according to the Yogācāra system, the two extremes (*antadvaya*) are "duality", i.e., *bhāva* and *abhāva*, "existence" and "non-existence" or "affirmation" and "negation". The *madhyamā pratipadā* "Middle Path" avoids *dvaya*, duality, and hence it is called *advaya* "non-duality". One extreme, *bhāva*, is to affirm, according to popular conventions and designations, the existence of matter, sensations (*rūpa, vedanā*) etc., visible forms, sounds etc., eye, ear etc., good (*kuśala*) and bad (*akuśala*), birth and death, past, present and future, conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) even including Nirvāṇa. The other extreme, *abhāva*, is to negate the existence of these things. *Advaya*, non-duality

93 e.g., *S.* IV, p. 47 V, p. 423; *A.* IV, pp. 186, 210, etc.

94 *Śrāvakabhūmi*, p. 134. For details on the *mārgasatya*, see *Abhsy*. pp. 65–77.

is to avoid these two extremes (*antadvayavivarjita*). That is *madhyamā pratipadā*, the Middle Path. It is neither affirmation nor negation. [95]

The above explanation may be supported by some Pali suttas. [96] The Buddha says that people are attached to duality (*dvayanissita*), i.e., to affirmation (*atthitaṃ*) and to negation (*natthitaṃ*). To say that everything exists is one extreme (*sabbaṃ atthīti . . . ayaṃ eko anto*) ; to say that nothing exists is the second extreme (*sabbaṃ natthīti . . . ayaṃ dutiyo anto*). The Tathāgata teaches the Dhamma in the middle without falling into these two extremes (*ete . . . ubho ante anupagamma majjhimena Tathāgato dhammaṃ deseti*). This indicates that "middle" (*madhya* or *majjha*) is "non-duality" (*advaya*).

The Mahāyāna, though generally considered as a later development, is, in some points, much closer to the original Pali suttas than the Theravāda Abhidhamma texts and commentaries. For instance, Asaṅga's treatment of *dhyāna* is much more in keeping with the original Pali suttas than that of the Pali Abhidhamma texts. It is well-known that in the Theravāda Abhidhamma texts and commentaries five *rūpāvacara-jhānas* (*dhyānas* in the Realm of Form) are mentioned. But in the Pali *Nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka* we come across only four *rūpāvacara-jhānas*. It is evident that the list of five *jhānas* is a later development in the Theravāda Abhidhamma. But Asaṅga, in keeping with the original sūtras, gives only four *rūpāvacara-dhyānas*. Furthermore, his analysis of the *dhyānāṅga* (factors of *dhyāna*), quite different from the Theravāda tradition, is much more faithful to the stereotyped formulas of the four dhyānas found in the original suttas. [97]

Logic. Asaṅga may also be considered as a pioneer in Buddhist logic which Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti systematised, developed and perfected later. The section on *vāda* (art of debate), included in his *Abhidharmasamuccaya*[98], seems to be an early attempt at Buddhist logic.

He treats the subject under seven heads: 1. debate or discussion (*vāda*), 2. assembly of discussion (*vādādhikaraṇa*), 3. topics of discussion (*vādādhiṣṭhāna : sādhya*, thing to be proved, *sādhana*, proof), 4. ornaments of discussion (*vādālaṅkāra* : proficiency in knowledge, accomplishment in speech, etc.), 5. defeat in discussion (*vādanigraha*), 6. expediency in discussion (*vādaniḥsaraṇa*) and 7. very useful qualities in discussion (*vāde bahukārā dharmāḥ* : wide knowledge, self-confidence, quick wit, etc.). Finally, quoting a passage from the *Mahāyānābhidharmasūtra* which says that a bodhisattva should not debate with others for twelve reasons, Asaṅga advises that one should engage in discussion only to gain knowledge for one's own edification, but not to debate with others for debate's sake.

W. R.

95 *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 39.

96 e.g., *S.* II, p. 17 ; III, p. 135.

97 For a detailed discussion on this subject see *A Comparative Study of Dhyānas according to Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāyāna* by Walpola Rahula in the *Maha Bodhi Journal*, Calcutta, 1962.

98 *Abhsy*. pp. 104–6.

ASAṄGA (2), name of a yakṣa, mentioned in *Mahāmāyūrī* (43) as dwelling in Bharukacchaka (*BHS*. s.v.).

ASAṄGABALADHĀRIN, name of a former Buddha, occurring in a list of Buddhas in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (257.20).

ASAṄGABALAVĪRYAMATI, a bodhisattva, the leader of the circle of all attendant bodhisattvas together with whom the Tathāgata Apratihataguṇakīrtivimokṣaprabharāja in the zenith, in the world-region Lakṣaṇaruciravairocanā, comes within the range of the vision of Muktaka, the guild-leader (*śreṣṭhin*), who strives for and accomplishes the Tathāgata-salvation (*Tathāgata-vimokṣa*) named Asaṅgavyūha (*Gvyū*. 81.26 f.).

T. R.

ASAṄGABUDDHI, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of about five thousand bodhisattvas residing in Śrāvastī along with the Bhagavāt in the pinnacled dwelling of great splendour in Jetavana, the hermitage donated by Anāthapiṇḍada (*Gvyū*. 4.13).

ASAṄGACITTA, a bodhisattva at the head of the circle of all attendant bodhisattvas together with whom the Tathāgata Merupradīparāja in the western quarter, in the world-region Sarvagandhaprabhāsavatī, comes within the range of the vision of Muktaka, the guild-leader (*śreṣṭhin*), who strives



ASAṄGA (Japanese: **Muchaku**): a wooden sculpture by Unkei, placed in the northern octagonal hall Hoku-en-dō of the Kofuku temple, Nara, Japan.

PLATE X



(reproduced from Gandhāra Art in Pakistan by Islay Lyons, New York, 1957)

ASCETIC : The Buddha visited by brāhman ascetics, as represented in a relief from Gandhāra.

for and accomplishes the Tathāgata-salvation (*Tathāgata-vimokṣa*) named Asaṅga-vyūha (*Gvyū* 81.6 f.).

T. R.

ASAṄGADHĀRAṆĪ, a samādhi or a concentration of both mind and body, one of the eighty qualities of a bodhisattva enumerated in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB*. XIII, p. 13).

ASAṄGADHVAJA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of about five thousand bodhisattvas residing in Śrāvastī along with the Bhagavat in the pinnacled dwelling of great splendour in Jetavana, the hermitage donated by Anāthapiṇḍada (*Gvyū*. 2.18).

ASAṄGA-JÑĀNAKETUDHVAJA, name of a former Buddha (*Gvyū*. 14.24).

ASAṄGAKĀYARAŚMITEJOMATI, a bodhisattva at the head of the circle of all attendant bodhisattvas together with whom the Tathāgata Apramāṇaguṇasāgaraprabha in the north-western quarter in the world-region Gandhālaṅkāraruciraśubhagarbhā, comes within the range of the vision of Mutaka, the guild-leader (*śreṣṭhin*), who strives for and accomplishes the Tathāgata-salvation (*Tathāgata-vimokṣa*) named Asaṅgavyūha (*Gvyū*. 81.20 f.).

T. R.

ASAṄGAMATI, a Buddha, mentioned among those of an unbroken line of *jinas* who, being her preceptors, were propitiated by the night-goddess Samantasattvatrāṇojaḥśrī while striving to gain the bodhisattva-salvation (*bodhisattva-vimokṣa*) named *sarvalokābhimukhajagadvinayanidarśana* (*Gvyū*. 28[illegible].21).

ASAṄGAMATICANDRA, name of a former Buddha (*Gvyū*. 256.8).

ASAṄGAMUKHA, a method of bodhisattva-salvation (*vimokṣa*), referred to in *Gvyū*. (69, 22 ff.). In Mahāyāna, various names are given to these methods of salvation but how they are achieved is not specifically described in the texts. In this compound, *asaṅga* means non-attachment and *mukha* means 'door', 'entrance'. Thus, the term means 'salvation achieved through non-attachment'.

In *Gvyū*. (pp. 69–72), a bhikṣu, named Supratiṣṭhita, claims to have achieved salvation by this method. Without describing the actual method of achieving this salvation, the bhikṣu says to a devotee named Sudhana that by contemplation, practice, remembrance, analysis, etc., of this form of *vimokṣa* he has attained the light of intuition (*jñānāloka*) which is designated as *asaṅgakoṭi*, which in turn means the 'acme of non-attachment'. This term is of very great significance because it shows the all-pervading characteristic of this form of salvation which is the absence of attachment to anything. This is why the mental state of a person who is released by this method is called *asaṅgakoṭi*, the highest possible state of non-attachment. Next, in order to substantiate his statement that he has reached the acme of desirelessness, he enumerates the various aspects in which he has given up every form of attachment. He says that once the state of mental insight, called *asaṅgakoṭi*, is attained, the individual is in the state of *bodhisattva-vimokṣa*. Once he is in that condition he is totally free from any form of attachment. In the enumeration that follows the claim is made that he has no desire for anything, whether good or bad. One very significant thing about this enumeration is that the list of things for which he says that he has no liking does not include anything material. The list consists only of trances (*samādhi*) and similar psychological states. The first in the list is called *sarvasattvacittacaritāvabhāsa*. An examination of the semantics of the term shows that it means he has no attachment for the various mental manifestations (*dhyāna*). From what follows it is obvious that the development of the mind (*bhāvanā*) in stages, in the form of *dhyānas*, is not necessary for him as he has gone beyond all that. He has achieved emancipation and, therefore, he has no need for them. As the second item in the list he says that he has no desire for the knowledge that enables one to see the birth and the passing away of beings (*cutyupapattiparijñā*). The acquisition of this knowledge is an essential stage in the progress towards final release. Whenever the Buddha speaks of the way in which he attained enlightenment, he says that he obtained this knowledge in the second watch of the night. In the same way the bhikṣu says that he has no need of the other forms of knowledge that are obtained just before enlightenment. The knowledge about all the Vedic lore pertaining to sacrificial rites, *yantras* and *mantras*, etc., are of no use to him. Every form of doctrine that is intended to dispel the doubts of people and the analytic knowledge about the senses, all the

Vinaya rules, are of no value to him. He has no consciousness of the time element, for whether it is day or night, morning or evening, it does not matter to him. Next, he refers to the Mahāyāna concept of Buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*) and says that he has no desire to meditate on these Buddhas, which, according to Mahāyāna, is indispensable for one who aspires to be an arhat.

What the bhikṣu Supratiṣṭhita wanted to say by this account was that he was a person who had discarded every form of desire and as such was an arhat. The term arhat is not used, as he claims to have achieved emancipation by a Mahāyāna method (*asaṅgamukha*). Next he gives a list of miraculous deeds he performs by his psychic powers, such as walking, standing and sitting in the air, disappearing and reappearing suddenly, issuing smoke and fire from his mouth, making himself appear like many, going through walls, etc. Then he speaks of the various world-systems and says that he goes to them by his psychic powers. It is said that in these thousands of other world systems there are innumerable Buddhas preaching and he goes to them and worships them.

Even in those outer worlds those beings who come into contact with him are, he says, brought under control and disciplined by him. Then he establishes those beings also in the *asaṅga-mukha-bodhisattva-vimokṣa*. But he does not explain the way in which he does this. He gives a list of qualities of such bodhisattvas and says that even he cannot describe or know all their virtues. He requests his patient listener Sudhana to go to a person named Megha in Vajrapura and to find out from him how to discipline oneself as a bodhisattva. Then Sudhana pays obeisance to Supratiṣṭhita and goes away.

The *asaṅgamukha* method is not described clearly. It is but one of the many names given in Mahāyāna to the attainment of Nirvāṇa. Two points are worthy of note. The first is the total absence of attachment to anything (this characterises him who is released by this method) and this is the true characteristic of any arhat. Secondly, when final release is obtained, the doctrine which helped the person to achieve Nirvāṇa is of no use to him. This is why even the various dhyānas are discarded as useless for him. Here, one is reminded of the Buddha's words in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, where the Buddha asks his disciples to use his teaching only as the means of attaining Nirvāṇa and, once the desired result is achieved, to discard it like throwing away a raft after crossing a stream.

A. G. S. K.

ASAṄGAMUKHAPRAVEŚA, name of a *bodhisattva-dhāraṇī* occurring in a list of such dhāraṇīs in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, 12.

ASAṄGANETRA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of about five thousand bodhisattvas residing in Śrāvastī along with the Bhagavat in the pinnacled dwelling of great splendour in Jetavana, the hermitage donated by Anāthapiṇḍada (*Gvyū*. 3.1).

ASAṄGAŚRĪ(GARBHA)RĀJA, name of a bodhisattva (*Gvyū*. 11.5).

ASAṄGASVARA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of names of about five thousand bodhisattvas residing in Śrāvastī along with the Bhagavat in the pinnacled dwelling of great splendour in Jetavana, the hermitage donated by Anāthapiṇḍada (*Gvyū* 4.8).

ASAṄGAVYŪHA, a method of Tathāgata-salvation referred to in *Gaṇḍavyūha* (80. 23; 83. 12). This is one of the many fanciful names given to various forms of salvation in the Mahāyāna. In this particular case a *śreṣṭhī* (banker) named Muktaka follows this method of salvation and, after rising from a certain *samādhi*, addresses a person named Sudhana and says that, as he invokes (*āhūyāmi*) and accomplishes (*niryūhāmi*) the *Tathāgata-vimokṣa* called *asaṅgavyūha*, a vast number of Buddhas and bodhisattvas come within his sight. Then he gives the names of the Buddhas and the world-systems (*lokadhātu*) in which they appear. He further says that neither do these Buddhas come to him nor does he go to them, but they just appear before him, because of the power of the *Tathāgata-vimokṣa* he is practising.

What is significant in this account is that it is very closely related to the concept of Buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*) in the Mahāyāna. It is taught in Mahāyāna that, when the disciple progresses spiritually by the practice of the *pāramitās* and the *bhūmis*, he comes to a stage wherein he becomes capable of seeing and talking to all the past Buddhas, who are countless in number (*paramāṇurajaḥsama*). This ability is regarded as a special privilege of such disciples.

A. G. S. K.

ASAṄGOTTARAJÑĀNIN, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas (*Gvyū.* 2. 14).

ASANĪ (1), name of a piśācī mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

ASANĪ (2), name of a rākṣasī mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

ASANI SUTTA, the sixth sutta of the first chapter of the *Lābhasakkāra Saṃyutta* (*S.* II, 229). The Buddha points out the danger of gains, favours and fame. To a learner (*sekha*) these are even more dangerous than the falling of a thunderbolt.

The commentary adds that, whereas a thunderbolt destroys only one life-span, gains, favours and fame could lead one to much suffering in the woeful states (*SA.* II, 207 f.).

L. R. G.

ĀSAṄKA JĀTAKA (*J.* III, 248-54), related by the Buddha at Jetavana. The incident that led to it is identical with that of the *Indriya Jātaka* (No. 423).

There was a young man of Sāvatthi who thought that it was impossible to lead a holy life while being a householder. He wanted to put an end to all suffering (*dukkha*). Therefore, he gave his possessions to his wife and children and received ordination from the Buddha. When he went round for alms with his teacher and instructor he did not get a chair either in the laymen's houses or in the refectory because he was a junior (*navaka*) and also because there were many other bhikkhus. Neither did he get sufficient food and what he received was stale and dry. He carried this food to his wife, who gave him food which was well prepared. The bhikkhu enjoyed it. One day, his wife, having decided to test his affection for her, said to him after he had taken his meals that she had been living in that house without a husband since he had left her and that she was going to another house in the country. The bhikkhu said that he could not live without her, and that he would revert to the lay life. He went back to his monastery and informed the other bhikkhus about his plan. When the Buddha heard the news he said that his wife had done him harm before, too. Once he had fallen from the four stages of mental absorption (*jhāna*) and became very miserable owing to her in one of his former births. It was through the Buddha that he had escaped from that misery and regained the power of meditation that he had earlier (*J.* III, 461 ff.). Then the Buddha related the story of the past.

When Brahmadatta was king of Bārāṇasī, the bodhisatta was born in a brāhman family and having studied at Takkasilā became an ascetic in the Himālayas. At that time, a being of great merit left Tāvatiṃsa and was born as a girl in a lotus in a pool near the bodhisatta's hermitage. The bodhisatta, seeing some peculiarity in the growth of this lotus, swam to it and opened the lotus. Having discovered a girl he brought her up as his daughter. One day, when Sakka came to attend on the bodhisatta he saw the girl, and having heard her story undertook to provide her with a dwelling place and to supply her with needs. She continued to attend on the bodhisatta.

The king of Bārāṇasī having heard of her great beauty, came to the forest and asked the bodhisatta for her hand. The bodhisatta who had named her Āsaṅkā, because she was found as a result of his suspicion, agreed to the king's proposal on condition that he would tell him her name. The king spent a whole year trying to guess her name, without success. When he was returning home in despair, the girl looked through a window and told him of the creeper *āsāvatī* for the fruits of which gods wait for one thousand years, and asked him to give another try. The king spent another year and failed again. When he was about to go back, the girl appeared again and raised hopes in the disappointed king by relating to him the story of a crane whose wishes were fulfilled by Sakka. The king, hearing the tale and being captivated by her beauty, did not want to go back without her. Thus, he waited for another year, after which he went to the bodhisatta and suggested a hundred names and asked him whether it could be anyone of those. When all the names were rejected, he saluted the bodhisatta and set out to go back. Then the girl reappeared and while conversing with him, her name was mentioned. When the girl told the king that the word had occurred in his talk, he returned to the bodhisatta and told it to him. Thereupon the bodhisatta gave Āsaṅkā in marriage to the king.

The former wife was Āsaṅkā, the discontented bhikkhu was the king and the ascetic was the Buddha.

I.K.

ASAṄKHĀRA-PARINIBBĀYĪ, one of the five classes of non-returners. See ANĀGĀMIN.

ASAṄKHĀRIKA CITTA or automatic consciousness is, according to the analysis of mind (*citta*) in the Abhidhamma philosophy, one of the classes of consciousness in the sensuous sphere (*kāmaloka* : *Abhs.* p. 1).

Consciousness which needs neither external force nor prior motivation (*pubba-payoga*) on the part of oneself in order to manifest itself in action is termed *asaṅkhārika* or spontaneous by the Ābhidhammikas. In this case the mind is said to be powerful (*vuddhippatto saṅkhāro assā'ti asaṅkhārikaṃ* : *Paramatthamahodadhi*—by Anomadassi—1914, p. 39) and does not sink or hesitate in manifesting itself in any form of behaviour. It is that form of consciousness which springs up automatically without prior (*pubba*) preparation (*upāya*), exertion or instigation (*payoga*). See SASAṄKHĀRIKA CITTA.

D. J. K.

ASAṄKHATA, that which is not produced from a combination of causes. There are two types of states to be known (*ime dve dhammā abhiññeyyā*) : the conditioned and the unconditioned (*saṅkhatā ca dhātu asaṅkhatā ca dhātu* : *D.* III, 274 ; *M.* III, 63). And of these two classes there is only one single state which is not subject to causation and conditioning and which for that reason is called the unconditioned (*paccayehi asaṅkhatattā*); it is Nibbāna. All other states are conditioned phenomena (*saṅkhata*), proceeding from causes, dependent on conditions and subject to cessation. The unconditioned (*asaṅkhata*) Nibbāna is, therefore, the only absolute, unrelated (*appaccaya* : *Dhs.* 193), uncaused (*na hetu* : loc cit.), without origin (*na uppāda*), without passing (*na vaya*), without change in its duration (*na thitassa aññathatta* : *A.* I, 152). Because of its not being subject to conditioning it is immovable (*acala*), not subject to decay (*ajara*), immortal (*amara*), unshakable (*accuta*) and hence stable (*dhuva*) ; it is unfading (*ajajjara*), undecaying (*apalokita*) and deathless (*amata*. *S.* IV, 369 ff.). "Because there is this unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unconditioned, it is possible to escape from this conditioning" (*Ud.* 81 ; *It.* 37).

The attainment of arahantship is described by Bhūta thera as the faultless path (*viraja*), the unconditioned path (*asaṅkhata*), the path of peace (*santa pada* : *Thag.* v. 521) ; and the term is explained by the commentary as "not brought about by any condition" (*na kenaci paccayena saṅkhataṃ*). Also Adhimutta thera refers to the reaching of the goal as the attainment (lit. the touch) of the unconditioned (*nibbānapadaṃ asaṅkhataṃ* : ibid. *v.* 725).

Thus far we have noted the orthodox Theravāda view. But the Uttarāpathakas and the Mahiṃsāsakas were of opinion that space (*ākāsa*) was unconditioned. They distinguished three kinds of space : limited space which is objective, abstract space and empty space. The last two being mere abstract ideas or mental fictions, were not conditioned therefore, and hence they were considered as unconditioned by them (*Kvu.* 329). The Mahiṃsāsakas together with the Pubbaseliyas held that the causal elements or links in the law of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) were unconditioned, because of the Buddha's statement : "Whether Tathāgatas arise or not, the causal law of origination is fixed" (*S.* II, 25). This position would make each of the eleven theses unconditioned or absolute and independent, even though each thesis expresses the dependency of a factor on the previous one (*Kvu.* 319–23). The Pubbaseliyas again held the belief that the Four Noble Truths were unconditioned, based on a similar text where the Buddha stated that the Four Noble Truths are constantly true, not false and unchangeable (*S.* V, 430 ; *Kvu.* 323). But none of these views were accepted by the Theravādins. See ABSOLUTE, NIBBĀNA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASAṄKHATA SAMYUTTA, the ninth part of the fourth volume of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, comprising two chapters. The first chapter (*S.* IV, pp. 359–61) contains eleven short suttas, similar in structure and only differing in the subjects dealt with, which, however, are all said to be stages on the path leading to the unconditioned (*asaṅkhatagāmī magga*). They are : mindfulness relating to the body (*kāyagatā sati*), calm and insight (*samatha vipassanā ca*), concentration based on discursive thought and sustained application (*savitakka-savicāra-samādhi*), concentration that is void of lust (*suññatā-samādhi*), not contaminated by outward appearances (*animitta-samādhi*) and free from all longings (*appanihita-samādhi*), the four applications of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*) of body, feelings, mind and mental states, the four right exertions (*cattāro sammappadhānā*) of restraint, abandonment, practice and guarding, the four, bases of effective power (*cattāro iddhipādā*), viz., purpose, will, thought and investigation, the five controlling powers (*pañcindriyāni*) and psychic

forces (*pañca balāni*) of confidence, energy, mindfulness, concentration and insight, the seven factors of enlightenment (*satta bojjhaṅgā*), viz., mindfulness, investigation, energy, zest, calm, concentration and equanimity, and finally the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*).

The second chapter (ibid. 362-8) deals first with all the above items individually and in detail in 45 sections, collectively called *Asaṅkhata Sutta* in the versified contents (*uddāna*) at the end of the chapter, all of them being shown as the path leading to the unconditioned (*asaṅkhatagāmi magga*).

All this is then repeated with substitution of the key-word *asaṅkhata*, and one finds 45 similar sections dealing in the same order with each of the following 32 synonyms for the unconditioned, viz., the end or goal (*anta*), the freedom from intoxication (*anāsava*), the truth (*sacca*), the further shore (*pāra*), the subtle (*nipuṇa*), the hard-to-see (*sududdasa*), the unfading (*ajajjara*), the stable (*dhuva*), the undecaying (*apalokita*), the invisible (*anidassana*), the taintless (*nippapa*), the peace (*santa*), the deathless (*amata*), the excellent (*paṇīta*), the blissful (*siva*), the security (*khema*), the destruction of craving (*taṇhakkhaya*), the wonderful (*acchariya*), the marvellous (*abbhuta*), the freedom from conflict (*anītika*), the state of freedom from conflict (*anītikadhamma*), the freedom from lust (*nibbāna*) the harmless (*avyāpajja*), dispassion (*virāga*), purity (*suddhi*), release (*mutti*), non-attachment (*anālaya*), the island (*dīpa*), the sheltering cave (*lena*), the stronghold (*tāṇa*), the refuge (*saraṇa*) and the final rest (*parāyaṇa*).

Each sutta finishes with that stereotyped and yet so beautiful exhortation of the Buddha: "Thus, brethren, have I taught you the goal and the way that leads to the goal. Whatever a compassionate teacher could do for his disciples that have I done for you with compassion. Here, brethren, are the roots of trees; here are lonely places. Now do you meditate without sloth, without having to look backwards in remorse. This is my exhortation to you."

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASAṄKHATA SUTTA is the collective name of 45 suttas, opening the second chapter of the *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, 362–8). Each of them has a different approach to the common purpose: the way that leads to the unconditioned (*asaṅkhatagāmī magga*), i.e., Nibbāna. The general structure of the suttas consists in the repeated question: "And what, O monks, is the way that leads to the unconditioned?" followed by the single term of the reply which varies for each section, and the repeated conclusion: "That, O monks, is called the way that leads to the unconditioned."

The forty-five different approaches to the common goal are as follows: meditation which is peace (*samatha*) and meditation which is insight (*vipassanā*), concentration with discursive thought and sustained application of mind (*savitakka-savicāra-samādhi*), concentration without discursive thinking, but with sustained application only (*avitakka-vicāramatta-samādhi*), concentration with neither discursive thinking, nor sustained application of mind (*avitakka-avicāra-samādhi*), concentration that is void of lust (*suññatā-samādhi*), concentration that is not contaminated by outward signs or appearances (*animitta-samādhi*), concentration that is free from all longings (*appaṇihita-samādhi*), contemplation of the body in one's own body (*kāye kāyānupassī*), contemplation of sensations when they arise (*vedanāsu vedanānupassī*), contemplation of thought as it arises in the mind (*citte cittānupassī*), contemplation of mental states and phenomena as they arise (*dhammesu dhammānupassī*), the right exertion of restraint or avoidance (*anuppādāya chanda*) of evil not arisen, the right exertion of abandoning (*pahānāya chanda*) the evil which has already arisen, the right exertion of practising (*uppādāya chanda*) the good which has not been done up to then, the right exertion of guarding (*pāripūriyā chanda*) the good already performed, the basis of effective power attended by concentration and purpose (*chanda-samādhi-padhāna-saṅkhāra-samannāgata-iddhipāda*), or by effort (*viriya-s°*), or by planning (*citta-s°*), or by investigation (*vīmamsā*), the controlling faculty of confidence based on dispassion (*saddhindriya*), or of energy (*viriyindriya*), or of mindfulness, or of concentration or of insight based on singleness of heart, on dispassion, on cessation, leading to renunciation, the psychic force or power or mental strength of confidence, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration or of insight, the factors of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*) and the Noble Eightfold Path of right understanding etc.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASAṄKHEYYA, a word used in Pali to mean incalculable, innumerable, particularly with reference to a period of time, as in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 142), where it is used adjectivally to

describe four divisions of time which, by the immensity of the numbers of years involved, are incalculable. See further KALPA.

ASAṄKĪRṆA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 139).

ASAṄKITA-RĀJA, an Indian Buddhist ruler of the Bhoja lineage in north Kannāḍa (Kanara) near Goa. He is known only from his copper-plate grant (circa 7th cent. A.C.), which P. B. Desai (of the Epigraphical Dept. of the Archaeological Survey) found in Hire-Guṭṭi village in 1950. The grant, which is worded in Sanskrit, begins by invoking the Buddha. Its object was to register the donation of the (then) village of Sundarikā in the Dīpa *viṣaya* (division) to the rāja's own (*sva*) vihāra (*EI.* XXVI, 339 f.).

D. T. D.

ASAṄKIYA JĀTAKA (No. 76). The Buddha related this birth-story at Jetavana (*J.* I, 332–4) about a certain lay-disciple of Sāvatthi.

This man who had entered the stream of sainthood and who was a noble disciple (*ariya-sāvaka*), once went along on some business with the leader of a caravan. When the carts were unyoked in the jungle and a defensive encampment was constructed, he began to walk to and fro at the foot of a tree. Five hundred robbers came with weapons to loot the encampment. Seeing the lay-disciple they thought that he was guarding the encampment and waited until he fell asleep. When they found that the man did not go to sleep at all, they went away in great disappointment.

When he came back to Sāvatthi, he asked the Buddha, whether a man who guards himself could be regarded as the guardian of others. The Buddha's answer was that by guarding oneself a man guards others and in guarding others he guards himself. Thereupon the lay-disciple told the Buddha about his journey and how he, by trying to guard himself, also guarded the whole caravan.

Thereupon the Buddha related this story of the past in order to show how in the olden days also wise and good people guarded others in trying to guard themselves.

Once when Brahmadatta was the king of Bārāṇasī, the bodhisatta was born as a brāhman and later became an ascetic in the Himālayas. One day, while wandering through the countryside, he accompanied a caravan leader. When the caravan was stopped for the night the ascetic began to enjoy the bliss of insight (*jhānasukha*), while pacing to and fro at the foot of a tree near the encampment.

Five hundred robbers surrounded the encampment to plunder it. When they saw the ascetic walking to and fro, they decided to wait till he fell asleep. When the robbers learnt that the ascetic was not going to sleep they went away saying that they would have plundered the caravan, if the ascetic was not there. Thereupon, the caravan folk asked the ascetic whether he feared the robbers. The ascetic said that fear from robbers arises only in rich people, and since he was not a rich man, he was not afraid to live either in the forest or in the village. Further, he said that he had won the path of deliverance by love and kindness. Hearing this, the people became very happy and honoured the ascetic. The ascetic developed the fourfold divine states (*brahmavihāra*) and was reborn in the world of the Brahmās.

I. K.

ASAÑÑASATTA, a class of deities who dwell in the fifth of the nine abodes of beings known collectively as the *Nava-sattāvāsa*. They are cited in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 401) as an instance of 'beings without perceptive power and without feeling' (E. Hare, *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, IV, 270, Luzac, London, 1955). Hence the name, meaning, literally, 'unconscious beings.' Analysing the cause for certain heretical philosophers to arrive at the theory of fortuitous origin (*adhiccasamuppanna*), the Buddha, in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D.*I, 28), explains thus: 'There are, brethren, certain gods called Unconscious Beings. As soon as an idea occurs to them they fall from that state. Now it may well be that a being, on falling from that state, should come hither, and having thus become a recluse, he, by reason of ardour and so on (as in other cases), reaches up to such rapture of heart that, rapt in heart, he calls to mind how that idea occurred to him, but not more than that. He says to himself: "Fortuitous in origin are the soul and the world. And why so ? Because formerly I was not, but now am. Having not been, I have come to be" (trsl. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, London, 1956).

The *Dīgha Nikāya* commentary(*DA*.I,118)explains that ascetics who attain by practice of meditation to the fourth *jhāna*, seeing the disadvantages attached to consciousness, conclude mistakenly that therefore consciousness must be eliminated if release is to be attained. Dying in this state of mind, the commentary further explains, these brāhmans and recluses are born in this sphere where consciousness is absent. But their life-term there is limited to the time during which the power of their *jhāna* endures, and immediately an idea occurs to them, they become conscious, and therefore die to be reborn elsewhere under conditions more suitable to that state. Yet, this life-term of theirs, according to the *Theragāthā* commentary, is very long (*ThagA*. 291). The same record also states that the thera Sobhita visited the sphere of the Asaññasatta and possessed power of reminiscence of that sphere.

According to the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (V, 21) the Asaññasatta devas belong to the fourth *jhāna* plane of the Rūpaloka and are placed only below the highest denizens of the Rūpaloka, namely, the beings of the Pure Abodes (*Suddhāvāsa*).

The *Kathāvatthu* (262) enters into a controversy on the issue whether there is or is not consciousness among the denizens of the sphere called unconscious. Here the Andhakas are reported as having the view that the Asaññasattā are only at times unconscious, the Theravādins holding such a view as absurd.

See further RŪPA-LOKA, SATTĀVĀSA.

B. J.

ASAÑÑATAPARIKKHĀRA BHIKKHUSSA VATTHU, the story of a monk who was careless with regard to his requisites. He was in the habit of leaving out in the open beds and chairs and other requisites which he used, with the result that they perished. When his fellow bhikkhus questioned him about his negligent behaviour he dismissed it as a trifling lapse not worth wasting time over. As he continued in his careless conduct the bhikkhus brought the matter to the notice of the Buddha. The Buddha rebuked the erring bhikkhu saying that even a slight evil when indulged in over and over again accumulates into a large mass of evil, just as an uncovered pot left in the open in the rain would, drop by drop, be filled to the brim with water.

The Buddha further introduced a rule that it was an offence fo. a bhikkhu not to remove a bed which he had brought out to the open for use (*DhpA*. III, 15—16).

L. R. G.

ĀSANŪPAṬṬHĀYAKA, (var. Āsanupaṭṭhāyaka, Āsanupaṭṭhāka, Āsanupaṭṭhāpaka, Āsanadāyaka, Āsanūpaṭṭhāpaka), an arahant thera. In a previous birth one hundred and eighteen kappas ago, he offered a seat and paid homage with flowers to Buddha Atthadassī. As a result of this offering he knew of no evil birth thereafter. One hundred and seven kappas ago he was born as a world-ruler (*cakkavattin*), named Sannibhāpaka (*Ap*. I, 144).

The commentary repeats this account with further details. In Buddha Atthadassī's time he was born into a noble family but he gave up the household life for the life of an ascetic and lived in the Himālayas. It was there that he offered the seat and flowers to the Buddha. In consequence of this good deed in subsequent lives he enjoyed birth in high caste and wealthy families. In his last life, too, he was born of high clan, but he renounced the worldly life and became a disciple of the Buddha. In due course he attained arahantship (*ApA*. p. 416).

He is to be identified with Ramaṇīyakuṭika thera (*ThagA*. I, 141 f.).

L. R. G.

ASAPPURISA SUTTA, the fifth and the sixth suttas of the *Micchatta Vagga* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, pp. 19—20).

While residing at Sāvatthi, the Buddha preached these two suttas to the bhikkhus, in order to explain to them the qualities of an unworthy person (*asappurisa*) and that of a worthy person (*sappurisa*).

The Buddha declares in the first sutta that an unworthy person is endowed with such qualities as wrong view, wrong aim, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong livelihood, wrong effort, wrong mindfulness and wrong concentration. On the other hand, a man who is endowed with the opposite qualities, is worthy.

The contents of the second sutta are the same as those of the first, with the addition of "the still more unworthy" (*asappurisatara*) possessed also of wrong knowledge and wrong liberation, and the more worthy having the opposite qualities.

I. K.

ASĀTAMANTA JĀTAKA (No. 61 : *J*. I, 285—9). The bodhisatta was once a famous teacher of Takkasilā. Ānanda was then born into a brāhman family in Bārāṇasī. When his parents gave him the choice, the brāhman youth chose to learn the arts at Takkasilā rather than tend the fire in the

forest. Accordingly, he was sent to Takkasilā and he studied under the bodhisatta. Having completed his training he returned home.

But his parents were keen on his retiring to the forest. Therefore, planning to open her son's eyes to the evil nature of women, his mother asked him whether his teacher had taught him the *Asātamanta* (the text on the disagreeable) and on his replying in the negative sent him back to Takkasilā.

The bodhisatta was living alone with his mother, aged a hundred and twenty years, attending to all her needs. When the brāhman youth told him the reason for his return the bodhisatta knew there was no scripture by the name of *Asātamanta* and that the youth's mother had sent him to be taught the wiles of women. He proceeded to teach him by instructing the young man to wait on his (the bodhisatta's) mother thenceforth and constantly praise the beauty of her body, adding how much more beautiful she would have been in her youth. He was also asked to report her reaction to his compliments. Flattered by his praise, in spite of her great age, her passions were roused and she offered to live with him. As her son would be an obstruction she suggested that he might be killed.

The brāhman youth faithfully conveyed everything that took place to his teacher. Perceiving that his mother was destined to die that day, the bodhisatta felled a tree and placed a log of wood on his bed. The pupil was instructed to give an axe to the old woman. She went to her son's bed and as she dealt a blow she realised she was striking a log and that she had been betrayed. She fell down dead.

The bodhisatta explained there was no separate text called *Asātamanta*, but that women were a source of distress and that he had now gained first-hand knowledge of the evil nature of women.

When the brāhman returned home and his mother inquired about his future plans, he unhesitatingly chose the life of a hermit.

The mother was Kāpilānī and the father was Mahā-Kassapa.

This jātaka and the *Ummadantī Jātaka* were related by the Buddha when he was staying at Jetavana, on account of a bhikkhu overcome by passion. At the end of the story this bhikkhu is said to have attained *sotāpatti*.

L. R. G.

ASĀTARŪPA JĀTAKA (No. 100 : *J.* I, 407—10), related by the Buddha in Kuṇḍadhāna forest on account of Suppavāsā, the daughter of the Koliya king. She had been pregnant for seven years and was seven days in labour when she brought forth Sīvali who later became an arahant thera.

Once the bodhisatta was born as king of Bārāṇasī. The Kosala king invaded the city, slew the king and made the widowed queen his own chief queen. The king's son, who had meanwhile escaped through the sewer, returned with a large army threatening to wage war. The prince's mother, however, sent him a message that he could take the kingdom without resorting to warfare by blockading the city and cutting off all supplies of food and other necessities. Following his mother's advice, he thus blockaded the city for seven days and the people unable to endure it any longer killed the king and handed over his head to the prince. The prince entered the city and took over the kingdom.

This prince was a previous incarnation of Sīvali and his mother was Suppavāsā. The seven days' blockade, which the mother suggested and the son carried out, was the reason for the mother and son suffering with a seven years' pregnancy and seven days' travail.

This jātaka takes its name from the first two words in the stanza : *asātaṃ sātarūpena* (sorrow in the guise of joy). This story is found with variation in detail in *DhpA.* II, 198 ff.

L. R. G.

ASATTHĀRĀMA, the place where Buddha Piyadassī died. A stūpa was erected here in commemoration of the event (*Buv.* xiv. 27).

ASATTVĀKHYĀ, or *asattva-saṅkhyā* (Tibetan : *sems-can-du mi-ston-pa* ; Chinese : *fei-yu-ch'ing-shu*, 非有情數), appellation of non-beings, or dharmas in the category of non-beings. This is the antonym of *sattvākhyā*. Dharmas which are in the category of conscious beings such as human beings and animals are *sattvākhyā*, but dharmas such as mountains, rivers, and so on, are *asattvākhyā*.

K. Tmr.

ĀSAVA, intoxicating secretion, discharge from a festering wound, hence psychologically 'mental intoxicant'. Freedom from mental intoxication in any of its four forms constitutes arahantship (*khīṇāsava, anāsava, āsavakkhaya*). The four types of mental intoxication are given as sensuality (*kāma*), lust of life (*bhava*), speculation (*diṭṭhi*) and

ignorance (*avijjā*). Other renderings in English are 'influx', 'bias'. They are also referred to as flood (*ogha*). See ĀŚRAVA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀSĀ VAGGA (var. Āsāduppajahavagga), the eleventh chapter of the *Duka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 86—8). It consists of twelve very short suttas on various topics. The suttas are similar in form, being a combination of question and answer. The chapter derives its title from the first sutta which deals with *āsā* (longing).

L. R. G.

ĀSAVAKKHAYA-ÑĀṆA, knowledge regarding the extinction of the influxes. This knowledge constitutes the last of the six kinds of super-knowledge (*abhiññā*). It is considered as supramundane or transcendental (*lokuttara*), and is the most important of the six, since it is this knowledge that results in the final release from saṃsāra. See ABHIÑÑĀ.

W. G. W.

ĀSAVAKKHAYA SUTTA. Several suttas appear under this name in the *Aṅguttara* and *Saṃyutta Nikāyas*. They all have in common the destruction of psychological cankers or mental intoxicants (*āsava*). These suttas differ in the methods which are said to bring about this destruction.

(1) Five things, if practised, lead to the destruction of cankers (*āsava*) : reflection on the loathsomeness of the body, the thought of disgust with regard to food, revulsion from all things, the perception of the impermanence of all composite things, and the thought of death (*A*. III, 83).

(2) The Buddha is represented as instructing the monks on how to reply when questioned by the members of other schools of thought regarding the aim of the holy life lived under him. The aim of the holy life is described as the destruction of cankers, the Noble Eightfold Path being the way leading thereto (*S*. V, 28).

(3) The cultivation of the five faculties (*indriya*), viz., of faith, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration and of insight, is said to lead one to the destruction of cankers (*S*. V, 236).

(4) Intent concentration on in-breathing and out-breathing (*ānāpānasati*) is said to conduce to the destruction of cankers (*S*. V, 340).

(5) The cankers in a person who knows and sees them are said to be destroyed. It is the knowledge of the fact of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the way leading thereto that destroys the cankers. Therefore, the monks are advised to make an effort to realise these four Truths for themselves (*S*. V, 434).

D. J. K.

ĀSAVĀNAṂ-KHAYA SUTTA. By cultivating the five faculties of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and insight, a monk destroys the cankers in this very life and realises the liberation of mind and liberation by insight, a state which is described as being free from cankers (*S*. V, 203).

D. J. K.

ĀSAVA SUTTA (1) describes in detail the cankers (*āsava*) to be got rid of by control (*saṃvara*), by conscious use (*paṭisevanā*) of the requisites, by endurance (*adhivāsanā*), by avoidance (*parivajjanā*), by ejection (*vinodanā*) and by mind cultivation (*bhāvanā*). The monk who has put an end to the cankers by these means is said to be worthy of honour and offerings (*A*. III, 387).

(2) enumerates ten factors the cultivation of which leads to the destruction of cankers (*āsava*). They are the eight factors of the Noble Eightfold Path in addition to right knowledge (*sammāñāṇa*) and right release (*sammāvimutti* : *A*. V, 237).

(3) There are two more suttas by this name found in the *Itivuttaka* (pp. 49—50, suttas 56 and 57). The prose texts of both are identical and refer to three cankers or mental intoxicants (*āsava*) only, namely, lust (*kāma*), becoming (*bhava*) and ignorance (*avijjā*). The difference lies in the two stanzas attached to each sutta. The *gāthā* of the earlier sutta speaks of the *āsavas* in general, their arising, their cessation and the way to make them cease, after which a monk is completely free (*parinibbuta*). The later sutta in its *gāthā* refers to the mental intoxicants individually, and says that he who has slain the cankers of lust, ignorance and becoming, wears his last body (*antima-deha*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀSĀVATĪ, a creeper growing in the Cittalatā Park in the Tāvatiṃsa world. Hidden in its fruit is a divine drink and anyone who drinks once of it lies intoxicated on a divine couch for four months. This

creeper bears fruit only once in a thousand years. But the devas wait for it patiently and come constantly throughout the thousand years to water the plant (*J.* III, 250–1 ; *Ap.* I, 41). As all devas wish for it the creeper is named Āsāvatī (*ApA.* 280).

C. W.

ĀSAYA-ANUSAYA, often combined in *āsayānusaya*, a hankering disposition, usually consisting of a series of seven such propensities or inclinations thus called " in consequence of their pertinacity whereby they ever and again tend to become the conditions for the arising of ever new sensuous greed (*kāma-rāga*), grudge (*paṭigha*), speculative opinion (*diṭṭhi*), sceptical doubt (*vicikicchā*), conceit (*māna*), craving for continued existence (*bhavarāga*) and ignorance" (*avijjā : Vism.* chap. xxii, § 60). Although the term *anusaya* is found in the suttas (e.g., *D.* III, 254 ; *S.* V, 60 ; *A.* IV, 9), its combination with *āsaya* is confined to the later texts and commentaries (e.g., *Ps.* i, 133). See also ANUSAYA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASAYHA (1), one of the five hundred pacceka-buddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilati*) and named it Isigili. The names of these paccekabuddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA* IV, 217) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASAYHA (2), a wealthy banker (*seṭṭhi*) of Bheruva. He held great almsgivings for religious mendicants and the poor. After death he was born in Tāvatiṃsa heaven. A tailor, who used to direct people to Asayha's house with his right hand, was, as a result of that meritorious act, reborn as an earth-deity who had the gift of procuring things with his right hand. An employee of Asayha, who was irreligious and took no delight in his master's bounty, and had been in the habit of making faces at the poor people who came in search of alms, was reborn as a peta with deformed features (*PvuA.* pp. 112 ff.).

In the *Petavatthu* stanzas, Asayha is also referred to as Aṅgīrasa (p. 25, *vv.* 23, 28).

L. R. G.

ASCENDING INSIGHT, or insight of discernment leading to emergence (*vuṭṭhāna-gāminī-vipassanā-ñāṇa*), leads invariably to the Path (*sotāpatti-arahatta-magga*), for which reason it is given this special designation. It is the climax of discernment (*vipassanā*) reached by the matured insight of equanimity (*saṅkhārupekkhā-ñāṇa*) in the stage of adaptation (*anuloma-ñāṇa*) after the meditator has equipped himself with the mental qualifications for the Path. Because the Path is reached immediately after one more moment of adoption (*gotrabhū*) it is also called the gateway to emancipation (*vimokkha-mukha*). See ÑĀṆA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASCENDING ORDER is the order of enumeration in a forward direction or natural order ' with the hair or grain ' (*anuloma*), in opposition to the descending or reverse order ' against the hair' (*paṭiloma*). The two orders are usually combined in an exposition of the 12 links of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*, q.v.).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASCERTAINMENT, the act of investigation or examination which forms part of the process of evolution of a thought. It is a stage in the act of sense-cognition, which lies between the moment of passive reception (*sampaṭicchana*) and the active determination (*voṭṭhapana*) which immediately precedes full conscious apperception (*javana*). See SANTĪRAṆA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASCERTAINMENT OF BIRTH (*janmanideśa*) is the 8th bodhisattvabhūmi in the spiritual development of a bodhisattva, better known as Acalā (q. v.).

ASCETIC, one practising rigorous self-discipline, self-denial and self-mortification. In the Buddhist texts the references to ascetics and ascetic practices are generally made in connection with the non-Buddhistic and non-Brahmanic religious sects believing that purity (*suddhi*) or emancipation (*vimutti*) or heavenly existence (*sagga*) could be obtained by self-mortification alone. The word

samaṇa has been used in the Pali works mostly to mean a Buddhist monk, but it is a general term which could be used to refer to any ascetic of any religious order. Apart from the word *samaṇa* the other words used in Pali texts to refer to ascetics are *tapassī, tāpasa, pabbajita, isi, muni, ājīvaka, nigaṇṭha, jaṭila, acelaka* and *paribbājaka*. These heretical sects (*aññatitthiya*), as they were called by the Buddhists, were led by various teachers of whom six were prominent, namely, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambaḷi, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (*D*. I, 49 ; *M*. II, 2). The ascetics themselves were known by different names according to some outstanding characteristic feature they had. The ājīvakas, acelakas, paribbājakas, jaṭilas, titthiyas and nigaṇṭhas were some of them.

The Buddhist texts give interesting evidence of the austerities practised by the more extreme of these non-Buddhist ascetic sects. According to a comprehensive account of such practices repeatedly found in the nikāyas (*D*. I, 165 ff. ; III, 37 ff. ; *M*.I, 238 ff., 342 ; *A*.I, 294 ; II, 207), they went naked. They were of loose habits, performing their bodily functions and eating food in a standing posture, not crouching down or sitting down as decent people did. After taking meals they lick their hands instead of washing them. If asked to come nearer or wait a moment when they go round for alms, they would go away. They refuse to accept food brought to them before they start their daily round or any food specially prepared for them. They would not accept food direct from the pot in which it was cooked or any food placed within the threshold, from a place where two people are eating together, from a pregnant woman, from a woman nursing a child, or from a woman having intercourse with a man, food collected in time of drought, when a dog stands by, or flies swarm about. They would not accept fish or meat or any strong drink or gruel. Some ascetics eat only one mouthful, some two and some seven. Some take food only once a day, some once every two days and so on up to once every seven days. Thus do they dwell addicted to the practice of taking food according to rule at regular intervals up to even half a month. These ascetics feed on potherbs, or wild rice, or *nivāra* seeds or leather parings, or powder of rice husks ; on rice-scum, on flour of oil seeds, on grass, cowdung or fruits and roots. They wear coarse hempen cloth, coarse mixture cloth, discarded shrouds, discarded rags, *tirīra* (bark cloth), antelope hide, *kusa* fibre, human-hair blankets, horse-hair blankets, or garments made of owls' feathers. They pluck their hair and beard, crouch on heels, are addicted to exerting themselves, lie on beds of thorns putting iron spikes or thorns on the couch, use plank beds, sleep on the ground or sleep on one side. Some ascetics do not wash away dirt and dust on their body. They stand in the open air, eat filth and never drink cold water. There are some ascetics who bathe even a third time in the evening to wash away their sins.

Apart from this account more information about ascetic practices is obtainable from another valuable reference in the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* (*M*. I, 77 ff.) where the Buddha tells Sāriputta how he himself practised austerities in order to obtain salvation before following the middle path (*majjhimā paṭipadā*) while staying with the five ascetics (*pañcavaggiya-bhikkhū*). In addition to the practices mentioned in the previous account the Buddha relates here in detail how he lay down in a cemetery, how he fed himself on cowdung and how emaciated his body was as a result of taking very little food. Similarly, the *Lomahaṃsa Jātaka* (*J*.I, 389 ff.) tells of some similar practices that had been practised by the Buddha in one of his previous births.

It would seem from the *Majjhima Nikāya* (compare *M*. I, 238 with I, 524) that it was the *ājīvakas* who were more specially known for the practice of these forms of asceticism. Their leaders were Makkhali Gosāla, Nanda Vacca and Kisa Saṅkicca. But, A. L. Basham in his *History and Doctrines of Ājīvikas* (p. 110), observes that these accounts do not seem to represent a typical member of the *ājīvaka* order, although it is possible that certain solitary hermits were loosely affiliated to them.

References to ascetics who sought emancipation also by the observance of vows (*vata*) are found in many canonical works. The *Kukkuravatika Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M*. I, 387 ff.) refers to bovine ascetics (*go-vatika*) who have undertaken the cow-practice (*go-vata*) putting a horn on their head and tying a tail and going about grazing with cows. The same sutta also refers to the canine ascetics (*kukkuravatika*) who having undertaken the dog-practice did everything done by dogs. The *Pāṭika Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D*. III, 6-7) gives more details of canine asceticism as practised by Korakkhattiya: "being like a dog, walking on all fours or sprawling on the ground and taking food whether hard or soft with his mouth only, without using his hand." In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M*. I, 387), Seniya, the canine ascetic who was naked, is said to have sat near the Buddha "doubling up like a dog". The *Majjhima* commentary (*MA*. III, 100) refers to the incident thus : "Like a dog in his master's presence, having scratched the ground with his two feet,

he sits down hunched and greets the master saying 'I will do what a dog does' then having scratched the ground with his two hands, shaking his head, he says, '**bhū, bhū**' and doubling in his hands and feet he sits down like a dog."

The *Naṅguṭṭha* **Jātaka (J. I, 493)** relates how behind the Jetavana monastery the *ājīvakas* practised austerities, painfully squatting on their heels, swinging in the air like bats, reclining on thorns and scorching themselves with fire.

The *Mahāniddesa* of the *Suttapiṭaka* (*Nd.* I, 39) gives more details of practising similar vows. Here nineteen forms of vow-practices are given of which some are common with those referred to in the previous accounts.

The Buddhist attitude towards these forms of asceticism is one of discouragement and denouncement. Prior to his enlightenment the bodhisatta himself practised these forms of self-mortification, but later abandoned them for he realised that they in no way could help the attainment of Nibbāna (*M.* I, 77 ff.). The man who goes naked and follows other ascetic practices is far from being a samaṇa or brāhmaṇa (*D.* I, 168).

Speaking of the blemishes of asceticism the Buddha says that most ascetics who practise austerities are self-complacent, careless and envious of others. They despise others, make distinction with regard to food and are desirous of gifts, attention and fame (*D.* III, 44, 45).

Referring to the canine ascetics and bovine ascetics (*M.* I, 388) the Buddha says that there are two bourns for them, namely, *niraya* or animal birth. So, the canine practices lead to companionship with dogs and the bovine practices lead to companionship with cattle, failing birth in hell.

Further, in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 338) asceticism is condemned on three grounds. Firstly, the ascetic tortures himself and goes to extremes in torturing himself. Secondly, he comes to no profitable state. Thirdly, he realises no knowledge and insight

The ascetic practices could easily be followed by anyone, even a slave girl. But the life of a samaṇa or a brāhmaṇa is much more difficult to lead, for it means the cultivation of love in the heart and the destruction of deadly intoxications (*āsavā* : *D.*I, 169). Here, *samaṇa* and *brāhmaṇa* refer to Buddhist monks.

Many an ascetic came to the Buddha and had discussions with him on ascetic practices. The method adopted by the Buddha in these discussions is praiseworthy. He never condemned them outright, but made the listener always realise the fruitlessness of his action. Thus were the naked ascetic Kassapa (*D.* I, 161 ff.), the wandering ascetic Nigrodha (*D.* III, 36 ff.) and the son of Jains, Saccaka (*M.* I, 236 ff.), all convinced and converted by the Buddha by gradual explanation instead of wholesale condemnation. (See Vol. II, Pl. X).

Though asceticism in its strict sense is opposed to Buddhism one would see that in Buddhism, too, there are thirteen ascetic practices (*dhutaṅga*) permitted by the Buddha for Buddhist monks. These are closely akin to the practices of the non-Buddhist ascetics and hence could be considered to have been adopted to suit the Buddhist community of monks. It could be inferred from the request made by Devadatta to make five of these ascetic practices compulsory to the Buddhist monks (*DhpA.* I, 141) that there were monks in the Buddhist community, too, who were in favour of these practices. Further, there were in the early Saṅgha former adherents of penitential orders, like Mahākassapa and his followers, who had accepted the teachings of the Buddha. Hence, it seems that the allowance of these thirteen practices was made by the Buddha for their satisfaction. The *Vaka Jātaka* (No. 300) refers to these thirteen practices and the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* III, 39–42) enumerates nine of them. The commentator Buddhaghosa gives a comprehensive account of these practices in his *Visuddhimagga* (ch. ii). As explained there, the thirteen ascetic practices in Buddhism are not a part of the path leading to the eradication of desire, but only a preparation for the path. They only help to perfect the virtue that the meditator is in pursuit of.

The Buddha could not make an allowance of a greater degree to asceticism, because it was an actual hindrance to the attainment of arahantship. So hard was the struggle of the arahant or the man striving towards arahantship that he should always be sufficiently clothed and take regular baths and regular food. He was to avoid not what was necessary to maintain bodily vigour and power, but all undue luxury and all worry about personal comfort. It was his duty to keep himself healthy, avoiding severe ascetic practices that were injurious to both body and mind, thereby retarding the realisation of truth.

See also ASCETICISM.

H. R. P.

ASCETICISM. The word 'asceticism' originates in the Greek word 'askesis' (training). It is the principle which asserts that we can attain the

spiritual ideal by suppressing our bodily and worldly desires. Such assertion is grounded on the thought that a human being consists of two characters—animal nature and human ideal, and all of his evil results from the former. As for the degree of ascetic practice, it varies. In its extremes, hard penance (*tapas, duṣkara-caryā*), actively to torment the body is encouraged. Moreover, there is the religious practice to deny the body and this life, and to seek for the realisation of the ideal in the next life, the other world.

As the main types of asceticism in Europe, we may mention Cynicism, Stoicism, and Neo-Platonism in ancient Greece, Christianity in the Middle Ages, Schopenhauer (1788-1860 A. C.) in recent times, etc. Among others, monasticism in medieval Christianity insisted on the thoroughly secluded and ascetic life. The Eastern Church particularly had that tendency, and some men tried even to prove themselves eminently virtuous by doing extreme ascetic penance. The Stylites whose founder was Symeon (390-459 A. C.) did the penance of sitting on top of a pillar, irrespective of hour and season. Also in India, men led various ascetic lives and sometimes extreme penance was practised. Jainism encouraged asceticism, especially the observance of fast as the best way to emancipation, and regarded death from starvation as the ideal form of death.

Asceticism in Buddhism. In the period of Śākyamuni, *tapas* and *yoga* were regarded as the way of religious practice. "Tapas" originally means "heat", and from the sense of heat transforming matter and warming it, *tapas* came to have the meaning of "penance" which suppressing the body and diminishing its power, was supposed to raise the purity of the soul. "Yoga" is the way of quieting and concentrating the soul, by which one frees the soul from the body. Śākyamuni, leaving home, became a monk (śramaṇa=samaṇa), and at first studied *yoga*, but he could not win emancipation. Then for about six years he led an ascetic life doing hard penance, till he was reduced to only skin and bone (Vol. II, Pl. XI). But finding that this method, too, did not lead to emancipation, he gave it up and after his body's recovery, he practised yoga again sitting under a tree. This yoga, however, differed from the yoga that he had given up before. For the yoga given up by the Śākyamuni and ascetic penance are both based on the dualism of body and soul, trying to free the soul from the body, but the yoga adopted later by Śākyamuni was the observance of truth as it is. The Śākyamuni renounced his asceticism by receiving milk-gruel from a girl. The five ascetics, who had been the companions of the bodhisattva, saw it, and blamed him and left him behind saying that he was corrupted. Afterwards the Śākyamuni told his disciples that he was neither an ascetic nor a hedonist, but he adopted the middle path, giving up the two extremes.

Meanwhile, as the Śākyamuni propagated his doctrine in various districts, he won disciples, and an Order was established. Then, for the maintenance of the Order it became necessary to set up a discipline, and apart from monastic discipline, some discipline for lay disciples also became necessary. As a result various rules were formulated as occasion arose. The monks, in principle, led a wandering life, but as time passed they began to live in monasteries and after the Buddha's parinibbāna there arose among conservative schools a kind of monasticism. Later, numerous rules and regulations and methods of procedure and observance were established, and pride was often taken in an ascetic life as separated from a more worldly one. Extreme penance, however, was forbidden. In the Buddhist texts the followers of various heretical ascetics are criticised.

Apart from the conservative schools there arose progressive schools, which, criticising monasticism, started a new movement, an altruistic movement, to realise the ideal of Buddhism, of going down to the actual world and sharing with people their joys and sorrows. It is what we call the doctrine of the "bodhisattva", one who seeks enlightenment not only for himself but also for others. With the spread of this movement, the company of bodhisattvas grew apace not only among monks but also among laymen. Following upon that, rules for the practice of the bodhisattva-life were newly set up, which, while being different from such formalistic commandments as were found in the traditional monasticism, had a quality of high spirituality and of much activity in the everyday world, and were specially concerned with the cultivation of compassion.

Out of this movement were born Mahāyāna Buddhism, and the Mahāyāna scriptures which organised it. The characteristic of Mahāyāna Buddhism can be found in the doctrine of the identity of body and soul, or between the real and the ideal. The practice to be followed to obtain release or to realise the ideal in Mahāyāna Buddhism had the character of immediacy and universality, not adhering to complicated forms. There was even an assertion that realising the ideal in the actual life of the everyday world is the true enlightenment. Of course, ascetic practice was

not entirely given up, or rather, the ascetic and self-denying practice which is rich in mercy and altruism, was intensively performed.

But, generally speaking, it is true that Mahāyāna Buddhism was inclined to affirm the actual world and to give up ascetic practice, on the principle of non-commandment, and the view-point of the identity of desire and enlightenment. This led to the danger of corruption. As a consequence, there was a reaction against Mahāyāna Buddhism. As a matter of fact, however, the corruption of priests was due not so much to this kind of doctrine found in Mahāyāna Buddhism as to the activities in which they indulged, for instance, connection with political power. At any rate the restoration of old Buddhism and the commandments was attempted, and besides even an extreme kind of ascetic penance was advocated under monasticism.

From the Fujiwara period to the ex-Emperor government period (from the 10th century to the 12th century) in Japan, Buddhist Orders became much vulgarized and corrupted, and some priests, leaving their Orders or temples, withdrew into themselves and performed religious austerities intensively, by themselves. From among them arose those who were called " the Keepersof Sūtra " or "the Saints ". One of them, burning his finger or toe, offered it to the Buddha ; another, cutting his foot-bone, made a statue of Śākyamuni of it; a third, stripping the skin from his hand, painted a picture of the Amita-Buddha trinity on it ; yet another, setting fire to a log of wood, kept sitting on it to death (to get rebirth in the Pure Land by burning his body) ; there was one who throwing himself into the water, tried to die (the saint throwing himself into the water). Besides these there were those who were called " the naked saints" or " the stone saints ", etc. Their stories are told in " The Biography of People born in the Pure Land ", but some of them are too extreme, and so it is doubtful whether they are true or not. In the Shasekishū (沙石集) and the Ujishūi-monogatari (宇治拾遺物語) there are stories of some priests who attempted such practices for the purpose of winning the respect of others, but failed from fear, and thus became a laughingstock.

In the Kamakura period, Jōkei (1155–1213) and Kōben (1173–1232) insisted on the life of strict commandment. Each of them grieved over the degenerate age of the Latter Law, and looking back upon the age of the Śākyamuni, longed for the life of religious purification led by the disciples at that time. As for Hōnen (1133–1212), whom they censured for his sole practice of the Nembutsu, he insisted that it is impossible for the ordinary man in the degenerate age of the Latter Law to purify himself by keeping the commandments. He should rely therefore on the mercy of the Buddha with all his heart. Though he was never a simple anti-ascetic, some of his disciples, under the influence of the thought of enlightenment, chiefly in the Japanese Tendai sect, insisted that a moment of mind without practice was a moment of relief and that the daily life of desire was just the life of paradise. Both the Tendai sect and the Shingon sect had tributary sects which, carrying their monism to excess, insisted on such extreme anti-asceticism as to regard the realisation of sexual desire as enlightenment itself, and consequently became depraved.

Meanwhile there have been in Japan such practices as *aragyō* (荒行 severe penance) " to shut oneself up in a mountain, to strike oneself with a water-fall, or to throw oneself into fire and *shugendō* (修験道) " to get spirit response by practising the art of spells, travelling over mountains and plains." The latter is thought to be the penance that resulted from a mixture of esoteric Buddhism, the Taoistic art of spells and Japanese folklore belief.

Comparison with asceticism in the West. Though there was a kind of asceticism in Greece, the Greeks were originally a bright and cheerful people. With them the religious life of monasticism did not find popular favour, and extreme penance was not performed. In the *Milindapañha* there is a paragraph where Milinda (Menandros), Greek governor, who ruled over the northwest of India in the latter half of the second century B.C., asks Nāgasena, a Buddhist monk and sage, why Śākya-muni regarded this life as suffering, and why monks do ascetic penance. Megasthenes (350–290 B.C.), also sent to India as the ambassador of Syria, was surprised at the sight of ascetic penance by Indian priests and reported it home. But, Greek philosophy, especially that of the Cynics and the Stoics, was in practice ascetical.

As to Christianity, it is said that in the gospel of Jesus there is no asceticism in the strict sense though Jesus imposed an ascetical programme when he described the life of his followers as a narrow way along which they were to carry their cross. However, love of God and love of one's neighbour were considered more meritorious than asceticism. But, ascetic practices began gradually to make their appearance, beginning with the widespread practice of celibacy, followed by a

belief that a purification of the passions was necessary as a means of loving God more, and also as the path leading to mysticism. In the Middle Ages, some theologians held that asceticism helped progress in holiness and in the struggle against sin. At the time of the Reformation, the leaders of Protestantism rejected asceticism as being a perversion of the Gospel, but it reappeared in Calvinism and pietistic Protestantism.

As for Buddhism, it also denies extreme asceticism and so, on the subject of the growth of it in Buddhism, we must take account of the internal and external circumstances which produced it. It is needless to add that not only the Śākyamuni himself but also some of his disciples after him maintained moderate asceticism so as to realise the goal of the religion. We should, however, see that between the asceticism of Buddhism and that of Christianity there is a fundamental difference. The latter, because of its teaching of the dualism of body and soul, makes it essential to hold communion with God through purification of the soul, and makes it a fundamental principle to serve God's glory or to obey God's authority, whereas in Buddhism it is a matter of self-discipline and has no reference to any deity.

Y.T.

ASCETIC PRACTICES. At the time the Buddha appeared in the world, ascetic practices were being very widely practised in India. Asceticism in its diverse forms has been a characteristic feature of the Indian peoples. Nowhere else has it been so highly elaborated and developed as in India.

The term used in literature to denote asceticism is *tapas* (Skt.) and *tapa* (Pali). The term originated from a root which means to be hot, to burn, to glow, etc. Hence the term signifies heat or warmth. Thus, it is seen how it has the extended meaning of painful feeling resulting from religious penance, for to negate the natural desires of man is a very painful experience.

According to the available literary evidence, during the Vedic and the Brahmanic periods, ascetic practices do not seem to have been quite popular. The term *tapas* occurs only rarely in the Vedic and the Brahmanic literature. The few references in the *Ṛgveda* are also in the tenth *maṇḍala*, which is the last. Even in these stray instances the aim of the ascetics was not escape from *saṃsāra*, as in later times, but the attainment of magical powers.

During the period of the *Upaniṣads*, with the new trends of thought regarding man and existence, an atmosphere of thought was created in which ascetic ideas could easily develop. The concepts of rebirth and the resultant pessimistic outlook on existence were the two cardinal concepts which were directly responsible for the growth and spread of ascetic ideas. When life was looked down upon as misery (*dukkha*) the next logical step was to find a means of escape from this suffering. The whole of existence appeared as a drudgery without beginning, without end. Leading a householder's life, tending wife and children, never offered a way of escape from the miseries of existence. Instead, such a life strengthened the ties with the mundane life, tying down man more and more to the troubles and tribulations of life. Once these facts were brought home to the thoughtful men of the day, the ideas of renunciation became more familiar among such folk. The philosophy became one of world-flight and their sole aim was escape from *saṃsāra*.

Thus, during the time of the *Upaniṣads*, immediately prior to the appearance of Gautama the Buddha, the practice of austerities had assumed real force. At the beginning of this period, the ascetic calling had become obligatory on the part of every individual, to be undertaken at a special stage of life. This was incorporated in the theory of the *āśrama dharmas*, which taught that after leading a householder's life one should renounce everything and retire to the forest (*vāna-prastha*) to practise austerities.

The philosophical theory prevalent at this time was that of the identity of the macrocosm and the microcosm, the Ātman–Brahman monism. To escape from *saṃsāra* the individual had to realise this identity. The unfailing method of attaining this end was the renunciation of all worldly things and the practice of austerities in complete seclusion. Once the meditator has realised this unity, he no longer needs any *tapas*, for it was only the means of realisation.

Later, in the law-books of Manu, extremely severe forms of ascetic practices are enjoined and they seem to have been carried out to the letter, at least by certain sections of the ascetic community. The practice of these things meant torturing the body in the most extreme forms.

Thus, there came a time in India when genuine ascetics, wedded by vows to a life of self-renunciation and poverty, were a common feature. Another important thing to remember is the fact that Indian asceticism has been under the definite

sanction of religion. Not only men, but even gods are represented as undergoing self-inflicted tortures for thousands of years to gain their ends such as the attainment of supernatural powers or overpowering their enemies. Even the Creator himself had to practise age-long austerities before he was able to bring forth this creation. Thus, the belief gained ground that there was nothing which was beyond the power of asceticism. The practice of austerities assumed a very strong religio-ethical meaning. The aim of every ascetic was to utilise *tapas* as a means of breaking the fetters which tied him to a miserable earthly existence and thence to secure final rest and bliss.

It was in such a religious atmosphere that the Buddha appeared. Although he was born in a society where he could enjoy the pleasures of worldly life to the full, the religious ideas of the day gradually took hold of him and he made a firm decision to " go forth from home to homelessness " as an ascetic (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji*).

It will not be irrelevant here to discuss briefly the position of the wandering ascetics in Indian society at this time, as the Buddha was only one of many *paribbājakas* who renounced the worldly life to find a permanent cure for the ills that befall mankind.

One important feature about these primitive *paribbājakas* is the fact that they did not belong to the same category as those penitent ascetics who believed in the theory of neglecting the body and practising self-mortifications to gain emancipation. Their asceticism was a form of self-discipline and detachment from the world, for they shunned all the comforts and enjoyments of life and led a very simple life by begging and having no settled habitation.

Born into a society where these religious ideas were widely prevalent it was natural that the bodhisatta, too, first followed the same beaten track by renouncing worldly pleasures and starting his new mode of life as a wandering ascetic. From the time of his great renunciation (*mahābhinikkhamana*) till he attained full enlightenment, his persistent effort was to discover the much sought after release from the miseries of existence. First he went to a number of religious teachers who claimed that they had discovered the truth. Failing to get what he wanted from them he started to practise his course of austerities to realise his ambition. In trying this method he followed the widely accepted view of the day that self-mortifications, comprising the infliction of severe pains to the body, were capable of bringing about final emancipation. After practising them for full six years he realised the vanity of giving pain to the body for the attainment of spiritual progress. Consequently, in his very first sermon he condemned both self-mortification and self-indulgence as useless and harmful and he advocated the middle path (*majjhimā paṭipadā*) as the unfailing method for the realisation of truth.

It is important to note here that the Buddha did not condemn asceticism in its entirety. It was the extreme forms of ascetic practices that he condemned as absolutely useless for any type of progress.

In his first sermon he speaks of the two extremes of self-indulgence (*kāmasukhallikānuyoga*) and self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*) as low, vulgar, base, ignoble and not conducive to good (*hīna, gāma, pothujjanika, anariya, anatthasaṃhita*). Before this truth dawned upon him, the bodhisatta himself practised the most extreme forms of austerities for six years. He resorted to every form of such practice as was prevalent at the time. The account (*M.* I, 240 ff.) given by the Buddha himself is a graphic description of the well-known ascetic practices of the day. " Then I set my teeth, pressed my tongue to my palate, and restrained, crushed and burnt out my mind with my mind and sweat flowed from my armpits. Just as if a strong man were to seize a weaker man by the head or the shoulder, so did I set my teeth and sweat flowed from my armpits." Failing to get what he wanted from this, he started another such practice, the practice of trance without breathing. Thus, he restrained breathing through both nose and mouth. As he did so a violent sound of winds started to issue from his ears, as if from a blacksmith's bellows. His pains were as if a strong man were to crush his head with a sword. Thrice he held his breath and he felt as if a strap were being twisted round his head, as if a butcher were cutting his body or as if two strong men were holding a weaker one over a fire of coals. It was at this time that the gods suspected that he had died.

He next tried the practice of fasting. He describes his condition very graphically : " My body became extremely lean. The mark of my seat was like a camel's footprint, through little food. The bones of my spine, when bent and straightened, were like a row of spindles. As the beams of an old shed stick out, so did my ribs stick out, through little food. And as in a deep well the deep low-lying sparkling of the waters is seen, so in my eye-sockets was seen the deep low-lying sparkling of my eyes. And as a bitter gourd cut off raw is cracked and withered through wind and sun so was the skin of my head withered. When I thought I would touch the

skin of my stomach, I actually took hold of my spine and when I thought I would touch my spine, I took hold of the skin of my stomach, so much did the skin of my stomach cling to my spine. When I thought I would ease myself I fell down. To relieve the body I stroked my limbs with my hand and as I did so the decayed hair fell from my body " (The English translation of this sutta follows *The Life of the Buddha* by E.J. Thomas pp. 65–6). See Vol, II, Plate XI.

It was the very depth of austerity that was possible for man. Then he realised that self-mortification, even in its severest form, would never lead to noble knowledge and insight. It became clear to him that to achieve mental advancement the body had to be kept in perfect health. Consequently, he began to take food and to nourish his body, so that his body would regain its health. It was only after this that he was able to concentrate and achieve enlightenment at the end.

In the *Kassapasīhanāda Sutta* (*D.* I, 161 ff.), in a discussion with a naked ascetic, the Buddha explains his attitude towards ascetic practices. It can be epitomised in the sentence that the best form of asceticism according to his teaching is the practice of the path leading to arahantship. The various ascetic practices enumerated in this sutta are the means whereby a man injures himself. The asceticism the Buddha recommended is not one of torturing the body, but one that is negative in form, in which all sensual enjoyments are to be given up for the greater good of the spirit of man. Self-mastery and self-control are the highest forms of asceticism. It is true that those ascetics who believe in self-torture also despise and discard all forms of earthly enjoyment. The point of divergence between this type of asceticism and that recommended by the Buddha was that the followers of the former, after giving up worldly pleasures, had to torture the body by numerous austere practices, such as fasting, standing on one leg, holding the breadth, etc., while the Buddha not only never recommends such painful practices, but also discourages them as useless. After giving up worldly pleasures the Buddhist ascetic is expected to lead an extremely simple life without giving unnecessary pain to the body. While leading such a life he is to practise meditation and gradually make his way towards enlightenment.

Unlike self-torturing ascetics, the Buddha believed in the dictum *mens sana in corpore sano.* Hence, the Buddhist ascetic had to take regular food and regular baths to keep himself hale and hearty. The Buddha's theory was that if the body is not well looked after and is tortured by meaningless ascetic practices, the mind will not be able to function properly and achieve mental development. The Buddhist ascetic avoids things not in order to torture the body, but to discipline himself, and he is never expected to avoid those things which are necessary to maintain himself in perfect health. As the Buddha laid down emphatically in the first discourse, he was to follow the middle path (*majjhimā paṭipadā*) between the two extremes of self-indulgence (*kāmasukhallikānuyoga*) and self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*). It is one of the fundamental duties of the Buddhist ascetic to keep himself in health.

In the *Kassapasīhanāda Sutta,* the Buddha explains further how he sees with his divine eye the way in which various men given to asceticism and living a hard life are reborn after death into some unhappy state of misery, while others, living the very same life are reborn into some happy state, yet, other ascetics, living a less hard life, are similarly reborn either into an unhappy or a happy state, irrespective of the fact that they followed asceticism of varying degrees. The meaning implied in this statement is that asceticism alone will not bring about one's birth in either a happy or an unhappy state. Asceticism is not the sole means of escaping *saṃsāra.* As, on the one hand, asceticism of a certain kind is necessary for the recluse and as, on the other hand, asceticism alone is not conducive to emancipation, the Buddha says that it is pointless for him to disparage all penance and revile every ascetic. In the next step of the argument the Buddha says that there are points of agreement as well as of disagreement between his teaching and those of the other religious teachers and that if those other teachers come and discuss those things with him they would be able to resolve those differences. The Buddha goes on to say that he is more correct in his precept and example than those other teachers. Similarly, he says that his disciples are superior to those of others. Here, the Buddha emphasises the value of practising the Noble Eightfold Path which is the most cardinal tenet in Buddhism. The practice of this Path coupled with the necessary mental training will lead the practiser to his final deliverance.

In the sutta a list of ascetic practices is given by Kassapa, the naked ascetic, as being in vogue at the time. According to *M.* I, 77, the Buddha himself says that these were the practices that he carried out himself. They are again mentioned in *M.* I, 238 as the ascetic practices of non-Buddhist ascetics. The list includes some austere practices that were regarded as the true characteristics of *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*. For a summary of these see ASCETIC-

In the *Gāmaṇi Saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, 330 ff.), in a discussion with Rāsiya, the headman, the Buddha recommends the practice of the middle path as regards asceticism. This fact is discussed and dealt with quite clearly. Here Rāsiya comes to the Buddha and says that there is a report to the effect that the Buddha condemns and abuses every form of asceticism and he wants to know from the Buddha whether this report is true. To this the Buddha replies that he does not condemn all forms of asceticism wholesale and deals at length with the two extremes of self-mortification and self-indulgence and recommends the avoidance of both. Next, regarding the ascetics, he says that there are three kinds of ascetics; common to all of them is the fact that they go forth from home to homelessness. The first of these three kinds is the ascetic who, after renouncing worldly life, subjects himself to bodily tortures in their extreme forms, with the idea of realising some super-human experience and insight. Due to the fact that he believes solely in ascetic practices, he fails in his undertaking. The ascetic who, by doing those practices, comes to some profitable state but does not develop true insight, belongs to the second category. The third kind of ascetic is the one doing the very same practices and achieves all his aims. Next, the Buddha says that the first kind of ascetic who fails in his undertaking completely is blameworthy in three respects. Firstly, he goes to extremes in torturing himself. Secondly, despite his severe austerities, he comes to no profitable state, and thirdly he realises no super-human experience or insight. The second kind of ascetic is guilty of only the first and the third of these charges, for he comes to some profitable state. The third ascetic, despite the fact that he comes to a profitable state and also realises super-human knowledge and insight, still is blameworthy in that he practises extreme forms of self-torture.

In an utterance of joy (*udāna*) just after his enlightenment, the Buddha feels elated over the fact that he was released from the unprofitable practice of self-mortification (*sādhu mutto vatamhi tāya anattha-saṃhitāya dukkarakārikāya* : *S.* I, 103).

At this moment, Māra comes there and accuses the Buddha saying that by giving up self-mortification the Buddha has gone astray and that he is not yet actually enlightened :

tapokammā apakkamma
yena sujjhanti mānavā
asuddho maññati suddho
suddhimaggā aparaddho.

To this accusation the Buddha gives reply thus: "I understood how these austere ascetic practices are entirely destructive to my purpose like oar and rudder in a ship on land. I develop the path of morality, concentration and insight for the realisation of the truth and I have attained supreme purity. O Māra, you are vanquished." On hearing these words, Māra disappears.

In the *Udumbarikasīhanāda Sutta* (*D.* III, 36) there is another discussion of ascetic practices between the Buddha and the ascetic Nigrodha. Here, the Buddha invites the ascetic to ask him a question about his own austere practices and the Buddha himself asks him to explain how the fulfilment of that self-mortification comes about. To this question Nigrodha replies, "We, lord, profess self-mortifying austerities; we hold them to be essential, we cleave to them; in what does their fulfilment consist and in what their non-fulfilment?" Then the Buddha enumerates the various ascetic practices one by one and poses the question whether by doing them the austerity of self-mortification is carried out truly or not. To this query Nigrodha replies in the affirmative. Then the Buddha argues that the austerity of self-mortification thus carried out involves blemish in several ways.

After this discussion, in which the Buddha meticulously analyses the meaningless practices of the various ascetics of the day, he asks Nigrodha whether these things he pointed out are blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification or not and Nigrodha is convinced of the truth of what the Buddha says and he agrees that they are actually blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification.

The statement that the Buddha next makes is very important in relation to the topic under discussion, for it emphasises the Buddha's attitude towards these ascetic practices *vis à vis* his teaching. Thus, he says that an ascetic who undertakes a course of austerity, and is free from the above blemishes to some extent, to that degree he is purified (*evaṃ so tasmiṃ ṭhāne so parisuddho hoti*). To the extent an ascetic is free from the shortcomings, to that extent he is pure, says the Buddha. Thus, a genuine ascetic is the person who practises the austerity of self-discipline, without practising the meaningless habits in the name of religious austerity, as shown above. The Buddha's next question is whether austerity by these things becomes genuinely pure or not, to which Nigrodha replies that not only are they genuinely pure but they win topmost rank and reach the pith. The Buddha challenges this statement and says that not only does such austerity not reach topmost rank and the pith, but it does reach only the bark

(*papaṭikapattā hoti*) as distinct from the pith. Now the ascetic Nigrodha wants to know from the Buddha how asceticism wins top rank and reaches the pith and he requests the Buddha to help him to make his austerities useful and valuable.

The Buddha's words that follow are very significant, since in those words the Buddha explains what the fundamental pre-requisites of a genuine ascetic are. These the Buddha enumerates as the restraint of the fourfold watch (*catuyāma-saṃvara*). The first of these is fulfilled when an ascetic does not inflict injury on any living being, nor approves such injury. Secondly, he does not steal, nor approve theft. Thirdly, he does not lie, nor approve falsehood. Fourthly, he does not crave for the pleasures of the senses, nor lead others to do so.

Thus self-restrained, his austerity becomes a course of advancement upwards and he does not relapse to lower things. He chooses some lonely spot in the forest, at the foot of a tree, on the hillside, in a mountain glen, in a rocky cave, in the charnel place or a heap of straw in the open fields. And returning thither after his rounds for alms, and after partaking of his meal, he seats himself cross-legged, keeping his body erect and his intelligence alert and intent. Putting away the thoughts of hankering after worldly things, he abides with a passionless heart and purifies his mind of covetousness. Putting away the canker of attachment he abides with a heart free from enmity, benevolent and compassionate towards every living being, and purifies his mind of malevolence. Discarding sloth and torpor, flurry and worry, he abides free from excitement with his heart serene within. He puts away doubt and passes beyond perplexity. No longer in suspense as to what is good, he purifies his mind of doubt. He gets rid of the five hindrances (*pañcanīvarana*) and uses his insight to weaken the strength of those obstacles that defile the heart. He pervades the four quarters with unlimited thoughts of loving kindness (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*).

These are the fundamental qualities of a genuine ascetic according to the Buddha. Yet, despite these explanations, Nigrodha still maintains that the austere practices which he so far believed in are genuine and pure. Again the Buddha maintains that that type of austerity has no real depth of meaning and he explains his viewpoint further.

In the next reply the Buddha goes a step further and says that a real ascetic, in addition to practising the restraint of the fourfold watch and the four *brahmavihāras* referred to above, recalls to his mind his various temporary states in the past, his existence through many aeons in all their rebirths (*pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa*). Again, Nigrodha refuses to believe the Buddha and the latter adds some more facts to his explanation.

This time the Buddha says that in addition to the characteristics mentioned earlier a true ascetic acquires pure *deva*-vision surpassing that of men. Thus, he sees beings as they pass away from one existence to another and sees how they die and are reborn according to their kamma. Nigrodha continues to be unconvinced.

Then the Buddha further emphasises that such was his teaching which he had so far explained and in which he trains his disciples. And because they follow his teaching, it wins for them comfort and consequently they acknowledge the teaching as their utmost support and the fundamental support of all righteousness.

In the end Nigrodha and his ascetics are vanquished in argument and they realise that they had been so far under a delusion and, being fully convinced, they become the followers of the Buddha.

In *D*. III, 232, individuals are divided into four groups in relation to austere practices. Here too, it is the same Buddhist attitude towards such practices that is emphasised. The division is as follows : First is the one who torments himself and is devoted to self-mortification ; he is called *attantapa*. The second is the one who torments others (*parantapa*). The third torments both self and others (*attantapo ca parantapo ca*). The fourth is the person who lives his life free from all longings, perfected, cool, in blissful enjoyment and whose whole life is thus ennobled. Such is the genuine Buddhist ascetic.

In *D*. III, 239, it is said that if a monk adopts the religious life with the desire of belonging to one of the *deva* groups, thinking that by a particular rite of austerity he would become a *deva*, his mind never inclines towards arduous and devoted perseverance and exertion.

In *S*. I, 38, the Buddha says that the ascetic ways and the life of chastity are the purificatory bathing places where there is no water. Here, what the Buddha means by *tapas* are not the austerities that torture the body, but self-discipline, the discipline of the five senses, which is the asceticism he always recommended. Thus, here he makes special mention of the life of chastity which is the most fundamental ascetic virtue in Buddhism, which undoubtedly is common to other forms of asceticism

also. This statement of the Buddha has to be understood in relation to another widespread religious custom of the day. It was the practice of bathing in holy rivers for washing away one's sins. The Buddha never believed in this purificatory rite and here he reads a new meaning into the existing rite by saying that genuine asceticism and a life of celibacy are the things that purify a man's life and as such, he says, they are the holy bathing places without water.

Most of the non-Buddhist brāhmans practised penance with the idea of attaining supernatural powers, or becoming a deva, etc. The Buddha looked down upon this practice throughout. In *S.* IV, 118, it is said that mantras, empty rites and penances are the caste-marks of the brāhmans. In *S.* IV, 180, too, this practice is further condemned.

Nett. 121 says that by developing the concentration of energy (*viriyasamādhi*) one can fulfil the needs of asceticism. Incidentally, this *viriyasamādhi* is one of the four roads to power (*iddhipāda*) and in Buddhism these are regarded as preparation for the fruition of the path. They constitute only a stage in the path to arahantship. One who practises the *iddhipādas* enjoys various magical powers which constitute a natural phase in the course towards final enlightenment, but they are never the end itself. Hence, one who genuinely practises correct asceticism is bound to develop those super-mundane faculties and thus he fulfils the requirements of true asceticism. There is another interesting discussion on asceticism in *A.* II, 200, where two Licchavis come to the Buddha and tell him that there are some recluses and brāhmans who proclaim a twofold crossing of the flood (*oghassa nittharaṇaṃ*), one made by purity of morals and the other made by self-mortification. The Licchavis report this matter to the Buddha and ask for his opinion. The Buddha, true to his teaching, says that the purity of morals is a necessary feature of recluseship. This is the asceticism the Buddha recommends. Those who uphold self-mortification and avoidance, those who make them essential, remain clinging to them and are incapable of crossing the flood, says the Buddha. In order to bring home what he says, the Buddha uses a simile wherein he compares mere austere practices to a well-cut and well-smoothened log of wood which when put in water sinks, but does not help one to cross the flood in the form of a boat. The idea of the ascetic who believes in the efficacy of ascetic practices alone for his deliverance is also an illusion like this, for the log of wood has to be cleansed inside and hollowed out if it is to float like a boat. The practice of austerities is like smoothening the log outside while its inside is not cleansed. In this simile, ascetic practices are compared to cleansing the outside and spiritual development to cleansing the inside. Both should go hand in hand, with the practice of asceticism kept within the necessary limits. Thus, the Buddha says that those who follow this path are people capable of crossing the flood of *saṃsāra*.

In *D.* II, 49 and *Dhp.* *v.*184, it is said that patience which is long-suffering, is the highest form of austerity. When it is said that patience (*khanti*) and endurance (*titikkhā*) are the highest forms of austerity, it very clearly implies that Buddhist asceticism is the discipline of the five senses and purity in moral qualities, coupled with the development of the mental faculties. This cannot be properly done by one who is lethargic and lazy.

In the fascinating dialogue between the Buddha and the brāhman Kasībhāradvāja (*Sn.* 77 and *S.* I, 172), the Buddha explains in a very beautiful simile the place of ascetic practices as recommended by him in his teaching. Here the Buddha compares himself to a cultivator and says that faith is his seed, austerity rain, wisdom yoke and plough, fear-to-err his pole, thought the strap and mindfulness his ploughshare and the goad :

saddhā bījaṃ tapo vuṭṭhi
paññā me yuganaṅgalaṃ
hirī īsā mano yottaṃ
sati me phālapācanaṃ.

It should be remembered that, as everywhere else, here too, what the Buddha means by *tapas* is not self-mortification which inflicts pain on the body, but the control of the sense-organs plus mental development. Just as seeds sown need rain to grow and ripen, even so this asceticism of the Buddha is vitally necessary for the spiritual advancement of the recluse.

This same type of austerity and a life of chastity are referred to as great boons in the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (*Sn.* 26) : *tapo ca brahmacariyā ca.....etaṃ maṅgalamuttamaṃ*. The commentary explains this term *tapas* as the burning of evil proclivities (*pāpake dhamme tapatīti tapo*). In other words, it is the subjugation of all defilements (*kilesa*), which exactly is the purpose of the Buddhist recluse.

In the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* (*Sn.* 655), there is a verse which is of extreme importance for the topic under discussion. Here the Buddha says that it is by

genuine austerity, chastity, self-control and self-denial that a person becomes a perfect brāhman :

tapena brahmacariyena
saṃyamena damena ca
etena brāhmaṇo hoti
etaṃ brāhmaṇamuttamaṃ.

In *VvuA.* 114, it is said that the purpose of ascetic practices in Buddhism is the subduing of sense-desires and not giving positive pain to the body (*uttamena tapasā sabbaṃ kilesapakkhaṃ tāpetvā, samucchinditvā*).

The Buddha was in the habit of taking various words which had religious connotations as prevalent in the society of his day and investing them with new meanings according to his own teaching. The term *brāhmaṇa* is a case in point. In the same way the term *tapassī*, denoting an ascetic, was appropriated by the Buddha from the current coinage and he attributed to it the meaning according to his conception. Thus, the Buddha himself is very often referred to as *tapassī*, e.g., *tapassī samaṇo Gotamo* (*Vin.* I, 234 ; *A.* IV, 184, etc.). But the asceticism he preached was quite different from that preached by the other religious teachers of the day.

In the *Devatā Saṃyutta* (*S.* I, 29), when the Buddha was lying down with an injured foot, a group of devas came to see him and made certain utterances in praise of him. In the words put into the mouths of these devas, the Buddhist attitude towards the non-Buddhist forms of asceticism is clearly expressed : " Even if the Vedic brāhmans were to engage in ascetic practices for a century, their hearts would not be correctly freed, for their ideal is mean and they can never go beyond the ocean of *saṃsāra*. Full of craving, they are bound by rite and rule and thus they practise a useless penance. "

In the *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 270-71 and the *SnA.* 295, eight kinds of ascetics are enumerated : (1) Those who live with wife and children (*saputtabhariyā*). Their asceticism would have consisted only in that they led a life of aloofness from the rest of society. They earned their living somehow or other without begging for alms. All the other seven categories were those who had severed all their family ties and lived a life of seclusion. (2) Those ascetics who go to the threshing field and collect grain for food. They are called *uñchācariyā*. (3) Those who go begging for uncooked rice in villages ; they are called *anagghapakkhikā* (4) Those who go begging in the village and collect only cooked rice ; these are *sāmapākā*. (5) Those who believed that going for alms daily was a great inconvenience for them and therefore peeled off bark from trees, pounded it with stones and used it as food. These were called *asammuṭṭhikā*. (6) The next category peeled bark off with their teeth and ate it and they were called *dantavakkalikā*. (7) Those who exist on fruits brought down by throwing stones and sticks at them are *pavattaphalabhojino*. (8) The last class of ascetics exist solely on the fruits that fall by themselves and are called *paṇḍupalāsitā*. This last category is again divided into three kinds as excellent, medium and mild. To the first category belong those who sit under a particular tree and eat only those fruits that can be gathered without moving about. Those who walk about under a single tree and do not go from one tree to another belong to the second category. To the third division belong those who move from one tree to another and gather fruits for their subsistence.

From the foregoing discussion it becomes abundantly clear that the Buddhist attitude towards ascetic practices was that such practices were to be resorted to only as forms of self-discipline and the Buddha was vehemently against the practice of torturing the body in the name of religion, whereas the non-Buddhist forms of asceticism recommended a positive type of austere practices in which the infliction of physical pain was developed as an art. In contrast to this the Buddha's asceticism was of a negative kind wherein the control of the sense-desires was given pride of place. His asceticism was positive in the spiritual sense. It is true that there is pain in the suppression of sense-desires and it is in this respect that the term *tapas* is used. It is in this sense that Buddhist asceticism involves pain. It is a negative kind of pain resulting from the cultivation of self-discipline. A Buddhist ascetic has no material longings, which is a violation of the natural tendencies of man. His material wants are confined to the basic necessities of life essential for leading a healthy life. It is a life of extreme simplicity.

The natural desire of every living being is to satisfy his sense-desires. This is called craving (*taṇhā*) in its myriad forms. According to Buddhism, all these desires are defilements (*kilesa*). By satisfying them one can never escape the drudgery of existence. The more they are fed, the longer this suffering becomes. The fundamental pre-requisite for one setting himself on the path to salvation is that all attachments to worldly things, resulting from *taṇhā*, have to be given up. This renunciation is the starting point of Buddhist asceticism.

It is called the going from home to homelessness (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjā*). To begin with, the Buddhist ascetic has to give up all the pleasures of the senses. Next, leading a life of seclusion, with utter disinterestedness in worldly things, he develops the fine art of contentment about food, clothing and shelter and all other personal needs. Thenceforth, it is a case of psychological development, till he attains arahantship.

Dhutaṅgas. There is a list of thirteen ascetic practices called *dhutaṅgas* or means of shaking off the defilements. The Buddha has recommended these not as compulsory, but as means of cultivating virtues such as paucity of wishes, contentment, etc. (*appicchatā, santuṭṭhitā*). They are regarded as means of purification, for they wean one away from the worldly attachments.

The first *dhutaṅga* is the refuse-rag-wearer's practice (*paṃsukūlikaṅga*) of making one's robes from picked up rags. The second is the practice of wearing only three robes (*tecīvarikaṅga*), consisting of the cloak of patches, the upper garment and the inner clothing. The third is the practice of begging for alms (*piṇḍapātikaṅga*). This is a practice which is held in very high esteem by the Buddha and recommended for every Buddhist monk. The fourth is the practice of going for alms to houses in regular order, without selection (*sapadānacārikaṅga*). This implies that a Buddhist monk should not discriminate between the rich and the poor, the high and the low, when going to houses for alms. All have to be treated equally. The fifth is eating in one session only (*ekāsanikaṅga*). This is a disciplinary practice recommended for every Buddhist monk. This habit was recommended probably mainly from the viewpoint of health. The sixth is that of eating only from the alms-bowl (*pattapiṇḍikaṅga*). The seventh is refusing any extra food after he has got his due share (*khalupacchābhattikaṅga*). This means that when a monk has got his meal by begging or by some other blameless method, he is to be satisfied with what he has got and is to refuse even a superior kind of food offered afterwards. The eighth is living in the forest (*āraññikaṅga*), a practice in which seclusion is recommended. From this eighth *dhutaṅga* follows the ninth which is living under a tree (*rukkhamūlikaṅga*). The tenth is living in the open air (*abbhokāsikaṅga*) and the eleventh living in a cemetery (*sosānikaṅga*). The twelfth is being satisfied with whatever dwelling one gets (*yathāsanthatikaṅga*). The thirteenth is the practice of sleeping in a sitting posture (*nesajjikaṅga*). This seems to be the most austere of all the practices and it looks somewhat against the Buddhist concept of asceticism, for it involves the infliction of pain on the body. It goes beyond the idea of self-discipline and seems to have been borrowed from the non-Buddhist ascetic practices prevalent at the time.

The *dhutaṅgas* were not to be practised as mere external rites, but as means of purifying the spirit. It is very significant that the Buddha has not made them compulsory for all Buddhist monks. It is left to the discretion of the individual whether to practise all or some of them, but there is no compulsion. Some of these *dhutaṅgas* were among the demands made by Devadatta to be made compulsory, but which the Buddha refused.

The *dhutaṅgas* are discussed in very great detail in chapter ii of the *Visuddhimagga*. The *Milindapañha* devotes a whole book (vi) to their glorification. The fact that they are not enjoined in the Vinaya as a whole shows that they were not widely adopted, but became popular later and were consequently incorporated in the text-books. See also ASCETIC and ASCETICISM.

A. G. S. K.

ASEKHA (var. *asekkha*, Skt. *aśaikṣa*), one who no longer needs religious training. See ARIYA PUGGALA.

ASEKHIYA SUTTA, of the *Phāsuvihāra Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 134), preached by the Buddha to the monks, mentions five qualities which make a monk worthy of offerings, namely, that he is possessed of the whole body (*khandha*) of virtue (*sīla*) fully trained, of concentration (*samādhi*), of insight (*paññā*), of emancipation (*vimutti*), and of knowledge and vision of emancipation (*vimuttiñāṇadassana*). The sutta derives its name from the term *asekhiya* which occurs in the sutta and which means fully trained or in no need of training.

H. R. P.

ASELA, a king of Ceylon. He was the son of Muṭasiva and the younger brother of Devānampiyatissa, and reigned in Anurādhapura for ten years during the 2nd century B.C. He is said to have erected a cetiya in the Asokamālaka (*MhvA*. 358), a spot in the Mahāmeghavana of Anurādhapura, consecrated by the Buddha Kassapa by preaching the Dhamma on his visit to Laṅkā, i.e., Ceylon (*Mhv*. xv, 153 ff.).

A. G. S. K.



(by courtesy of the Museum, Lahore, Pakistan)

ASCETIC PRACTICES : The bodhisatta, a sculpture from Gandhāra, 2nd-4th century A. C.

PLATE XII



(*reproduced from The Book of Ceylon by Henry W. Cave, London, 1912*)

ASGIRI VIHĀRA, Kandy, Ceylon. Inner shrine.

ĀSEVANA-PACCAYA, the relationship of influence of a prior mental condition on a succeeding one by repetition, recurrence or frequency, whereby a habit may be formed, or at least a greater efficiency developed. As the prior condition leaves thus its imprint on, and gives impulse to, the succeeding one, this relationship is only established among phenomena of the same order. Thus, repeated attempts at writing will result in greater proficiency in that art, but will not assist in the development of other skills, e.g., of singing. A good action will make a succeeding good action better; an evil action will make a succeeding evil action worse. It may be called, therefore, also the relationship of gathering experience. It is the twelfth of the 24 modes of conditioned relationship. See PACCAYA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀSEVA SUTTA occurs in the *Accharā Vagga* of the *Eka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 10). The Buddha, addressing the monks, speaks about the importance of associating (*āsevati*) with a thought of loving kindness (*mettacitta*), saying that one who harbours such a thought even for the shortest duration of time is really worth the name of monk. Such a monk's meditation is not without fruit, and alms given to him by the people is fully justified, not to speak of a monk who cultivates such thoughts always.

W. G. W.

ĀSEVITABBA SUTTA occurs in the *Puggala Vagga* of the *Tika Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 124-5). There are three types of people, namely, those to be avoided and not to be associated with, those to be merely associated with, and those who should be honoured, saluted and respected while associating with them. The first are those inferior to one in virtue, the second are equals and the third those who are superior.

W. G. W.

ASGIRI VIHĀRA, in Kandy, Ceylon, the headquarters (jointly with its twin at Malwatta Vihāra) of the Siam Nikāya, to which belong the largest number of monks in the country. Its formal designation of Hayagiri Vijayasundarārāma is less current than the Sinhalese name given above.

The origins of the vihāra are traditionally assigned to Asgiri Devī, a queen-mother of about the 14th cent. A.C. She was from the town of Mātalē, in Asgiriya some 17 miles north east of Kandy, and is the reputed founder. Her remains were cremated near the present Gedigē Vihāra here and a bodhi tree marks the site. From ashes discovered as the foundation deposit of Gedigē Vihāra it would seem that the building, although a temple, served also as a memorial to her.

The buildings themselves are loosely grouped under the following names or their equivalents: Gedigē, Ādāhana Maḷuva, Māda Pansala, Parana and Alut Vihāras. They are largely separated by secular and private lands which had been leased out many years ago by the temple incumbents. So that there are the playing-field of a high school, a Muslim mosque, the state railway line and such irrelevancies existing on the property, which had once been owned by the temple.

The Gedigē Vihāra is the oldest of the temple buildings. It is in the architecture of about the sixteenth century and is crowned by a dome in the shape of a *stūpa*. The Parana (old) and Alut (new) Vihāras date back to two kings of Ceylon, Kīrti Śrī and Śrī Vikrama Rājasiṃha. The other buildings are unpretentious and modern; a few architectural details (e.g., door-jambs) survive here and there.

As a result of the cremation of Asgiri Devī, the place came to be occasionally called Asgiri Vihāra and a chief monk of it is named in 1653. But the temple itself and the residences do not appear then to have been worthy of any note. In fact, the history of the Saṅgha shows a great decline for about a hundred years thereafter. It was only after the revival of the Higher Ordination or *upasampadā* in the 18th cent. (in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha), under the direction of the Siamese Mahā Thera, Upāli, that the Ceylon Saṅgha as we know it today, came to exist. The work of Upāli Mahā Thera and of the progress of the Saṅgha in the island from that time are discussed in their proper place. Suffice it to say, at this stage, that the Chapter which took rise at this time is formally designated Syāmopāli Mahānikāya, and the claim is made that it is in the spiritual succession of the ancient Mahāvihāra. Its members stem from the twin Vihāras of Asgiriya and Malwatta where the two chief monks (Mahānāyakas) reside and wield ecclesiastical authority over the largest number of Sinhalese monks. Except for a few, they are robed with the right shoulder bare. Furthermore, they admit only members of the agricultural caste (as far as Sinhalese society is concerned; the restriction is not applied to non-Sinhalese).

Asgiriya (with Malwatta) received royal benefactions of lands and other property. By far the largest number of benefices, comprising ancient and historical sites, have passed into their keeping and it is the Mahānāyaka who appoints incumbents to them. He himself is elected by a Chapter and is not necessarily the most senior by ordination. The vihāras under the jurisdiction of the twin institutions have been demarcated, broadly speaking, on geographical lines. That is to say, Asgiriya administers those north of Mahavāligaṅga, the principal river, and Malwatta those in the south. Of those in Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa, the two most important of the ancient capitals, Malwatta has jurisdiction over the former; Asgiriya claims the latter.

After the settlement by Upāli, the position of Mahānāyaka of Asgiriya was given to Urulāwattē Dhammasiddhi thera who received from the king a special fan as the sign of this office. He was in office at the time the Paraṇa Vihāra was built in 1766 by Piḷimatalāvē, a leading chief. Disputes over incumbencies and the ownership of property arose in Asgiriya from time to time, so that the king had to appoint a special officer, Hantiya Nilamē to hear them and report to him for action. The Mahānāyaka in the time of the last king of Ceylon was Māvatagama Mahā Thera.

With the loss of native independence in 1815, the British government continued, for about half a century, to act *in loco regis*. When in 1882 the Mahānāyakas of the two Vihāras died and were cremated, it is the British government which paid the expenses of £ 15.4.0*d* for both (the Asgiriya share being £ 8.1.8½*d*). It continued to appoint the Mahānāyakas until 1853 when the Secretary of State for the Colonies modified the procedure. He instructed that future appointments by the government should cease and that the election be made by the chapter of monks. The election, being notified to the Government Agent of the province, was to be reported to the Governor who was the ratifying authority of the choice. The government then issued a letter of recognition.

In the same year, too, the custody of the Daḷadā (relic of the Buddha's tooth which is housed in Kandy) was given over to the two establishments, which, along with the lay trustee of that temple, the Daḷadā Māligāva, had to give an undertaking that the sacred relic would not be used for any purpose other than devotional. (The significance of the proviso is explained elsewhere.) Asgiriya and Malwatta had each to furnish three monks for the daily ritual, but the members so selected had to receive the approval of the lay trustee.

The right of the Asgiri Mahānāyaka (also of his counterpart in Malwatta) to remove an unworthy member from the Saṅgha was recognised by the British Civil Courts, which, upon satisfying themselves of the proof of removal, caused the offenders to be ejected from his incumbency and other property rights vested in him as a member of the Saṅgha.

The chapter-house (*pōyagē*: see Vol. II, Plates XII, XIII) of Asgiriya is situated in the middle section (*mäda pansala*) where also the Mahānāyaka thera resides. Next to the Gеḍigē Vihāra the oldest temple is the Paraṇa Vihāra which was constructed in 1766 by the governor (*disāvē*) of the Four Korales who, for this purpose, purchased a plot of land in the village of Doḍanvala at one extremity of Kandy. He also acquired some land as an endowment; the king was greatly pleased at his worthy action. The incumbency of the vihāra so established was given to Urulāvattē Dhammasiddhi thera.

The kings of Ceylon had exercised authority over the members of the Saṅgha, and it is a fact that the last king, Śrī Vikrama Rājasiṃha, caused one of them (Doraṭiyāvē) to be disrobed. (Later on he was re-admitted to the Saṇgha, though to fall into disgrace again over the anti-British revolt of 1818.)

Piḷimatalāvē, the leading chief and general, who was a son of the builder of Paraṇa Vihāra, himself built a new temple (Alut Vihāra) in 1801. It is the last historic work for the religion under the kings of Ceylon and was executed on lines as ambitious as those recorded in the chronicles. A large boulder on the spot was sculptured into a figure of the Buddha recumbent on a stone couch; the figure is some 12 cubits long as listed. The shrine-house, which enclosed it and the other decorative and attendant figures, incorporated the boulder in the rear. The final ceremony of painting the eyes was attended by the young king (only 21 years old) accompanied by his mother and sister. In his retinue were the two foremost chiefs (*adigārs*) and officers of lesser rank, whilst there was a great concourse of monks and lay people at this, the most glittering of royal religious ceremonies of the last kingdom. On one face of the stone at the site was inscribed, in formal language, the details of construction and the royal approval. Until 1859 there were alive a monk and a chief who had been eye-witnesses of this solemn festival.

Eighty-six years after the event Emile Senart, the French savant, read the inscription and expatiated on its contents to the monks of Asgiriya and others who honoured the great Orientalist by their presence (A. C. Lawrie, *A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon*, I, pp. 68–76).

The Ādāhana Maḷuva (the place of cremation) is closest to the main road and the railway line to Mātalē cuts through it. In the writings of the early British there were sketches which showed the small *cetiyas* which had entombed the ashes from the cremation of monks, also of kings whose mortal remains were reputed to have been consigned to the flames on this spot (John Davy, *A Visit to the Interior of Ceylon*; Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, etc.).

It is from here that the last stage of the annual *Āsaḷa Perahāra* of Kandy commences on the concluding day.

Across the main highway are the solid buildings of a Christian high school and of the chapel attached to it; they are on ground which properly belongs to Asgiriya Vihāra. In the Crown Forest Reserve behind there used to be retreats for those monks of the chapter who were more inclined towards a contemplative life, for it is this chapter which traditionally claims to be the spiritual descendants of the Paṃsukūlika Saṅgha mentioned in the island's chronicles.

(The name Asgiriya is borne by other temples as well, e.g., at Mātalē and Gampaha; but these are insignificant places.)

D. T. D.

ASHARA-JO (阿叉羅帖), a compilation in five fascicles of Sanskrit documents in the temples of Japan, such as Raigō-ji in Omi, Hōryū-ji in Yamato, Kōki-ji in Kawachi. This work contains fifty-seven documents.

Ashara or *akṣara* means 'characters' and *jō* means 'document'.

The compiler was Shinna Sōen. This work was published in the eighth year of the Tenpō era (1837 A.C.) by the Sairai-ji where the compiler lived. The Sairai-ji still preserves the wooden blocks for printing this work.

K. TMR.

A-SHÊ-JU-LAI-NIEN-SUNG-KUNG-YANG-FA (阿閦如來念誦供養法: *Nanjio*, No. 1420; *Taishō*, No. 921), the Chinese translation, in one fascicle, of a Sanskrit text, of which the restored title is *Akṣobhya-tathāgatādhyāya-pūjā-kalpa*. The translator is Amoghavajra (705–74 A.C.) of the T'ang dynasty.

This text deals with the methods of praying to *Akṣobhya-tathāgata*. Inside of a hall where the image of the *Akṣobhya-tathāgata* is installed, a devotee, facing eastward, should worship tathāgatas and bodhisattvas, should repent for his sins, should follow rejoicingly the virtues and the wisdom of tathāgatas and others, should appeal to tathāgatas to continue benefitting all beings, and should appeal to have merits due to him transferred to all beings. Then, he should sit in front of the image of Akṣobhya-tathāgata and recite the *dhāraṇī* in order to make all beings attain enlightenment.

Everything is to be done while chanting the *dhāraṇī*. Forty-one *dhāraṇī* are mentioned in this text.

K. TMR.

A-SHÊ-LI-TA-MAN-T'U-LO-KUAN-TING-I-KUEI (阿闍梨大曼荼羅灌頂儀軌 *Taishō*, No. 862; *Ācārya-mahā-maṇḍala-abhiṣeka-kalpa*), 'a ceremonial method of abhiṣeka (sprinkling water) of ācārya's great maṇḍala', a text extant in Chinese in one fascicle. Neither the translator's name nor the time of translation is known. Many catalogues of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts do not give any account of this text.

This ceremony is to be performed to obtain the true wisdom common to all Tathāgatas.

Let a disciple apply incense on his palms, take flowers, apply fragrance on his arms from an incense-burner, watch a lantern and so on. Then, the teacher puts him on a platform and says, "now, you are one of the kinsmen of tathāgatas. Now, you shall obtain the diamond-like wisdom . . . ." The teacher recites the *dhāraṇī* of the *Mahāyāna-samaya*, the *dhāraṇī* of the character '*aḥ*' one hundred and eight times, and so on. The teacher explains to the disciple the mystical form on the altar, and says, "Due to these dharmas you are protected by all tathāgatas and the vajrasattva dwells in your mind . . . " Water is sprinkled on the head of the disciple and the teacher gives a five-tipped thunderbolt to the disciple, who sitting in front of the *garbha-dhātu-maṇḍala*, takes the threefold refuge.

K. TMR.

A-SHÊ-SHIH-WANG-CHING, a translation in Chinese from the Sanskrit text which is presumably lost. See AJĀTAŚATRU-KAUKṚTYA VINODANA.

A-SHÊ-SHIH-WANG-NÜ-A-SHU-TA-P'U-SA-CHING (阿闍貰王女阿術達菩薩經 *Nanjio*, No.42; *Taishō*, No. 337), the Chinese translation of a Sanskrit text, *Aśokadattā-vyākaraṇa.* The translator is Dharmarakṣa of the western Tsin dynasty (265–317 A.C.). The Chinese title literally means 'sūtra on the bodhisattva Aśokadattā, a princess of king Ajātaśatru'. See AŚOKADATTĀ-VYĀKARAṆA.

K. TMR.

A-SHÊ-SHIH-WANG-SHOU-CHEÜH-CHING (阿闍世王授決經 *Nanjio*, No. 272; *Taishō*, No. 509), a sūtra in one fascicle, extant in Chinese, of which the restored Sanskrit title is *Ajātaśatru-rāja-vyākaraṇa Sūtra.* The translator is Fa-chü of the western Tsin dynasty (265–317 A.C.).

A poor old woman was given an assurance (*vyākaraṇa*) that she would become a Buddha, when she offered to the Buddha a humble light, which was not extinguished although many lights offered by king Ajātaśatru went out.

When a gardener offered flowers to the Buddha, which were meant to be delivered to the king's palace, the empty box was filled with heavenly flowers. The Buddha gave an assurance to the gardener, too, that he would be a Buddha.

Although king Ajātaśatru made great offerings to the Buddha, he did not obtain the assurance that he would be a Buddha. Jīvaka gave the king advice to be more sincere. The king led a moral life and removing all the gems from his costumes he made a bouquet of gems to offer it to the Buddha. At the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, the king was given an assurance that he would be a future Buddha at the Gṛdhrakūṭa.

K. TMR.

A-SHÊ-SHIH-WANG-TZŬ-HUI (阿闍世王子會), the Chinese translation of the *Siṃha-paripṛcchā*, the thirty-seventh section of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* (*Nanjio*, No. 23; *Taishō*, No. 310). The translator is Bodhiruci of the T'ang dynasty (618–907 A.C.). The Chinese title literally means 'an assembly (on the request of) a prince of the (court of) king Ajātaśatru'. See SIṂHA-PARIPṚCCHĀ.

K. TMR.

A-SHÊ-SHIH-WANG-WÊN-WU-NI-CHIN (阿闍世王問五逆經 *Nanjio*, No. 713; *Taishō*, No. 508), 'sūtra on the five deadly sins, in answer to king Ajātaśatru', extant in Chinese in one fascicle, translated by Fa-chü during the reign of emperor Hui (290–306 A. C.) of the western Tsin dynasty.

One day, king Ajātaśatru questioned Devadatta on the five deadly sins. "The Buddha teaches that if one commits one of the five deadly sins namely, matricide, patricide, killing an arhat, causing divisions among monks and causing harm to the Buddha, one should fall into a hell (*naraka*). Will I fall into a hell as I killed my father?" Devadatta's answer was that the king had not committed so great a sin.

At the Gṛdhrakūṭa, the Buddha, hearing about this conversation, told his disciples: "King Ajātaśatru will come to see me before long and will have faith in my teaching. He will fall into hell and then afterwards be born in many heavens. But, in the end he will be born as a human being and renounce the world to be a pratyekabuddha with the name Wu-wei (Without Impurities)."

This teaching of the Buddha was transmitted to the king Ajātaśatru, who sent a prince to the Buddha. When the Buddha heard of Ajātaśatru's remark that if the Buddha was proved to be omniscient, the king would go to see the Buddha, the Buddha said that Ajātaśatru would come to see him before long; and if he were to come after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, he should revere the *śārīrika* relic of the Buddha.

K. TMR.

ASHIDA, a sage. See ASITA DEVALA.

ASHIKAGA PERIOD, from 139 A. C. to 1568 A.C. (or to 1477 A. C.), during which fifteen chieftains of the Ashikaga clan became the shogunates (feudal chieftains) successively and ruled Japan in reality. This period is commonly known as Muromachi Period (q.v.).

ASHIKAGA TAKAUJI, (1305–58 A. C.), a chieftain of the Ashikaga clan, who in 1338 A. C. established the Muromachi-Bakufu, or the government by the Ashikaga clan in Japan, which continued till 1573 A. C.

Towards the end of the Kamakura Period (1192–1333 A.C.), the emperor Godaigo (1288–1399) wanted to restore the real power to rule Japan and he succeeded in it in 1333 A.C.

During the Kamakura Period, the Ashikaga clan was one of the most powerful clans owing to their relationship with the Kamakura shogunates (warrior-governors). So, when Takauji joined with the emperor, the Kamakura government was overthrown. After war, the emperor gave the highest award to Takauji. But many warriors were not satisfied with the emperor's government, and a civil war occurred in 1335 between the emperor Godaigo and Takauji Ashikaga.

In spite of the existence of the government of the emperor Godaigo in Yoshino, Takauji had prince Toyohito made emperor Kōmyō and Takauji himself became a shogunate and ruled Japan in reality. His government was called 'Muromachi-Bakufu' or 'Ashikaga-Bakufu'.

Takauji believed in the power of Avalokiteśvara at the Kiyomizu-dera. In the third year of the Kenmu era (1336 A. C.), he dedicated to the Kiyomizu-dera, a petition written by himself repenting of his sin, asking all good fortunes destined for him in this world to be transferred to Tadayoshi, his younger brother, and praying for his own welfare in another world.

Takauji with his main officers made thirty-three *wakas* (poems of thirty-one syllables each) on the theme of the verses in the chapter *Samantamukha* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, at the Jōdo-ji in Tomo. According to the *Taihei-ki* (太平記), when he was leaving Tomo for Kyoto, he had a dream that a glorious Avalokiteśvara came flying from the south and stood above his boat and the followers of Avalokiteśvara seemed to guard the boat.

Takauji had deep belief in the power of Kṣitigarbha also. By the order of Takauji, one hundred thousand images of Kṣitigarbha were made and installed at the Tōji-in to appease the souls of those who died in war. At present, the Jōmyō-ji at Kamakura and some other temples have pictures of Kṣitigarbha bodhisattva drawn by Takauji himself.

Takauji greatly admired some priests mainly of the Rinzai (Zen) sect and listened to their teachings. They were Musō Soseki (1275–1351), Koson Ingen (1295–1374), Jikusen Bonsens (1292–1348), Sūzan Kyochū (1277–1345). Koken Shiren (1278–1346), Kenpō Shidon (1285–1361), Fukuan Shūki (1280–1358), Kenshun (1299–1357) of the Sanbō-in, and others.

Takauji and his younger brother Tadayoshi tried to construct an Ankoku-ji and a Rishō-tō in every province to appease the souls of the dead of both sides, his own and his enemy's (see ANKOKU-JI). To pray for the repose of the soul of emperor Godaigo, they planned to build the Tenryū-ji. In order to get funds for the construction of the Tenryū-ji, two special trading boats, which were called 'Tenryū-jo-bune' or Tenryū temple boats, were allowed to go to China. Their construction began in 1339 A.C. and was completed in the fourth year of the Kōei era, 1345 A.C., (see TENRYŪ-JI). For the same purpose, Takauji made a vow to copy the Chinese Tripiṭaka in five thousand and forty-eight fascicles with the help of many priests. He himself copied the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and signed his name at the end of all the fascicles. This set of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was donated to the Tōji-ji, which was founded by Takauji. He also copied the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* and the *Ardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and published the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*.

The Muromachi-Bakufu continued till 1573 A.C., when the fifteenth shogunate Yoshiaki (1537–97 A.C.) was deprived of his post by Nobunaga Oda (1534–82 A.C.). Among fifteen shogunates of the Ashikaga clan, Yoshiakira (1330–67), the second, Yoshimitsu, the third, and Yoshimochi (1386–1428), the fourth shogunate, had very close connections with Buddhism.

K. TMR.

ASIBANDHAKAPUTTA, a headman (*gāmaṇī*) who visited the Buddha in the Pāvārika mango grove and asked him various questions (*S.* IV, 312). He was a follower of the nigaṇṭhas (*S.* IV, 317), but pleased with the answers given by the Buddha, declared himself to be a follower of the Buddha (*S.* IV, 322). For his conversations with the Buddha, see DESANĀ SUTTA, PACCHĀBHŪMAKA SUTTA and SAṄKHA SUTTA.

U. K.

ASICCHEDA, one of the tortures of purgatory. See ASIPATTAVANA.

ASIDHARĀ, name of a rākṣasī, cited in *Mahāmāyūrī* (241 .33 : *BHS.* s.v.).

ASILAKKHAṆA JĀTAKA, told by the Buddha regarding a brāhman in the service of the king of Kosala who could test a sword by smelling it. He was in the habit of taking bribes and passing only those who had won his favour. One day

a smith put pepper on his sword and brought it for testing. The pepper made the brāhman sneeze, thereby slitting his nose. When the Buddha was told of this incident he related the story of the past.

In a past birth this same brāhman was the sword-testor of the king Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī and he cut the tip of his nose in the same manner. The king had a false tip fitted to his nose and no one could tell the difference.

The king had a daughter and an adopted nephew who were deeply in love with each other. They intended to marry, but the king who wanted to widen his circle of relatives, having other plans for both, kept them apart. The prince bribed a wise old woman to assist him to carry away the princess. She told the king that his daughter was under the influence of witchcraft and sought his permission to take her to the cemetery laying her there on a bed with a corpse underneath, to exorcise the spirit possessing her, washing the demon away with a hundred and eight pots of scented water. The king consented. The princess was led to the cemetery under an armed escort and laid on the bed prepared for her. At once the prince, who according to the device of the old woman, was impersonating the corpse under the bed, sneezed aloud with the aid of some pepper. The old woman took to her heels with a loud scream. The guards, too, flung away their weapons and followed her. They had been earlier warned by her that after sneezing the corpse would get up and kill the first person he could lay his hands on. The prince came out and led away the princess to his own house. The king who heard this forgave them and made them man and wife. The prince was soon raised to the position of king.

The sword-testing brāhman found employment under the new king, too. One day, as he was standing in the sun his false nose melted and fell off, and he hung his head for shame. "Never mind" laughed the king. "What brings weal for one works woe for another. A sneeze cost you your nose. Another won me a throne and a queen." The prince was the bodhisatta himself. (*J*. I, 455–8).

C. W.

ASIMSANĀ. In Buddhism the three cardinal sources of misery, viz., *lobha* (greed), *dosa* (hatred) and *moha* (delusion) have various aspects. Thus, *lobha* is explained in *Dhs*. §§ 1059 and 1136 as having more than seventy divisions such as lust, passion, desire, etc., all of which are various aspects of greed. It is more or less a list of synonyms for *lobha*. The term *āsiṃsanā* occurs in this list and it means 'hoping for', 'wanting', etc.

The word is derived from the Sanskrit root *śaṃs* with *ā*, meaning to hope for, to pray for. In Pali the verb is *āsiṃsati* with *āsiṃsanā* as the abstract noun (cp. *āsā*). The original meaning of the word *śaṃs* was to praise someone with the idea of getting a favour done. This idea seems to have come from the Vedic Aryans who sang in praise of the gods with the hope that the latter would grant their wishes. In course of time this original sense was forgotten and the term was used to denote only the idea of hoping or wishing for something. Thus, the term is not used to denote desire in general, but, as the history and the etymological background of the word shows, it means a wish for any particular thing, while the individual was very much certain that he would have his wish fulfilled.

Hence, it is seen that the exact connotation of the word has to be understood in the light of Buddhist psychology.

The word is used in the context of its original meaning of praising the gods, in *Sn*. 1044 :

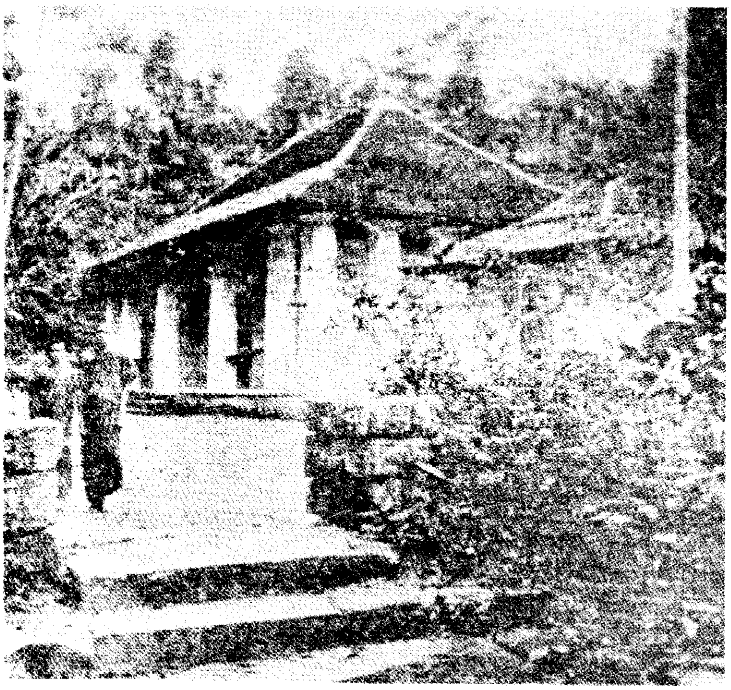
Ye ke ci ime isayo manujā
khattiyā brāhmaṇā devatānaṃ
yaññam akappayiṃsuputhū'dha loke
āsiṃsamānā, Puṇṇaka, itthabhāvaṃ

Because—when old—these hosts
of sages cherished hopes
by sacrifice to gods
to win some earthly bliss

(Lord Chalmer's translation).

In *Nett*. 53, in an explanation of the term *āsā* it is said : a desire arises in him with the hope that some potential purpose will be necessarily fulfilled and this is *āsā* (*āsā nāma : yā bhavissassa atthassa āsīsanā avassaṃ āgamissatī'ti āsā uppajjati*). In this passage it is seen how the term *āsīsanā* (the nasal is dropped in this context) is used in the sense of hope of fulfilment. Hence, it agrees with the meaning of the term as explained above.

In the non-technical and general sense of hoping for, the verb *āsiṃsati* is frequently used in Pali literature. For instance *S*. I, 34 : *parato āsiṃsare bālā; tampi tesaṃ na labbhati*. Transl: Those things the fools do hope for by and by; Remain e'en here ungotten (Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation). *Sn*. 779 : *nāsiṃsatī lokaṃ imaṃ parañca*, etc. Transl : Does not crave this or the other world



ASGIRI VIHĀRA, Kandy, Ceylon. Sīmā.

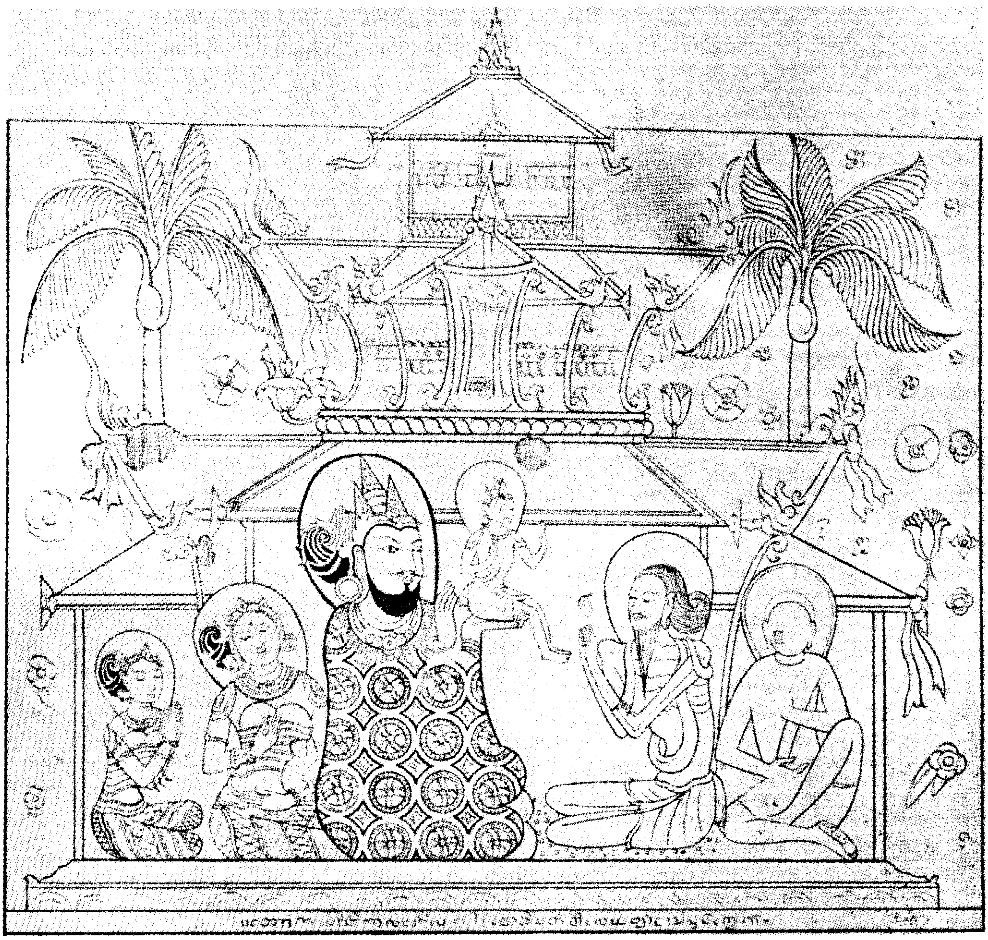
(reproduced from the Book of Ceylon by Henry W. Cave, London, 1912)



ASITA visits Suddhodana : a relief from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Siddhattha, the bodhisatta, is represented by his footprints on the matted hair of the ascetic.

(by courtesy of the Archæological Department, India)

PLATE XIV



(*by courtesy of the Archæological Department, Burma*)

ASITA, paying his respects to the young prince Siddhattha.

But in these places it does not connote the technical meaning of the term *āsiṃsanā* as explained above.

A. G. S. K.

ĀSIṂSA VAGGA, the sixth chapter of the *Eka Nipāta* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, consisting of ten jātakas (Nos. 51–60) and named after *āsiṃsa*, the first word occurring in its first jātaka (*J.* I, 261–84).

ASIMUSALADHARĀ, name of a rākṣasī, occurring in a list of rākṣasīs in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

ASIPĀSA, a word used exclusively in the *Milindapañha* (191) to designate a class of deities who are said to have been worshipped by a mystic sect. These worshippers are mentioned together with nineteen other classes, among whom are jugglers, wrestlers, ballet-dancers and mystic sects worshipping various divinities like the sun, the moon, the goddess of fortune, etc. Rhys Davids refers to these groups as castes and observes that the meaning of these names has become obscure (*Questions of Milinda*, London, 1890, p. 266 and n.).

Etymologically the word *asipāsa* means 'having swords for snares' (*PED.* see under *asi.*).

B. J.

ASIPATTAVANA (Sanskrit: *asipattravana*) one of the tortures of purgatory. In the distance it appears like a mango grove, and when the inhabitants of purgatory enter, wishing to eat the mangoes, leaves (*patta*) which are sharp like swords (*asi*) fall on them, cutting off their limbs (*Sn.* p. 130; *SnA.* II, p. 481; *Mmk.* pp. 115, 635).

U. K.

ASIPA(T)TRA, one of the tortures of purgatory. See ASIPATTAVANA.

ĀSĪRVĀDA-GĀTHĀ, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a selection of stanzas occurring in the *No-mtshar bstan-bcos* (*Āścarya-śāstra*) section of the Tengyur under the title *Śis-par brjod-paḥi tshigs-su bcad-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 150, No. 5949). As stated in the colophon (viz., *Ḥphags-pa rgya-cher rol-paḥi mdoḥi tshoṅ dpon Ga-gon daṅ Bzaṅ-poḥi leḥu-las byuṅ-ba*) the stanzas form an extract from the *Trapuṣabhallikaparivarta*, the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Lalitavistara* (*Lal.* 282 ff.). According to the *Lalitavistara* these stanzas were uttered by the Buddha to the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika (Pali: Tapassu and Bhalluka) who had made an offering of honey and sugar-cane to him, during the seventh week (*saptame saptāhe*: *Lal.* 276) after enlightenment. Here the Buddha invokes blessings on the merchants in their journeys and implores the protection of the seven stars, the guardian god (*lokapāla*) and his following, and the eight female deities (*devakumārikā*) who are associated with each direction. The names of the stars, the guardian gods and the deities are mentioned.

R. H.

ASISŪKARIKA SUTTA (*S.* II, 257) records the incident of Moggallāna seeing a peta while on his way, with Lakkhaṇa, from Gijjhakūṭa to Rājagaha. The peta travelled through the air which was bristling with sword blades. The swords kept rising and falling directly on his body while he uttered cries of pain. The Buddha explains the peta's plight by relating that the latter, in his former birth, was a pig-butcher 'in this very Rājagaha'.

U. K.

ASITA (1), one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. The names of these paccekabuddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

ASITA (2), a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 442.18). For details see MĀYĀDEVĪ.

ASITA (3) a sage, famous as the teacher and chaplain of Suddhodana. He was previously the teacher of Sīhahanu, the father of Suddhodana. Asita came morning and evening to the king who showed him great respect as when he was his teacher. With the king's permission Asita later became a hermit and at the request of the king stayed in his park and was attended upon by him. While staying there he obtained the eight attainments (*aṭṭha samāpatti*) and the five kinds of super-knowledge (*pañcābhiññā*) through meditation. Since then he had his meals at the king's palace, after which he went either to the Himālayas or the Cātummahārājika heaven to spend the day there (*SnA.* 483 ff.). The sage was capable of seeing forty kappas into the past and forty kappas into the future (*J.* I, 54).

It was while spending the daytime in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven that Asita heard from the gods of the birth of Siddhattha Gotama (*J.* I, 54). Immediately he arrived at the king's palace and expressed his desire to see the new-born baby. The king brought the child so that it might salute the sage, but to his surprise the baby's feet turned up and placed themselves on the head of the sage. If (See Vol. II, Plates XIII and XIV the head of the bodhisatta was placed at the feet of the sage the elder's head would have burst into seven parts. The sage then got up from his seat and saluted the bodhisatta with clasped hands. Then he examined the birth marks on the body of the bodhisatta and seeing that he would definitely become a Buddha smiled with great delight. But later, looking into his own future, he foresaw that he would die before Siddhattha could become Buddha and that he would be born in the Arūpa world and hence be unable to hear the Buddha preach. Seeing this, he wept. The king and the people were alarmed, thinking that some danger was to befall the child, and when questioned he explained the matter to the king. Then he went to his sister's house and requested her son Nālaka to be a recluse in the name of the bodhisatta (*J.* I, 54 ff.; *Sn.* 131-6 ; *SnA.* 483 ff.).

The *Mahāvastu* (II, 30 ff.) and the *Lalitavistara* (pp. 76 ff.) also preserve accounts of the above incident which in the main details agree with those of the Pali texts. But according to the *Mahāvastu* account Asita was the son of a brāhman of Ujjenī and dwelt in the Vindhya region. Immediately below, however, he is said to have dwelt on Kailāśa, a range of the Himālayas. There seems to be a confusion between this Asita and Asita Devala (q.v.). The *Lalitavistara* gives the name of Asita's newphew as Nāradatta, but the rest of the account is quite similar to that in the *Mahāvastu*.

Asita was also known as Kāḷadevala (*J.* I, 54), Kaṇhasiri (*Sn.* 131) and Sirikaṇha. (*SnA.* 487). Buddhaghosa also says (ibid. 483) that he was so named because of his dark complexion. Kāḷadevala in the *Jātaka* is evidently different from Asita Devala who also is known as Kāḷadevala.

H. R. P.

ASITA (4), a garland maker in the time of Sikhī Buddha. One day while taking a garland to the king he met the Buddha on the way and being delighted offered the garland to him. As a result of it he was never born in hell for thirty-one kappas. Twenty-five kappas ago he bacame an emperor named Devabhāra and in his last birth as Sukatāveliya thera, in the time of Gotama Buddha he attained arahantship (*Ap.* I, 217).

H. R. P.

ASITABHĀNU, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I 139).

ASITĀBHŪ JĀTAKA (No. 234). The bodhisatta was once a holy ascetic living in the Himālaya. At that time the king of Bārāṇasī growing jealous of his son prince Brahmadatta, banished both him and his wife, Asitābhū. They went to the Himālaya and lived in a hut of leaves. One day, the prince, becoming enamoured of a Candakinnarī, followed her forsaking his wife. Asitābhū went to the bodhisatta and, having developed various superhuman powers, returned to her hut. Brahmadatta, having failed in his quest, returned to the hut where he found his wife poised in mid-air uttering songs of joy over her new-found freedom. When she left, he lived in solitude till, at his father's death, he succeeded to the throne.

The story was told in reference to a young girl, the daughter of a servitor of the two chief disciples. She was married, but finding her husband neglectful of her, visited the two chief disciples. Under their instruction she attained the first Fruit of the Path and embraced the religious life, ultimately becoming an arahant.

She was Asitābhū in the previous birth (*J.* II 229 ff.).

The story is referred to in the *Vibhaṅga* commentary (II, 470 f.) in connection with a king of Bārāṇasī who, having gone into the forest with his queen to eat roast flesh, fell in love with a kinnarī and deserted his wife. When he returned to his queen he found her flying through the air away from him, having developed *iddhi* powers. A tree-sprite then uttered a stanza, citing the example of Asitābhū.

G. P. M.

ASITA DEVALA, a sage who, according to Buddhaghosa was the Sakyamuni himself in one of his previous births (*MA.* III, 411). His story is given in the *Assalāyana Sutta* (*M.* II, 154 ff.). Once there were seven brāhman sages living in thatched cabins in the wilds. They conceived the view that the brāhmans are the highest class of men and that they

alone are the legitimate sons of Brahmā. Hearing of this, Asita Devala appeared before their hermitage in orange attire, with stout sandals and staff, and shouted for them. The brāhmans cursed him with the intention of shrivelling him into a cinder, but the more they cursed the more comely and handsome grew Asita. Feeling that their austerities were evidently fruitless, they questioned Asita who urged them to discard their delusion. Having learnt his identity, they saluted him and wished to be instructed. Asita examined and cross-questioned them about their pretensions regarding their lineage and they could find no answer. They thereupon followed his advice and renounced their claims to superiority.

The *Indriya Jātaka* (*J.* III, 463 ff.) makes reference to a sage by the name Kāla Devala. This sage was one of the seven chief disciples of Sarabhaṅga bodhisatta and dwelt in a wooded mountain in Avanti (in the Deccan) with many thousands of other sages. At one time when his brother Nārada who too was a sage living in Arañjaragiri (q. v.) was tempted by a courtesan, it was Kāla Devala who went to his help.

As Malalasekera (*DPPN.* 210) points out, Kāla Devala of the *Indriya Jātaka* is probably identical with Asita Devala of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Both Asita and Kāla mean black. But in the *Jātaka* Kāla Devala was not the bodhisatta but the thera Mahā Kaccāna in one of his previous births.

H. R. P.

ASITAÑJANA, a city in the Kaṃsa district in Uttarāpatha and capital of king Mahā-Kaṃsa and his grandsons the Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā (*J.* VI, 79; *PvuA.* 111). It was also the birthplace of Tapassu and Bhalluka (*AA.* I, 382).

ASĪTI-ANUVYAÑJANA, the eighty minor characteristics of the Buddha. See ANUVYAÑJANA.

ĀŚĪVIṢA NADĪ, last of the seven rivers which, together with the seven lofty mountain ranges, enriched the Suddhāvadāta mountain on which is situated the prosperous country called Rohitaka (*Divy.* p. 107). The caravan leader (*mahāsārthavāha*) living in this country was said to be the only person who knew the direction in which the island called Badara, containing enormous quantities of precious gems, was situated (ibid. p. 108).

It is said that after crossing over the last of the ranges referred to above, one comes across the river called Saptāśīviṣa. The river is so called because it is infested by the snakes belonging to the Tīkṣṇagandha tribe. On the bank of the river is a grove of *śālmalī* trees and anyone who wishes to cross this river in safety has to do so by making a raft of planks obtained from the *śālmalī* groves and by covering himself with a piece of flesh (*maṃsadeśi*) in order to ward off the snakes.

I. K.

ĀSĪVISA SUTTA. There are two suttas by this name. In the first one (*S.* IV, 172) the Buddha describes in a simile the dangers of saṃsāra and the safety of Nibbāna.

The four material elements (*mahābhūta*) are compared to four snakes (*āsīvisa*) of fearful venom whom man has to tend; the five groups of grasping (*upādānakkhandha*) are compared to five murderous foes who constantly follow him; passionate desire (*nandirāga*) is compared to a murderous housebreaker with uplifted sword who pursues him. While trying to escape these dangers, he wanders into an empty village, the six personal sense-spheres (*cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni*), to which come village-plunderers, the six external sense-spheres (*bāhira-āyatana*). Fleeing from there, he comes to a broad sheet of water, which is compared to the fourfold flood (*ogha*) beset with danger on the hither side; the further side is secure from fear, but there is neither boat nor bridge to cross over; the hither shore being the personal self (*sakkāya*) and the further shore Nibbāna.

The man has to make a raft, the Noble Eightfold Path, by himself, and to cross over, striving with hands and feet which are energy and effort.

The second *Āsīvisa Sutta* occurs in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 110). There the Buddha compares four types of person with four snakes (*āsīvisa*).

One is quick to anger, but his anger lasts not long; he is like the snake which is venomous but not fierce. The second, who is not quick to anger but whose anger lasts long, is like the snake which is fierce but not venomous. The third is the one who is quick to anger and whose anger lasts long; he is like a snake which is both venomous and fierce. The fourth is neither quick to anger nor does his anger last long; he is like the snake which is neither fierce nor venomous.

U. K.

ĀSĪVISOPAMA SUTTA, mentioned twice in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xii, 26 and xv, 178–9) can be either *Āsīvisa Sutta* in *S.* IV, 172–5, or the sutta of the

same name in *A.* II, 110–11. It is said that this sutta was preached by the thera Majjhantika, the Buddhist missionary sent to Kāśmīra-Gandhāra immediately after the third Buddhist council, to a powerful nāga king, Āravāḷa by name, who was a terror to the people in that locality, and also to the people of Kāśmīra and Gandhāra. When this monk arrived in this area the nāga king tried his best to frighten away the thera, but the thera was able to subdue the vanity of the nāga king before long. The people who had assembled in hundreds to make their offerings to the nāga king were astonished to see this miracle. The thera admonished the assembly, including the nāga king, with the *Āsīvisopama Sutta*, and all were converted. The same sutta was preached by Mahinda, the arahant, who led the first mission to Ceylon, on the third day after his arrival there. It is said that several thousand people were converted after the sermon.

W. G. W.

ASKHALITAPRAVARĀGRA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

ASMAKA, the country Aśvaka. See ASSAKA.

ASMI-MĀNA, ego-conceit. See AHAṄKĀRA.

ASOKA (1) one of the two chief disciples of the future Metteyya Buddha (*Anāgv. v.* 97). The *Mahāvaṃsa* identifies him with king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (*Mhv.* xxxii, 81).

ASOKA (2), an attendant of Vipassī Buddha (*J.* I, 41 ; *Buv.* xx, 28). He was once ill and was cured by a physician who in the time of Gotama Buddha was born as Tikicchaka (Tekicchakānī) thera (*Ap.* 1, 190 ; *ThagA.* I, 442).

ASOKA (3), a brāhman in the time of Kassapa Buddha. He provided eight monks with meals daily and entrusted the distribution to his serving woman Bīraṇī (*Mhv.* xxvii, 11).

ASOKA (4), a monk of Ñātikā. Once when the Buddha was staying at Ñātikā in the Brick Hall (*Giñjakāvasatha*) Ānanda informed the Buddha that Asoka had died and asked where he was born. The Buddha replies that Asoka had destroyed all mental intoxicants (*āsava*) and hence was not reborn (*S.* V, 358).

ASOKA (5), the great Buddhist emperor in India.

According to Plutarch, Alexander the Great is supposed to have received in the year 326 B.C. in the Punjab the visit of a young person from India who had revolted against his king and who was in search of support. The unpopularity of his king, he said, was such that it could not hold together an army. This may have been due to the king's origin, as he was not of royal birth, but of the *vaiśya* caste. But Alexander did not give the support ; either it was beyond his plans to recover the empire of Darius or, more probably, he was prevented by the mutiny of his soldiers.

The person from India referred to was Candragupta, or as named by Plutarch, Santrakotos, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty.

Within the 24 years of his reign, Candragupta was able to expand the Magadha kingdom considerably, and when Seleucus reached the Punjab, which Alexander wanted to make into a Greek colonial outpost, he found Candragupta in possession of a vast empire, stretching from one coast to the other, commanding an army (according to Greek tradition) of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry and 9,000 elephants. Seleucus did not succeed and was forced to surrender to the Mauryan ruler some territories up to the river Indus, even concluding with him a matrimonial alliance, as contained in the treaty of 303 B.C. of Pāṭaliputra.

According to Strabo, Sandrakottos of Palibodra (i.e., Candragupta of Pāṭaliputra) was a contemporary of Seleucus Nikator. And Seleucus ceded to Candragupta a tract of land to the west of the Indus, at the same time entering with him into a matrimonial alliance and receiving from him 500 elephants (Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II, 217 f. ; V.A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 132 f. ; Krom, *Hermes*, 44, 154 ff.).

Candragupta's son and successor is known in Buddhist chronicles as Bindusāra, with the Greek appellation Amitrokhates, i.e., Amittaghāta, terror of the enemy. He certainly added to his territories by further conquests, especially in the south of India, as there is no reference in any source to Candragupta having campaigned in the south.

Bindusāra is reported to have had 16 wives and 101 sons. One of his wives is referred to in the *Aśokāvadāna* (Przyluski, *La Légende de l' Empereur Asoka*, p. 320) as Subhadrāṅgī, a daughter of a brāhman of Campā. Palace intrigue had kept her away from the king Bindusāra, but at last she was able to make her presence felt and gain access

to royal favour. When she bore the king her first child she is reported to have remarked: Now I am without sorrow (*a-soka*). And that was the name given to the child. In the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (iv, 125), the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary, her name is given as Dhammā, and the child's name is explained as not having caused any pain to his mother at childbirth. The king, however, disliked this child owing to its rough skin, and tradition says that Asoka's mother had to take him away to save his life. She had another son who is called Tissa in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and Vītāśoka in the *Aśokāvadāna*.

Bindusāra's eldest son, Sumana, was appointed by the king as vice-regent, while Asoka was still young. But when Asoka had grown up he was sent by Bindusāra to Takkasilā to quell a revolt. He was successful in doing so without arousing too much resentment on the part of the citizens. Owing to his charming ways he won the hearts of the people and peace was established without battle. An Aramaic inscription discovered in 1915 by John Marshall in Taksila mentions the name of the governor of the town as Priyadarsi. We now know that this name applies to Asoka and it is possible that this inscription refers to Asoka's settling of the political situation in Taksila.

Having completed his work there he was, probably in recognition of his work, appointed governor or viceroy of Avanti, whose capital was Ujjenī. And it is most likely during this period that Asoka fell in love with the beautiful daughter of a merchant of Vidisā (Przyluski, op. cit. p. 106). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (xiii, 8 ff.) calls her Devī, the daughter of a merchant of Vedisagiri, and hence also named Vedisadevī. Reference to her as Sakyākumārī (*Mhbv.* p. 116) appears to be an attempt to relate her to the Sakyas and hence to the Buddha Sakyamuni, thereby paving the way to Asoka's conversion to Buddhism and the mission of their two children, Mahinda and Saṅghamittā to Ceylon in the cause of Buddhism. But the fact that Vedisadevī did not follow Asoka to Pāṭaliputta, where Asoka's chief queen (*aggamahesī*) was Asandhimittā, might rather be an indication of her ancestral social status of the merchant class not being acceptable in the royal court circles at Pāṭaliputta.

After the throne at Pāṭaliputta fell vacant on Bindusāra's death (272 B. C.), there was a second rebellion at Takkasilā, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, when the people revolted against the maladministration of Bindusāra's eldest son, Susīma or Sumana. Asoka promptly contested the succession and established himself on the throne to which he was already adjudged as the fittest of all Bindusāra's sons by the king's preceptor, an Ājīvaka saint, named Piṅgalavatsa. The *Mahāvaṃsa* states that Asoka caused his eldest brother to be slain. Elsewhere in the same work (*Mhv.* xx, 40) and in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (vi, 21) it is said that he killed his ninety-nine brothers, which, however, may be dismissed as imaginary, as it is not corroborated by the text of the 5th rock-inscription at Mānsehrā, where reference is made to the "harems of my brothers and sisters". Moreover, the tender solicitude for all his relations and expressions of affection which are to be found in several of his edicts (e.g., the 4th) would make one incline to the view that the account of Asoka's earlier cruelty earning for him the epithet of Caṇḍāsoka, was merely an artificial background against which his conversion and future saintliness as Dhammāsoka stand out all the clearer. It is certain, however, that the change on the throne was not affected without difficulty, for there is an interregnum of four years, before the issue of succession was definitely decided. The Ceylon chronicles allow only Asoka's youngest brother Tissa to survive. [1]

The so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad pillar speaks of Asoka's second queen, Kāruvākī, and her son Tīvara, but his chief queen (*aggamahesī*) in Pāṭaliputta was Asandhimittā. She is well spoken of in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (v, 85; xx, 2), being friendly inclined to the Order of Buddhist monks and sympathetic with the ideas of her husband. She died in the 29th year of his reign, without having borne any children. Four years later Asoka raised Tissārakkhā to the rank of chief queen. She was too young and vain to appreciate the old king's devotion to religious objects more than to her. In a fit of temper she attempted, but without success, to destroy the bodhi-tree at Gayā. The *Divyāvadāna* (xxvii) mentions another queen, Padmāvatī, mother of Kuṇāla. From the epigraphic records we gather that Asoka had at least four

1 Another younger brother of Asoka is mentioned in the commentary of the *Theragāthā*, the *Paramatthadīpanī*, by Dhammapāla, where he is named Vītāsoka, and described as a lay-pupil of the thera Giridatta, highly proficient in the *Sutta-* and *Abhidhamma-piṭakas*. One day he observed in a mirror some grey hairs on his head. His mental agitation developed into concentration and he became a stream-winner (*sotāpanna*) as he sat there. He renounced the world and won arahantship not long after.

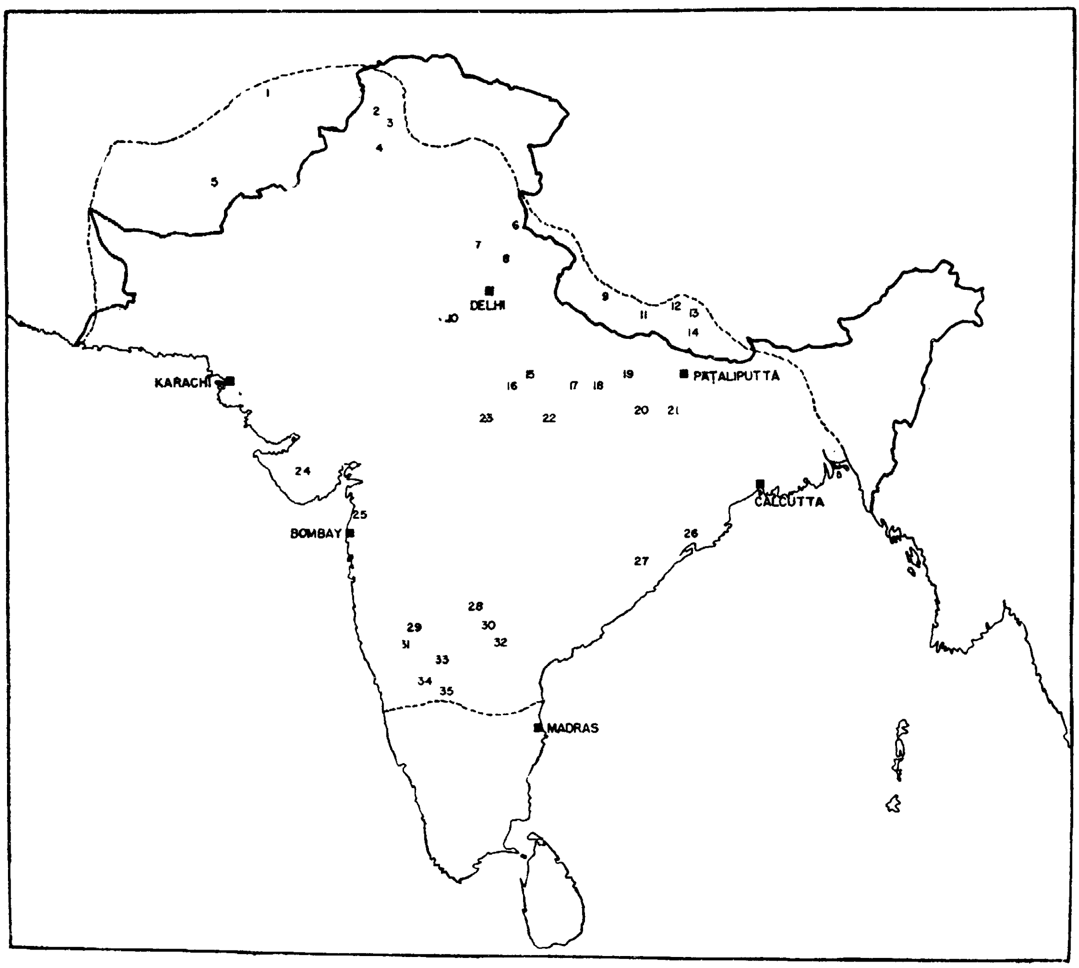
sons, each of whom was in charge of one of the four vice-royalties, of Takkasilā, Ujjenī, Suvarṇagiri and Tosali (Kāliṅga Rock Edicts I and II). Kuṇāla, the viceroy of Ujjenī, was, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, blinded by the conspiracy of his step-mother. Jalaṅka succeeded his father Asoka as an independent king of Kaśmir, according to the *Rājataraṅginī*, while Tārānātha mentions Vīrasena as the one who succeeded Asoka as ruler of Gandhāra, although the relationship with Asoka is not quite clear.

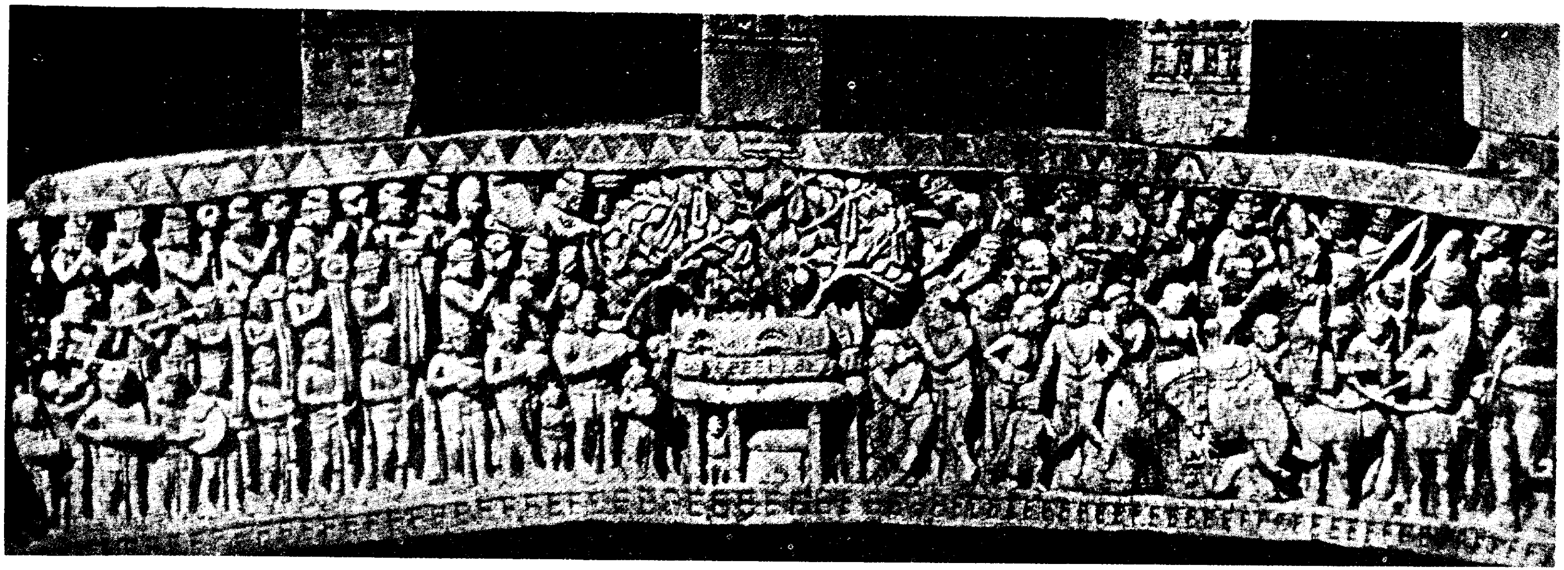
Four years after, Asoka had won for himself undivided sovereignty. Consecrated king by anointment (*abhiṣeka*) he raised his younger brother Tissa to the office of vice-regent.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* gives for this historical fact of consecration or anointment (*abhiṣeka*) the year 218 after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha, and from this datum is sometimes reconstructed the actual year of the Teacher's passing away. Opinions differ about the date of Asoka's accession to the throne, but they all range round about 270 B.C. (from 279 to 268).[2]

As a ruler, Asoka assumed two other names under which he is always referred to in the various edicts, rock-inscriptions and pillars, erected during his reign. In these he called himself 'the One dear to the gods' (Devānampiya) and 'the One who looks on all with kindness' (Piyadassī). The identity of these names with Asoka is borne out by the inscription (No. 4) at Maski, where it is said : *devānampiyasa Asokasa* (See also *Dīpavaṃsa*, e.g., vi, 1, 2, 25). In the recently found Greek Aramaic rock-inscription in Afghanistan the name Piodases is mentioned.

2 For details see under BUDDHIST ERA.



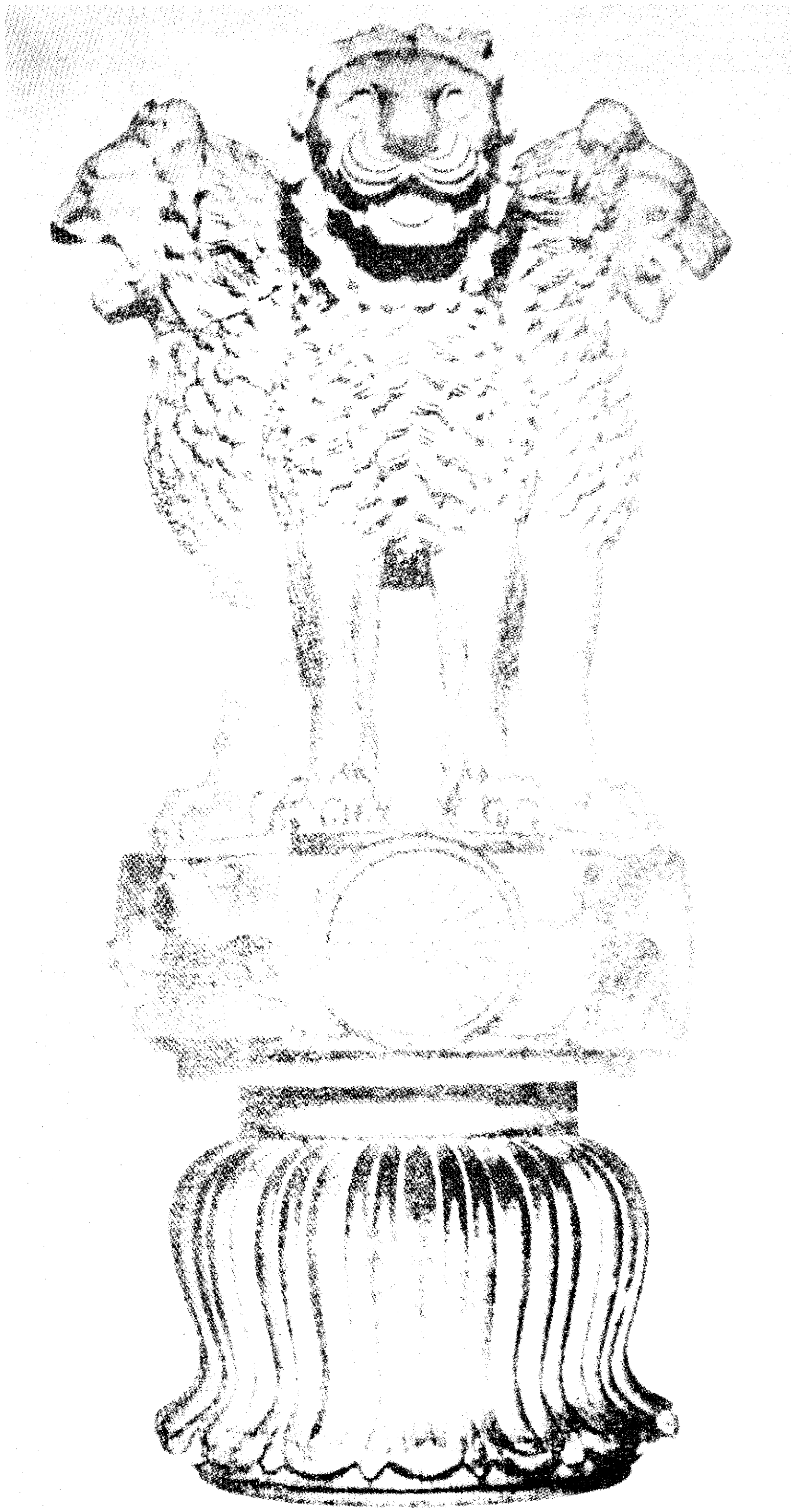


(*From* The Monuments of Sāñcī *by Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, Text Vol. I, p. 212 Plate XL in Vol. II ; reproduction of the bottom lintel of the middle section of the architrave on the front of the eastern gateway of the Sāñcī stūpa.*)

ASOKA'S VISIT TO THE BODHI-TREE, as described in the *Divyāvadāna.* Jealousy of Asoka's favourite queen had almost caused the sacred tree to perish and the broken-hearted emperor came in the nick of time to restore it to its former splendour by having it watered with pitchers of perfumed water. His tottering attitude reminds one of the immense grief which overcame him when he was told that his beloved tree was perishing. He is wearily getting off his elephant, supported by his first queen ; then both go forward in devout posture towards the bodhi-tree. From the other side, to the sound of music, people are advancing in procession to the tree ; and the figures in the foreground are plainly carrying the pitchers for watering it.

KEY TO MAP ON p. 180—*14 Major Rock Edicts* 2 Shāhbāzgarhi, 3 Mānsehrā, 6 Kālsi, 24 Girnār, 25 Sopārā, 26 Dhauli, 27 Jaugada, 32 Yerraguḍi. *7 Pillar Edicts* 7 (Delhi-) Toprā, 8 (Delhi-) Mīruṭ, 12 Rāmapūrvā, 13 Lauriya-Nandangarh, 14 Lauriya-Ararāja, 18 (Allahabad-) Kauśāmbī. *Minor Rock Edicts and Inscriptions.*

1 Lampaka (Lamghan), 4 Takṣaśilā, 5 Kandahar, 9 Nigali-Sāgar, 10 Bairāṭ, 11 Rummindei (Lumbini), 15 Gujarra, 16 Jhansī, 17 Allahabad, 19 Sārnāth, 20 Sahasrām, 21 Barābar Caves, 22 Rūpanāth, 23 Sāñcī, 28 Maski, 29 Gavimath, 30 Rajūla-mandagiri, 31 Palkīguṇḍu, 33 Siddāpura, 34 Brahmagiri, 35 Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, —probable boundary of Asoka's empire.



LION CAPITAL of Asoka's Column at **Sārnāth** (3rd century **B.C.**).

The extent of his empire (see accompanying map) can be inferred from the geographical distribution of these inscriptions, which have been found in rocks and caves and on polished memorial columns in various parts of the sub-continent, Peshāwar, Pūri, Ganja, Thāna, Bhopal, Hyderabād, Mysore, Bihār, and neighbouring countries, Afghanistan and Nepāl.

The pillars erected by Asoka are not columns forming a part of a building or colonnade, but commemorative posts, more or less like obelisks, and we shall refer to them hereafter as *thambha*. Their height varies from 40 to 50 feet, with a diameter of about 4 feet at the base, slightly tapering towards its capital. The monolithic shaft is of highly polished fine sand-stone, dressed and proportioned with such utmost nicety and polish that casual observers have been deceived into thinking that it was metallic. Tom Coryate in the seventeenth century described the Delhi *thambha* as a 'brazen pillar', and Bishop Heber recorded his impression in the nineteenth century, that it was a high black pillar of cast metal. The dressing and polish of the stone are confined to the section appearing above the ground level, while the continuation underground and foundation of about 8 to 10 feet are undressed and unpolished.

The *thambha* has a capital in the form of a stylised lotus with the petals turning over and down, while from the centre of the lotus rises a carved abacus, which again serves as a pedestal for a seated lion, or as in the case of the capital of the *thambha* at Sārnāth, four lions seated back to back (See *EncyBsm.* II, Plate XVI.).

The particular capital at Sārnāth, moreover, has on its abacus the four animals symbolising the four quarters—elephant, east; horse, south; lion, north; and bull, west—which are also typical of the 'moon-stones' found in Anurādhapura in Ceylon.[3]

The most characteristic monuments of Asoka's reign, however, are his stone-inscriptions, in so far as they provide us with an inside view of the controlling power of that ancient empire. It is good to keep in mind the purpose of these inscriptions which are commonly known under the name 'edicts'. An 'edict' is a proclamation or order made by higher authority. Now, it would be most extraordinary to find an Indian king prescribing a course of theological study for the Saṅgha, such as at first sight some of Asoka's inscriptions appear to have done. And even if Asoka would have dared to do so, it would not have been worth while to have his edicts carved in stone to ensure 'their lasting a long time'.

Furthermore, it is not likely that the Saṅgha would have welcomed such interference in their domestic affairs, even if coming from the great Asoka, and one could well visualise the edicts being received by them with our modern remark, 'to be filed'.

Asoka's inscriptions, rock and pillar-edicts are inscribed in *kharoṣṭhī*, a script derived from the Persian Aramaic, as regards the two northern major rock edicts at Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhi, or in *brāhmī*, the earliest Indian script so far known to have been used for the writing of Sanskrit and Prakrit, as regards the majority of inscriptions, even those in the southern Deccan, while the most recently discovered inscription at Kandahar (1958) is bilingual, being inscribed in Greek and Aramaic. The *brāhmī* script had been forgotten in India and early efforts of decyphering had been in vain, till it was finally deciphered by James Prinsep in 1837. It is only after this that the importance of Asoka's inscriptions became obvious in our modern age.

Asoka's inscriptions, in so far as they contain a list of literature, are a perpetuation of a pious custom. It is customary in eastern countries, even up to this present date, to have ceremonial recitations of the sacred books, either in part or in full. The very form in which the doctrine is cast was intended to assist the memorising thereof, in times when the production of manuscripts was laborious and rare. Asoka's stone inscriptions are, therefore, to be regarded as the result of an effort to spread the existing doctrine in a manner which would ensure the endurance of the doctrine, while safeguarding its pristine purity without interpolation. One can visualise a high official reading out the text of the inscriptions and perhaps giving his commentary thereon to a vast crowd gathered together there just for that purpose.

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3 S. Paranavitana (*ArtA.* XVII p. 197) associates these four animals with the four perils or fears (*bhaya*), of birth, disease, old age and death, on the ground that in the 'moon-stones' the sequence of these four animals is repeated several times in the semi-circle, which he says would be altogether purposeless if they had to represent the four quarters of the world. The moving position of the animals "chasing one another with the vigour of beasts in a circus ring" rather indicates the continuous stream of saṃsāra in its endless repetition of birth, disease, old age and death.

Some scholars have called these edicts Dhamma-edicts as their main contents is concerning the Dhamma, although several other subjects, of social, cultural and political interest, are also dealt with.

Together with the instruction that certain Buddhist texts should regularly be recited for the good of bhikkhus and laymen, a list of such literature is given. The selection of those texts naturally betrays the personal interest of the selector. And it is obvious that Asoka's selection is specially directed towards the ethical duties of men. His interests appear to be rather in the formation of good citizens and members of society than in philosophical speculation, and the selection from the *Rāhulovāda Sutta*, in respect of the avoidance of falsehood, becomes typical. Such is the prominence given by Asoka to ethical subjects that it has even been doubted whether Asoka himself was a Buddhist, or merely an emperor interested in establishing peace in his domains and making use of the peaceful doctrine of Buddhism to gain his end.

This is sometimes referred to as Asoka's policy of Dhamma (cp. Romila Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, pp. 137–81, Oxford University Press, 1961). Asoka was neither a saint, nor a scholar, and if he is considered in the context of his historical background, the relation between the fast development and spreading of Buddhism and the ideas of Asoka will become clear. The theories and doctrines of Buddhism were not exclusively concerned with philosophical innovations, giving a modern twist to ancient terms and techniques, but they certainly also influenced the general mass of people, breaking them away from the rigidly orthodox outlook of Brahmanism. Although rooted in earlier Hindu tradition, there was a definite deviation leading on to the 'middle path', which was a clear protest against the malpractices in society and ritualistic observances. The protest against the exclusive monopolies of brāhmans is felt in the support given to the Buddha's doctrine by the warrior and commercial castes, the Buddha himself being a kṣatriya. The king, by declaring himself in favour of the new belief, was thus able to undermine the dominance of other groups, thereby increasing his own central authority and power. Moreover, as the new beliefs were in many aspects not violently opposed to the old order, a future compromise did not appear impossible, and the practical advantage of adopting the Buddha's Dhamma becomes clear.

Thus, Asoka's policy is frequently called a policy of Dhamma, for although the spreading of the Buddha's teaching was stressed, the centralisation and consolidation of the empire which consisted of a great number of different races and communities were doubtless the foremost aim of his policy.

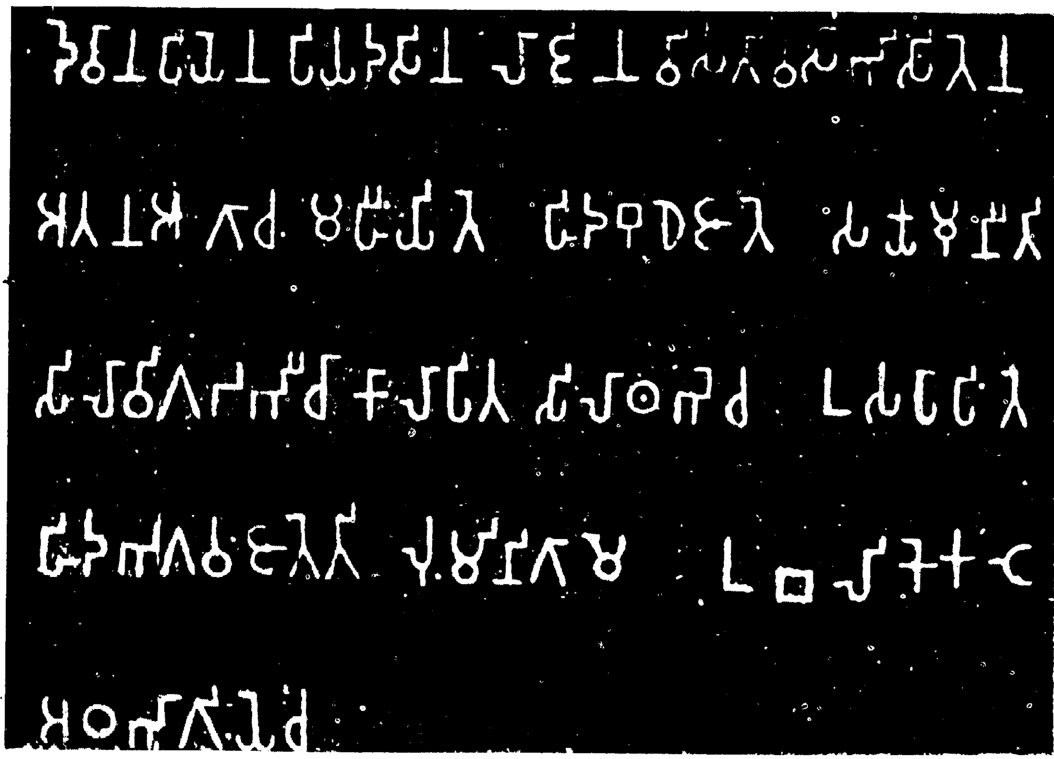
The edicts gave Asoka the opportunity to expand his Dhamma and make use of it as a social and intellectual force upon society. That Asoka's Dhamma, however, did not necessarily conform to the religious philosophic Norm of the Buddha has been made a point of issue by Romila Thapar (op.cit. p. 157): "Had the *Dhamma* conformed to any of the religions, more particularly Buddhism, the institution of the *dhamma-mahāmattas* would have been superfluous. Each religion had either its group of devoted believers or its order of monks who could have been organized into active propagandists with greater efficiency as they would already have been ardent believers."

The reference here is to the fourth Bhābru (or Bairāṭ) rock inscription in which the following texts are recommended by Asoka (See *EncyBsm.* II, Plate XVII). Scholars [4] have identified these texts with parts of the Theravāda canon, as indicated below :—

1. *Vinaya samukase* (sāmukkamsikā dhamma-desanā : *S. V*, 420 ff.) the Buddha's principal sermon concerning the Four Noble Truths.
2. *Aliyavasāṇi* (dasa ariyavaṃsā : *A. V*, 29) the ten rules of the noble life.
3. *Anāgatabhayāni* (*A.* III, 100 ff.): the five future dangers to be feared.
4. *Munigāthā* (*Muni Sutta : Sn.* i, 12): Who is acclaimed by the wise as a Sage ?
5. *Moñeyasute* (Moneyyāni : *A.* I, 273): On moral perfection in body, speech and mind.
6. *Upatisapasine* (*Sāriputta Sutta* or *Therapañha Sutta : Sn.* iv, 16): Question of Sāriputta answered by the Buddha.
7. *Lāghulovāde* (*Rāhulovāda Sutta : M.* I, 420 ff., sutta 62) : Exhortation in regard to lying.

4 For identification of these texts, see H. Oldenberg, *Vin.* Introd. p. xi; T. W. Rhys Davids, *JRAS.* 1898, p. 629; H. Oldenberg, *ZDMG.* 52, p. 634; J. Bloch, *ZDMG.* 63, p. 325; A. J. Edmunds, *Buddhist Bibliography* (1904); Dharmananda Kosambi, *IA.* 41, 40; E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka.*

PLATE XVII



(by courtesy of the Ministry of Information, India)

ASOKA'S ROCK INSCRIPTION of Bairāṭ (now in Calcutta Museum) mentioning the texts recommended by him for study. The inscription is in brāhmī characters.



ASUKA style Buddha Image (See p. 283)

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chap, xv) gives details of Asoka's conversion to Buddhism. At first Asoka maintained the alms instituted by his father, but soon, being disappointed in the recipients, he began looking out for holy men. It was then that he saw from his window his nephew, the young novice Nigrodha. Asoka was at once drawn to him and invited him into the palace. Nigrodha preached to him the *Appamāda Vagga* and the king was greatly pleased. He ceased his benefactions to other religious orders and transferred his patronage to Nigrodha and members of the Buddhist Order. But, later, these benefactions were restored on the advice of the Buddhist monks themselves. There are many references in the inscriptions to confirm the tradition that Asoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign, apart from his recommendation of the study of the Buddhist suttas referred to above.

Asoka's order of expulsion of heretical monks from the Saṅgha [5], his pilgrimage to places sacred to Buddhists[6], his observance of Buddhist uposatha days, references to himself as upāsaka[7] or buddhasāke[8], using the tribal name of Sakya, belonging to Siddhattha Gotama, as equivalent to Buddhist (e.g., in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, Brahmagiri, and Siddāpura-inscriptions), his appointment of superintendents of the Dhamma and his zeal in its propagation cannot be explained satisfactorily, unless we accept the traditional belief of Asoka's conversion to the teaching of the Buddha. His liberality in making donations to other religious sects and his tolerance towards them (Rock-inscription XII) do not bear sufficient weight to the contrary.

There are certain authors who go even further and who maintain that Asoka, 'approaching the Saṅgha', became a bhikkhu. We shall return to this point later but may state in the meantime that there is nothing in tradition or inscription to warrant the viewpoint of an abdication.

The 13th and 14th year after the coronation were marked by the issue of the most important set of proclamations for the whole empire, viz., the fourteen rock-edicts (which include the two Kāliṅga edicts in that district). They concern themselves particularly with the administration of the newly conquered country. In his 15th year he enlarged the stūpa of Koṇāgamana and came to the spot on pilgrimage six years later, setting up a commemorative pillar with inscription. This pilgrimage included other sacred spots such as the Buddha Sakyamuni's birthplace at Lumbinivana, where another commemorative column was erected.

Six years later began the issue of the pillar edicts with a series of six, to which in the following year the longest in this series was added. There are two more inscriptions, which although undated most certainly belong to the closing decade of his reign.

The contents of the rock-inscriptions, with slight variations, are found repeated in several places, more or less completely. The most important are the inscriptions which give fourteen edicts of different dates of which the last one as peroration could have served equally well as a preface.

In respect of their contents, they may be indexed as follows :—

(1) Forbidding slaughter of animals. Sacredness of all life.

(2) Establishments for the dispensing of medicine for men and for beasts.

(3) Duties of royal executive officers. Instruction to be given by the Council.

(4) Practice of the Dhamma.

(5) Appointment of Superintendents of the Dhamma and their duties.

(6) Prompt dispatch of business of State.

(7) Equality of all men of all sects, except in their striving for perfection.

(8) Change in the nature of the king's pleasure.

(9) Virtue is better than ceremonials.

(10) Fame does not bring gain, but good deeds make one free from evil inclinations.

(11) The highest gift is the gift of the Dhamma.

(12) By tolerance of other sects one benefits one's own sect.

The thirteenth rock-inscription deserves a little more detailed attention, for this deals with Asoka's victory over the Kāliṅgas, which is not known to us from independent historical sources. Not much is known of the first eight years of his reign. But in the eighth year after his consecration occurs his conquest of the Kāliṅgas on the coast of the bay of Bengal. In history, it is not so much his victory and the incorporation of those extensive

5 Kausāmbī and Sāñcī-pillars.
6 E.g., Lumbinī, Gayā and Kusinārā.
7 Brahmagiri, 6th rock-inscription.
8 Maski, 5th rock-inscription.

7—R 12021 (2/66)

territories in his empire, that have left their imprint on all ages to come, as the reaction which the horrors of war made on Asoka, his feeling of remorse over the slaughtering and captivity of so many thousands of soldiers, and his still deeper sorrow and regret over the privation and violence, both physical and mental, to those not directly engaged in actual warfare. His delicate sensitiveness to the cruel horrors of war worked a complete revolution in his mind and his attitude towards conquest. All this is expressed in the thirteenth rock-inscription, which opposes the conquest of the Dhamma to military conquest. It is this victory of the Dhamma which alone is able to produce spiritual joy and delight. The fourteenth and final rock-inscription is in the form of an epilogue.

An important discovery was made public in 1958 (V. Scerrato : *East and West*, New Series 9, pp. 4–6) of an inscription of exceptional interest because of the information supplied by it and the problems arriving from it. The discovery was made in the surroundings of the ancient site of Kandahar, east of Persia and Bactria. It is a proclamation comparable to the other Indian decrees of Asoka, calling himself Piyadassi, in two languages, Greek and Aramaic, which latter one is interspersed with 'Iranianisms'. Interesting deductions regarding the Hellenisation of these parts and the linguistic conditions of this western outpost of Asoka's empire are fairly obvious. The proclamation is dated in the tenth year of Asoka's reign to be reckoned from his 'coronation' (*abhiṣeka*), i.e., two years after his conquest of the Kāliṅgas, and the following translation is suggested by Carlo Gallavotti (*Rivista di Culture Classica e Medioevale*, I (1959), pp. 113–26). "After full ten years king Piodasse had the text of the Dhamma published to men and from this moment he made men merciful and everything prosperous all over the earth. And the king abstains from (eating) living creatures, and so also the other men ; and those who are hunters and fishers of the king cease from hunting ; and if there are people who are incontinent they cease from incontinence by exerting every effort, and they obey to their fathers, mothers and elders too. In present life and in future time they will find themselves in better and preferable conditions from every point of view, if they behave in that way". In the above, the word *dhamma* (for the Greek *eusebeia*) has been substituted for Gallavotti's 'mercy', which, no doubt fits in nicely and conveniently with the balance of the text, but *eusebeia* carries rather the meaning of filial piety and reverence towards the gods and one's parents, or loyalty.

The records of Asoka have been engraved in several kinds of script. The edicts found at Shāhbāzgarhi and at Mānsehrā are in Kharoṣṭhī script, which is read from right to left. Other inscriptions are in Brāhmī script which has been recognised as the parent script of all indigenous languages used in India and south Asian countries, and which is read from left to right. Others again are found in Aramaic and Greek.

This series of fourteen rock-inscriptions was completed in the fourteenth year after Asoka's consecration.

One may wonder whether the general tolerance advocated by Asoka in his 12th rock-inscription was abused by the various sects in order to establish themselves more firmly. However that may be, tradition, supported by chronicles in Ceylon, has placed in the seventeenth year of his reign an important fact, the third Buddhist Council, which was in session for nine months at Pāṭaliputta, modern Patna, the capital of Asoka's empire. This Council was necessitated by the growth of heretical doctrines within the Order, causing various secessions. The *thambha* (pillar) inscriptions of the last years of Asoka's reign, at Kauśāmbī, Sāñcī and Sārnāth, refer to action to be taken to prevent a schism in the Saṅgha. This was obviously not an autocratic exercise by Asoka of his sovereign powers. It was determined by the Buddhist Canonical Law (Vinaya), confirmed at the supreme session of this third Council, convened by Asoka under the presidentship of thera Moggaliputta Tissa (q.v.). On this occasion the sixty-two heretical views of seventeen schismatic sects were exposed and condemned. The Council further compiled the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* which was incorporated into the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It contains the various points of controversy maintained by the seventeen different heretical schools, together with their refutation, and the Theravāda view-point as to the correct doctrine. Still, many scholars now hold that this 'council' has no historical background and may refer to a local dispute.

At the termination of this third Council of Buddhism it was decided to send missionaries to the neighbouring lands, and the countries specially favoured were (according to Ceylon Buddhist tradition) Kashmir and Gandhāra (Peshāwar), Yavana (old N. W. Frontier Province), the neighbouring lands, the Himalayan districts, the Western country, comprising Gujarat, Kathiawār and Sindh, the country of the Marāthas, Mysore, the Kanara districts, and the gold-bearing districts of Bengal

and Ceylon. Asoka made use of the channels of communication, both commercial and diplomatic, that had existed from the time of Candragupta, between India and the Hellenistic kingdoms founded by Alexander's generals, to convey the treasures of Buddhism to the nations of the West. Vincent A. Smith says (in his article on Asoka in *ERE.* II, 126, which is based on Asokan inscriptions) that missionaries traversed "the wide realms of Antiochos Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia, and penetrated the dominions of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, those of his neighbour, king Magas of Cyrene, and even those of the European monarchs Alexander of Epirus, and Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia". Legends in Burma and Siam say that Asoka sent his missions to those countries, too. In any case, Asoka carried his propaganda far beyond the limits of his empire into Asia, Europe and Africa and his missions permanently determined the religious history of a large part of the world. The mission sent to Ceylon was, however, the most successful. It consisted (according to the *Mhv.*) of four bhikkhus, one sāmaṇera (or novice) and a lay disciple and was headed by Asoka's own son, Mahinda.[9]

The establishment of the female section, the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha, required the services of a fully ordained bhikkhunī, and at the request of the king of Ceylon, named Devānampiya Tissa, Asoka sent his daughter to Ceylon with a branch from the original bodhi-tree under which the Sakyamuni attained enlightenment. This branch was planted in the Mahāmeghavana at Anurādhapura, where it still survives as the oldest historical tree in the world.

The fourth pillar-edict states that seven inscriptions on the *thambhas* were 'published' in the 27th year of Asoka's reign; they differ from the rock-inscriptions in this sense that, whereas the rock-inscriptions predominantly deal with external and conduct, the *thambha*-inscriptions appear to stress more the need of inner purity: utmost devotion to the Dhamma, vigilance, docility, fear of wrong and utmost application. The Dhamma is mentioned as including abstinence from evil deeds, performance of good deeds, kindness, liberality, truthfulness and purity.[10]

It is interesting to note that Asoka confined himself to the practical side of religion. No mention is made of philosophic doctrines, not even the ultimate deliverance of Nibbāna. The doctrine of rebirth is referred to only incidentally, in so far as the consequence of good actions will be happiness in this world and in the life to come. His understanding of the deeper doctrine appears to be rather superficial, for if he had understood, e.g., that remorse (*vippaṭisāra*) does not lead to mind-release (see *Aṅguttara Nikāya* III, 166) he would not have complained in the third *thambha*-inscription that people consider only the good done by them, without calling back to mind the evil actions done by them.

In these *thambha*-inscriptions the welfare of others is not overlooked, e.g., condemned prisoners are given three days' respite, either to appeal against the judgment or to prepare themselves for their final hour[11]; for it does not appear that capital punishment was ever abolished during the reign of this compassionate emperor. A long list of animals not to be killed is given in the fifth inscription. Shade-trees along the roads, wells at regular intervals for drinking-water and other comforts were arranged for with the sole intention that men would conform their lives to the Dhamma.

Minor inscriptions, at Sārnāth, Kosambī and Sāñcī, refer to the punishment of expulsion from the Saṅgha to be meted out to the bhikkhu or bhikkhunī who causes a schism, and we may well presume these inscriptions to have been made soon after the completion of the third Buddhist Council, referred to above.

Further, there are two separate rock-inscriptions in the land of the Kāliṅgas which may be considered a continuation of the earlier series of fourteen rock-inscriptions. They give instructions to the king's superintendents concerning the border tribes. He wants them to be inspired with trust and to be guided in the path of the Dhamma.

A *thambha*, commemorating Asoka's visit and pilgrimage to the birth place of the Buddha in the 21st year of his reign, is found at Lumbinī in Nepal, and another one, not far from there, in commemoration of his visit to the thūpa of the second last Buddha, named Koṇāgamana.[12] Further pilgrimages (*dharmayātrā*) of Asoka are recorded in the eleventh year of his reign to the sacred bodhi-tree at Buddhagayā, and to other places in order to proclaim his ideals to the people.

Nepalese tradition states that during Asoka's pilgrimage, under the guidance of Upagupta, into what is now Nepal, he founded the city of Patan

9 For particulars of Asoka's missions and a discussion on ... see Radhakumud Mookerjee: *Asoka*, pp. 33 ff.

10 [illegible]

11 Fourth pillar edict.

12 The discovery of two more Asoka 'pillars' has recently been reported from near the site of Kapilavastu.

(two miles S.E. of modern Khatmandu) and built five caityas, one at the centre of the new city and the rest at the cardinal points of its perimeter. The latter subsist to this day and conform in shape to the Sāñcī and Gandhāra types. Many stūpas marked the route of Asoka from and to Pāṭaliputta.

The king is said to have been accompanied by his daughter Cārumatī for whom a husband, by name Devapāla, was found among the kṣatriyas of Nepal. Both Cārumatī and Devapāla resolved to spend their days in Nepal, and the city of Deopatan, one of the oldest cities of Nepal, is said to have been founded by them.

In her old age Cārumatī built a vihāra named after her (now Chabahil) to the north of Deopatan, and she lived there a recluse till her death.[13]

Two inscriptions in the Barābar Caves and the three Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Dasaratha mention in common the grant of those caves to the Ājīvikas (q.v.).

We give below a classified list of the Asoka inscriptions—

I. Buddhist Inscriptions :
   (1) Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription
   (2) Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars
   (3) Kauśāmbī, Sāñcī and Sārnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or rescripts on morality :
   (1) Early edicts—
      (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ and Maski
      (b) Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara.
   (2) Rock-edicts—
      (a) Edicts I–XIV at Girnār, Kālsi, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā
      (b) Edicts I–X, XIV and two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.
   (3) Pillar-edicts—
      (a) Edicts I–VI at (Delhi) Mīraṭ
      (b) Edicts I–VII at (Delhi) Toprā.

III. Donative Inscriptions :
   (1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions
   (2) Queen's pillar-edict..

From these various documentary monuments we are in a fair position to form an idea of Asoka's administration. In the legal and political sense of the term his was an absolute monarchy. Yet there is a difference of great significance. His autocracy was not the source of the law but rather its support. He is not the maker of the law and is not placed above that law, but he regards himself as the protector of the law of the land which is based on the Buddha Dhamma. As protector rather than ruler, he feels that all men are his children " and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and the next, so also do I desire the same for all men. "[14] And his superintendents also he wants to be as skilful nurses eager to care for the happiness of the king's children.[15]

Asoka then, was not so much a symbol of the law, as a direct representative of his people in so far as he felt himself at one with them in one large family. He seemed to be at pains to emphasise his own obligations towards his people : " Work I must for the public benefit......for no other purpose than that I may discharge my debt to all living beings, and make them happy in this world and they thereby attain a heavenly rebirth in the life hereafter. "[16] And so Asoka placed himself at the disposal of his subjects at all hours and places, even while partaking of his meals or after having retired to the bedroom or the harem.[17]

Realising that owing to the largeness of his empire it would be physically impossible to supervise personally every district, he appointed various officers to be in charge of the administration. In the outlying districts a certain amount of autonomy had to be conceded and viceroys (*uparājā*) were placed in charge, while the more centrally situated districts were placed under governors (*rājūkā* or *mahāmātrā*). The administration of justice was in their hands and they are exhorted to look after their subjects like 'skilful nurses'. All these officials were granted independence in the matter of law and justice.[18]

Asoka's officials were required, in addition to their ordinary duties, to give instructions in morals to their subjects, and to promote piety among the people of all sects, Buddhist or others. They were vested with special powers to prevent wrongful imprisonment or corporal punishment and to investigate cases in which law seemed to press hard upon individuals. The general supervision of female morals was entrusted to a special set of officers.

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13 *IA.* XIII, p. 412 ; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, Banaras, 1952, p. 221.

14 Second minor rock-inscription.
15 Second separate Kāliṅga edict and 4th pillar-edict.
16 Sixth rock-inscription.
17 Twelfth rock-inscription.
18 Fourth *thambha*-inscription.

Mention is made [19] of a council (*parisā*) which is to instruct the minor officials (*yute*). It is not certain whether here is meant a council of ministers controlling the state expenses, or a council of religious dignitaries controlling the right exposition of the Dhamma, or a council of elders controlling the day-to-day interests of community life in town or village. But, this institution clearly shows the advanced stage of democratic representation in an otherwise absolute and centralised monarchy. These councils had even the power to suspend a royal order in case of a dispute, as long as this order had been issued by word of mouth only, but with immediate reference to the king himself.[20]

Asoka's foreign policy for future conduct is clearly outlined in the 13th rock-inscription, where his successors are asked not to suppose it to be their duty to effect any new conquest. But should conquest be the result of war forced upon them, they should find their delight in forbearance and light punishment, keeping in mind that the only victory is the victory of the Dhamma.

There is a difference of opinion among the authorities as to whether Asoka at any stage of his life became a bhikkhu. In one of the minor rock-inscriptions, found in Mysore[21], Asoka speaks of himself as having been a lay-disciple (*upāsaka*) for " more than two and a half years, although with little fervour ". But, for the last year he has " approached the Saṅgha with great zeal ". This approach to the Saṅgha, some scholars say, could be equivalent to entering the Saṅgha as a bhikkhu. Some would have this act of renunciation postponed till the last period of his life, but this is not tenable in view of Asoka's own words of having been a lax lay-disciple for only the earliest two and a half years in his long reign of almost forty years. It is equally untenable to see Asoka as a bhikkhu while ruling his vast empire as an absolute monarch. But it would be possible that in the beginning of his fervent aspirations towards perfection Asoka donned the robes of a bhikkhu for a short period.[22] This seems to be corroborated by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing who mentions an image of Asoka dressed in the garb of a bhikkhu (Takakusu, *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 73).

19 Third rock-inscription.

20 Sixth rock-inscription.

21 Minor rock-inscription : Brahmagiri.

22 This custom still prevails in certain Buddhist countries like Burma, where even the eligibility of a young man for marriage is subject to his having spent at least a few weeks in a monastery as a monk. The present king of Thailand, Phumiphon Adulet, also has been a bhikkhu quite recently for a short period of 14 days.

The last four years of Asoka's life were marked by his liberality towards the Saṅgha, and legend has it that ultimately he had nothing he could call his own, apart from an āmalaka-fruit (*emblica officinalis*). Even of that he partook only one half and sent the other half to a nearby monastery, as ' Asoka's last gift '. According to tradition his last years indicated the beginning of the decline of the Mauryan empire and he had to divide his empire between his two sons.

Asoka died after having reigned for thirty-eight years. He occupies a unique place among the rulers of the world. His period is further important for the development of art, as sculpture, architecture, writing, literature, etc. The close contact established during Asoka's reign with other countries made his the first consolidated empire in Indian history. In Buddhist history he ranks in importance only next to the Sākyamuni himself.

H.G.A.v.Z.

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A Comparison and Contrast between the Legends and the Edicts.

The figure of Asoka stands cross-lighted in Indian history from two sources, first, dispersed legends about him occurring in a number of Buddhist works,

and second, his edicts and rescripts discovered from time to time over more than a century now, in different parts of India, from Gandhāra in the north down to Mysore in the south.

The main body of Asokan legends is in the Ceylonese chronicles, *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, in Buddhaghosa's works, specially *Samantapāsādikā*, as well as in the ancient legend-collection to which the name *Divyāvadāna* has been given. But, there are also subsidiary sources like the ancient commentary on *Kathāvatthu* and *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, which is a work of the 8th century. These legends must have originated in the after-fame of the emperor and, quite irrespective of the chronology of the works in which the legends are recorded, most of them must have been of ancient tradition. But the tradition itself was post-Asokan.

The edicts on the other hand are contemporary records. They were unknown to both the makers and the purveyors of the legends. The script of the edicts had long passed into oblivion and their find-spots had become in their time mostly inaccessible. It is only within the last hundred years or so that archæologists have unearthed and deciphered them. These edicts are by no means a closed chapter yet: the latest discovery of an Asokan edict was made by an Italian archæological mission as late as in 1958.[1]

There are no comparable records in Indian history: the style and the manner of the publication of these edicts is reminiscent of the practice of the Achaemenid kings of Iran. In these edicts, the emperor reveals himself in many moods, speaking most often to his people (briefly as the exiguity of a lithic inscription would allow) of his inner thoughts and feelings, his convictions and self-realisations, his imperial acts and measures and their motivation in the Dhamma, and the ethical ideals on which all his injunctions and commands to them were based.

The legends and the edicts cannot be put on a par in reconstructing our mental image of the emperor. The legends come through the medium of other minds, while in the edicts we have the emperor's own self-revelations. In certain respects, however, the former may be regarded as complementary to the latter. The edicts were issued in Asoka's capacity as a ruler: what is said in them is relative only to their purpose, while the legends speak episodically of the emperor's whole life and career. But the legends need to be checked and sifted to winnow away what in them is contradicted by, or is inconsistent with the spirit of the edicts.

The major discrepancies between the legends and the edicts are these :

(i) *The Caṇḍāsoka story.* The story told in the legends is that, before his conversion to Buddhism, Asoka had been known as *Caṇḍāsoka* (Ferocious Asoka), a heartless fratricide, who killed off all his 99 brothers to secure unchallenged accession to the throne. But after his conversion he became so thoroughly devoted to the Dhamma that he was called by the name of *Dhammāsoka* (Asoka devoted to the Dhamma). In the edicts there is no hint of this crime, although in several of them there are poignant expressions of regret from the emperor for the shortcomings and delinquencies of his past life, and in the Kāliṅga Edict (Rock Edict 13) deep repentance (*anusaya*=*anuśocanā*) is expressed for the sufferings caused by him to men by his victory in the Kāliṅga war. Whether Asoka's slaying of his brothers in order to come to the throne was a historical event cannot be ascertained, but it was easy enough for the legend-maker to emphasise in this way the wonderful power of the Buddhist religion to transform the nature of a man and to invent the name Caṇḍāsoka as a telling correlative to Dhammāsoka, a nickname by which Asoka was probably known among his subjects.

(ii) *The Kāliṅga War.* If there was such a turning point in Asoka's career, the greater probability is of its having been brought about by his *anusaya* or *anuśocanā* over the dire consequences of the Kāliṅga war than by his earlier conversion to Buddhism. But, curiously enough, there is no reference to the Kāliṅga war in the legends, though the emperor's own testimony stands : [2]" Therefore, when the Kāliṅgas had been newly conquered, the 'Beloved of the Gods' felt a strong inclination for Dhamma, desire for Dhamma and instruction in Dhamma. Now, it is repentance that the 'Beloved of the Gods' felt on conquering the Kāliṅgas. Indeed the slaughter or death or deportation of the people (that take place) there, when an unconquered country is conquered, is considered very painful and serious by the 'Beloved of the Gods' ....
Indeed the 'Beloved of the Gods' wished all beings non-injury, restraint (and) impartiality (even in case of offensive conduct). "

1 This edicti s a bi-lingual one in Greek and Aramaic on the non-killing of fish and animals on specified days. The discovery of this edict was first reported in the *East and West* (Organ of the *Ismeo* of Rome) in its March-June, 1958, number. See also *Un Editto bilingue graeco-aramaico di Asoka* by G. Tucci and others (*Series Orientale Roma*, XXI, 1958).

2 Rock Edict 13. See A. C. Sen's *Asoka's Edicts*, pp. 98ff

It is in the same edict that he declares that conquest by the Dhamma is more desirable than by force of arms and he leaves this idea to his successors on the throne to follow and carry out. If Caṇḍāsoka was transformed into Dhammāsoka, the motivation for it must have been in that psychological crisis into which he was led by his broodings over the miseries inflicted by him on the Kāliṅgas by a cruel war of aggression.

(iii) The *Building of Stūpas and Vihāras.* Asoka is set up in the legends as a zealous builder of stūpas and vihāras all over his empire. It is said that he covered the whole country with a network of them and their total number is put at the conventional figure of 84,000. The story has romantic embellishments, such as the employment by the emperor of supernatural agents (*yakṣa*) for the purpose. It is one of the most persistent of Asokan legends and it came by a long tradition to Hsüan-tsang, who, visiting India in the early part of the 7th century A.C., describes almost all the ancient stūpas seen by him in India and even beyond its northern borders as built by Asoka-rājā and repeats the story of supernatural agency. This story has an elaborate poetic version in a work of the 8th century, *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa.* [3]

In the edicts, however, the only stūpa of which any mention is found is a pre-existing one to Koṇāgamana, which Asoka saw in a delapidated condition at Nigālī-sāgara and reconstructed to double its size. Only one stūpa in particular, the great tope of Sāñcī, is said in the legends to have been of Asoka's foundation, but, as the legend runs, it was built by him to gratify his Buddhist mother-in-law, whose daughter he had married at Vidiśā, and, by this specification, it must have been built by Asoka before he became a Buddhist. [4] In the numerous remains of stūpas and vihāras of northern India, explored by archæologists, no discovery has been made up to date to connect Asoka with any of them, except for a stone-column with Asoka's *Saṅgha-bhedaka* edict inscribed on it which stands near the outer periphery of the great tope of Sāñcī. No vihāra is mentioned in the edicts as having been founded by Asoka.

To the question, whether Asoka really built stūpas and vihāras, the reply from the legends is profusely positive, while the edicts remain totally silent. But to the minds of the makers of the legends, the Dhamma to which the emperor was devoted could be only the Dhamma of the canon, i.e., the Buddhist religion, and if the emperor was zealous in its cause, it could be best manifested by the building of stūpas and vihāras by him.

(iv) *Missionary activities.* The introduction of Buddhism out of the *Puratthima* (Eastern Tract), to which it had been mostly confined until Asoka's time, into different parts of the empire in his reign, naturally presupposes a great acceleration of missionary activities. In the legends the organisation of these activities is ascribed to Moggaliputta Tissa. It is difficult on the basis of the edicts to ascribe to the emperor any positive part in these missionary activities, for all that is said (in Rock Edict 13) is that he sent envoys to foreign countries and emissaries to regions outside his dominion with the object of promoting the Dhamma. But this Dhamma, as we shall presently see, cannot be identified with Buddhism.

The Ceylonese tradition of the mission of Asoka's son Mahinda and his daughter Saṅghamittā in Ceylon does not attribute to Asoka the direction or initiative for it, but to Moggaliputta Tissa at whose instance Asoka is said to have allowed them to join the Saṅgha. [5]

(v) *The so-called 'Third Council'.* The legends report the holding of the third Buddhist 'council' in Asoka's reign under imperial aegis at the imperial capital Pāṭaliputta with the object of purging the Saṅgha of heretics. It is said that the result of its deliberations was the ejection of 60,000 (conventional figure) heretics who were spotted by their refusal to subscribe to *Vibhajjavāda,* i.e., the analytic method of textual exegesis, favoured by the Theravāda school. Doubt is thrown upon the historicity of this 'council' by the absence of any sort of reference or even the remotest allusion to it in the edicts. Though in several edicts Asoka refers to acts done and measures taken by him for the promotion of the Dhamma, the 'council' is nowhere indicated or spoken of. One edict (Calcutta-Bairāṭ) which is a message addressed to the monks, might have afforded room for an allusion to the 'council', but this also is silent on the point. Asoka's connection with this 'council', said to have been

3 See Jayaswal's *An Imperial History of India,* p. 12 and text, p. 27, *vv.* 369 ff., describing how the yakṣas in the emperor's service erected many thousands of monoliths and stūpas of many kinds with half a night's labour and invited the emperor to see their handiwork.

4 For the legend, see Geiger's *Mahāvaṃsa,* pp. 100-1, and also *Dīpavaṃsa* (ed. by Oldenberg), pp. 42, 63, 147, 168 and 370.

5 See Walpola Rahula's *History of Buddhism in Ceylon,* p. 12.

held under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa, is altogether indeterminate, even assuming that it was actually held during his reign.

(vi) *Asoka and Moggaliputta Tissa.* The name of Moggaliputta Tissa is prominent in the Asokan legends. He was the most outstanding figure in the contemporary Buddhist world of India. He was the leader of the Theravāda school of the time, the champion and chief polemist of that school, who in the *Kathāvatthu* repudiated doctrines and opinions inconsistent with the doctrinal positions of the Theravāda. He is identified in later Asokan legends with Upagupta, supposed to have been Asoka's preceptor and spiritual guide. But there is no mention of him anywhere in the edicts and the Dhamma propounded in them is certainly not of the kind that could be the result of a preceptor's training, for it is a Dhamma neither canon-based nor defined by doctrines.

(vii) *Asoka's status as a Buddhist.* From the edicts (Minor Rock Edicts) we know that Asoka became a convert to Buddhism some time after his accession to the throne. He became a lay Buddhist, an *upāsaka* [6]; though for two years and a half after his conversion, he was, as he declares, not very zealous (*bādhaṃ pakaṃte*). But having approached (*upeta*) the Saṅgha, his zeal was roused. Perhaps his contacts with the Saṅgha resulted in his acquisition of some knowledge of the Buddhist texts as they then existed; this knowledge is shown in his recommending to the monks for earnest study a selection of scriptural texts [7], as well as from adapted or clipped quotations from scripture in the phraseology of some edicts [8]. But the legends go farther and speak of his receiving ordination in old age and even attaining to pratyeka-buddhahood. [9] The only available corroboration of it is a statement which comes from I-tsing, about a thousand years after Asoka, that he saw in India an image of the emperor in monk's robes, a vague statement which might easily have been based on a mistake.[10]

The discrepancies between the legends and the edicts are not merely factual or incidental—they spring from two different views. Collectively taken and broadly interpreted, they make a great difference between the picture of Asoka as the legends present it and that assembled by the edicts.

Those who recorded these legends had undoubtedly edited and made additions to them from a certain point of view. The canon sets forth the ideal of a cakkavattin who is a *Dhammika Dhammarāja*, an emperor who rules according to Dhamma, in *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, 2.4. The memory of such a ruler is said to deserve perpetuation by erecting a stūpa to him ; he is a *thūpāraha* (worthy of a monument in the form of a stūpa) [11]. Now, the editors of the legends were of a time when Buddhism in India was several centuries old, long after the passing away of the emperor in whose reign it is said to have blazed forth as a 'holy flame' (*puññateja*) all over the land [12]. Into their retrospect of Buddhism, the figure of Asoka, then lingering only in traditional tales, came as the ideal *Dhammarāja* of canonical description. To them the Dhamma could mean only the religion set forth in the canon as *Buddhavacana*. So they set up Asoka as a ruler who, being a *Dhammarāja*, must have been a patron and propagandist of Buddhism, devoutly single-minded in advancing its cause by founding innumerable stūpas and vihāras, by purifying the Saṅgha, preventing schisms in and expelling heretics from the Saṅgha, and by propagating the religion among the people.

The Buddha, it is said had prophesied his advent. Asoka, according to this prophecy, would be ruler from sea to sea, ruling "without oppression, without enforcing penalties, without the force of arms, but according to the Dhamma and customary law". His piety would reach its consummation when later in life, "giving up his empire, he would shear off his hair and beard

6 See A. C. Sen's *Asoka's Edicts*, pp. 52, 54. In different versions of the edict, the word, *upāsake*, is differently given as '*Budhasake*' (Maski) and '*pakas.....ke*' (Rūpnagar).

7 In the Calcutta-Bairāṭ Edict, see A. C. Sen's *Asoka's Edicts*, pp. 134-5.

8 In the Calcutta-Bairāṭ edict: *E keci bhante bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite sarve se subhāsite* is taken from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, p. 164); several quotations or echoes from the *Dhammapada* are pointed out in the Introduction to Hultzsch's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. i—liv: "The Saddhamma shall long remain" (*A.* III, p. 340) in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ edict.

9 In *Aśokavarṇāvadāna*, No. ix of the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil's Ed., pp. 140-1).

10 See Takakusu's *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, etc., p. 73.

11 *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, v, 31.

12 *Dīpavaṃsa*, vi, 1-2.

don the yellow robe, go from home into homelessness, and ultimately attain to the status of a pratyeka-buddha '.[13]

The legends are mostly of Theravāda provenance. Hence, Asoka is identified with the Buddhism of that school. He is represented as a patron, friend and supporter of his contemporary, Moggaliputta Tissa, who presided over the 'council' which resulted in the purge on a large scale of 'heretics', that is, of all monks who did not subscribe to the Theravāda method of doctrinal interpretation and exegesis. As we have remarked, the historicity of this 'council' rests solely on the basis of the legends, while the edicts make no allusion to it. But if Asoka's stand with regard to the Dhamma be interpreted in the light of the edicts, it will seem somewhat improbable that Asoka either initiated this 'council' or that he approved of the purge. Asoka was a pious Buddhist himself, and so completely did he assimilate the spirit of the religion that it is expressed in all his edicts. But his interest in the formulated doctrines does not seem to have been keen. Not only is there a complete absence from the edicts of doctrinal concepts and terms, but it is noticeable that in the selection of scriptural texts recommended by him for study to the monks (in Calcutta-Bairāṭ edict), not one of the important texts, like the *Brahmajāla Suttanta*, which deal with doctrines, is included. The Buddhist schools sprang from differences in the interpretation of doctrines, and *Vibhajjavāda* was the exegetic method of the Theravāda school. It is not likely that the emperor would trouble himself with the scholastic aspect of Buddhism and support one school against others.

In fact, the word of crucial significance, endlessly iterated in the edicts, is Dhamma. The emperor professes to follow the Dhamma himself; he wishes to teach it to his subjects; he exhorts them to understand it rightly and act up to it; all his own acts and measures, as he declares, are in pursuance of the Dhamma and have the object of promoting it.

What this Dhamma is, is not put in positive terms anywhere in the edicts, but its numerous use in them in various contexts seems to suggest that he meant it as a sort of emblem, to betoken the overall character of his rule, that is the rule of a *cakkavattin* who was a *Dhamma-rāja*. It was from the texts that he picked up the cue for the use of the term Dhamma in this way in his edicts.

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* was one part of the scripture he was undoubtedly acquainted with. According to Kosambi and Lanman, the text named *Aliya-vasāni*, recommended for study to the monks in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ edict, corresponds to the fourth *nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara*[14] and in the same edict occurs a phrase borrowed from the *Aṅguttara*[15]. If the emperor was acquainted with this part of the texts, we may presume his knowledge of a sutta that occurs in it, describing the relationship of a *cakkavatti dhammika dhamma-rāja* to the *Dhamma*.[16]

> " Herein a rājā who is *cakkavatti* and *dhammika dhammarāja* is in dependence on the Dhamma, —honouring the Dhamma, respectful and deferential to the Dhamma, with the Dhamma as his banner, with the Dhamma as his standard, with the Dhamma as his overlord, he keeps watch and ward among his folk.
>
> " Then again, a rājā (who is etc., etc., as above) keeps constant watch and ward among the warriors who follow in his host, among brāhmans and householders and dwellers in outlying parts, among samaṇas and brāhmans, beasts and birds alike.
>
> " (Such an one) rolls the wheel of sovereignty not to be upset by any human being whatever, by any foe that lives."

It was after his accession to the throne as a *cakkavatti* (emperor) that Asoka became a convert to Buddhism, and, after his conversion, he aspired to fill the role of a Dhamma-rāja as described in the text, with the Dhamma as his banner, with the Dhamma as his standard, with the Dhamma as his overlord, relating to the Dhamma all his imperial acts and measures.

The makers of Asokan legends were monks who understood by Dhamma only the Dhamma of the canon, that is, the Buddhist religion. But the emperor, in his capacity as ruler over a country where a great diversity of faiths and sects existed[17], had to be equal and impartial, not boosting by his sovereign authority the faith he himself had preferred and adopted or any sect within that faith. This hypothesis would rationalise the discrepancies we have pointed out that exist between the legends and the edicts.

13 See *Aśokavarṇāvadāna* (ix in *Divyāvadāna*).

14 *IA*. Feb., 1912, pp. 37-40.

15 See footnote 7.

16 *A*. I, p. 109 (Woodward's *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, Vol. I, pp. 94-5).

17 Referred to in Rūpnāth, Maski, Gujarat and othe minor rock-edicts.

Judging by the emperor's own elucidation, the difference between the monkish view and his own comes out in relief [18]:

> "(The practice of Dhamma) is commendable, but (let us ask) what constitutes the Dhamma? (These constitute the Dhamma, viz.) . . . little sin and many good deeds (compare *Dhammapada*, verse 183 . . . . *sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṁ kusalassa upasampadā*), mercifulness, charity truthfulness and purity."

Evidently it is the cultivation of these cardinal moral virtues that the emperor understands by the Dhamma rather than adherence to a form of faith. Dhamma is to him an ideal of culture to be translated into those qualities of personality which serve to elevate life in its practical pragmatic sphere.

An indication that the Dhamma spoken of in the edicts is not a form of faith, but a pattern of life and conduct, is held out in his description of the " auspicious ceremony of Dhamma " in Rock-edict, No. 9. After disparaging *maṅgala* (auspicious) ceremonies, prevalent among the people of India even to this day during illness, or at a wedding, or a child-birth, or on the commencement of a journey, the emperor goes on to say [19]:

> " Now, auspicious ceremonies should certainly be performed, but of little merit indeed are auspicious ceremonies such as these. But of great fruit is this auspicious ceremony, viz., the auspicious ceremony of Dhamma. In it, these (are comprised), viz., proper behaviour towards slaves and servants; commendable deference towards elders; commendable gentleness towards animals; commendable gifts to brāhmans and samaṇas, ... these and similar other (acts) are called the auspicious ceremony of Dhamma."

Had the spread of Buddhism been any object in the emperor's mind it would be reasonable to suppose that, among these items of *dhammamaṅgala*, he would have included paying reverence to the stūpa and taking the eight vows of morality (*aṭṭhaṅga-uposatha*).

Edicts relating to the *Dhamma-mahāmātās* and *Saṅghabheda* have been interpreted by some historians as issued in the special interest of the Buddhist Saṅgha. [20] But in the *Dhamma-mahāmātā* edicts, the duties assigned to the " Commissioners for Dhamma ", so far as they bear specifically on the Saṅgha, are to see that the sects do not foment quarrels among themselves and that no disruption ensues in the Saṅgha.

The edicts recognise the Saṅgha, but as a corporation, in the welfare of which the king was specially interested. These edicts have a constitutional basis. They were in discharge of the duty of a king in his office and capacity as ruler, enjoined by immemorial practice in India, which we find formulated later in Brāhmaṇical *smṛtis* and *arthaśāstras*. In ancient Indian sociological political thought, society was an aggregate of units, village-communities, classes, professions, associations etc., which were unitary bodies that had each its own customary laws called *samaya*. The Buddhist Saṅgha is recognised as one of these self-governing bodies, its *samaya* was constituted by what it called *Vinaya*. The king's duty with regard to these corporate bodies is formulated by the legist Yājñavalkya as being "to prevent divisions in them and uphold their customary laws ".[21] Manu's commentator Medhātithi expressly places under the term Saṅgha, the Saṅgha of the bhikṣus [22] The edicts on the disrobing of schism-mongers were undoubtedly based on the *samaya* of the Bhikkhusaṅgha, that is, the ancient vinaya-law relating to schism mongers . . . . ' A *saṅghabhedaka* is not to be ordained; if ordained to be expelled ' (*Mahāvagga*, I, 67). The *Dhamma-mahāmātās* are ordered to publicise and enforce this vinaya-law. The Buddhist emperor was no doubt deeply concerned with the preservation of the unity and integrity of each saṅgha and anxious to check fissiparous tendencies developing within it. For this purpose, he did nothing more than to revive and promulgate a law of its own *samaya* out of the existing corpus of vinaya-laws.

Asoka had come to the throne as a *cakkavattin* (emperor) and we may suppose that after his conversion to Buddhism he aspired to rule as a

18 Pillar Edict 2 (See A. C. Sen's *Asoka's Edicts*, p. 146).

19 Rock Edict ix (See A.C. Sen's *Asoka's Edicts*, p. 87).

20 Yājñavalkya, ii, 190-2: *Bhedaṃ c'aiṣāṃ nṛpo rakṣet pūrvavṛttiñca pālayet.*

21 Medhātithi commenting on Manu's law-book viii, 219, gives as examples of *Saṅgha* . . . . . . 'The Saṅgha of the Bhikṣus', 'The Saṅgha of Merchants', and 'The Saṅgha of Specialists in the Four Vedas'.

22 This distinction between *dhamma* and *sīla*, the ideal concept and its translation into practice, made in the edicts, is pointed out by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 313.

dhammika dhammarāja, the ideal king as defined in the text. But, ruling over a country of people of diverse faiths as an impartial sovereign, even-handed in his dealings and policies, he could not exalt one faith over another by his sovereign authority, though the fact that the emperor himself was a Buddhist must have given Buddhism a certain weightage with people. He interpreted 'dhamma' in the designation of *dhammika dhammarāja* in a sublimated sense, not as a concrete form of faith, but an abstract ethical ideal that should set and regulate men's pattern of life and conduct. *Dhamma* is the ideal, and moral conduct (*sīla*) is its pragmatic consequence and the emperor distinguishes between the two. And in *sīla* were comprised those ethical values in which the spirit of Buddhism manifested itself. Asoka's service, as *dhammika dhammarāja*, was not, as implied by the legends, to strengthen and propagate Buddhism as a system of religion or form of faith, but to instil its essential spirit into all people both within and outside his far-flung empire.

S. Du.

ASOKA (6), a mountain in the Himālayan region. In the time of Sumedha Buddha, Vissakamma erected there a monastery. In it lived a hermit who offered ghee to Sumedha Buddha. He is identified with Mettagū thera of Gotama Buddha's time (*Ap.* II, 342 ; *ApA.* 484).

ASOKA (7), a lay disciple of Ñātikā. When Ānanda announced his death to the Buddha at Ñātikā in the Giñjakāvasatha, and enquired where he had been reborn, the Buddha replied that Asoka had attained the state of a once-returner (*sakadāgāmin*) and, coming back to this world but once more, he would attain Nibbāna (*S.* V, 358).

AŚOKA (1), name of a Buddha appearing in a list of former Buddhas (*Mhvu.* III, 238).

AŚOKA (2), name of a nephew and disciple of the Buddha Kāśyapa. Aśoka attained arahantship and passed away on the eve of the Buddha's demise (*Mvs.* 105).

AŚOKA (3), a previous incarnation of Bhaddālin (q.v.), a disciple of the Buddha.

AŚOKA (4), a king who built a stūpa of gems over the remains of Krakucchanda Buddha (*Divy.* 418).

AŚOKA (5), name of a yakṣa, referred to in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (68) as dwelling in the Kāci (=Kāśi) region (*BHS.* s.v.).

ASOKĀ (1), a bhikkhunī of Ñātikā. Once when the Buddha was staying at Ñātikā in the Giñjakāvasatha, Ānanda asked him where bhikkhunī Asokā had been reborn after death. The Buddha replied that she had destroyed the five fetters and had been born spontaneously in the Pure Abodes (Suddhāvāsā), destined never to return, and there to attain Nibbāna (*S.* V, 358).

ASOKĀ (2), one of the two chief female disciples of Buddha Maṅgala (*Buv.* iv, 24; *J.* I, 3 ; *BuvA.* p. 151 ; *ApA.* p. 37).

ASOKĀ (3), a female lay disciple of Ñātikā. When the Buddha was staying there in the Giñjakāvasatha, Ānanda asked him where Asokā had been born after death. The Buddha explained that she had attained the state of a stream-winner (*sotāpanna*). She was delivered from birth in woeful states and was assured of enlightenment (*S.* V, 358).

AŚOKADATTA-VYĀKARAṆA(-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA) or *Ārya-aśoka-*° is, as the title indicates, a Mahāyāna sūtra text that falls under the type of literature called *Vyākaraṇa* ('explanation', 'answers to questions' : *BHS.* 516). Here the bodhisattva Aśokadattā answers the questions raised by her father, king Ajātaśatru, and the elders Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Subhūti and Rāhula.

The Tibetan version of the sūtra occurs in the Dkon-brtsegs (Ratnakūṭa) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa mya-ṅan-med-kyis-byin-pa luṅ-bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed D.T. Suzuki, Vol, 24, No. 760 (32) ; *TM.* No. 76). The colophon attributes this translation to Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde.

The Buddha was residing at the Vulture's Peak (*Gṛdhrakūṭa*), states this version of the sūtra, near Rājagṛha, with a large community of monks, when a multitude of bodhisattvas assembled there and sat beside him. Ajātaśatru and his following, ministers, officials and the like, came there, paid their respect to him and made offerings. The Buddha preached the doctrine to them.

Meanwhile, in the forenoon, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Subhūti, Rāhula, Ānanda

and many others went to Rājagṛha for alms. Arriving at the royal palace, they walked in and stood on a side. Aśokadattā, daughter of Ajātaśatru, was at her father's residence at the time, seated on a throne. But she did not rise on seeing the great śrāvakas, nor offer alms. Ajātaśatru hastened to the palace when he heard that the monks had arrived there, and offered them seats. He rebuked Aśokadattā for not having greeted them or given alms. Aśokadattā replies in a long speech that those who have developed the supreme and perfect mind of wisdom (*bodhicitta*) and are full of great love and compassion would not salute the faint-hearted and weak śrāvakas who rejoice in inferior things (Tib. *dman-pa-la mos pa*). The śrāvakas' moral purity (Tib. *tshul-khrims*, Skt. *śīla*) is like the water in a bullock's hoof-print in comparison to the wisdom of a bodhisattva. Their dhyāna is like a mustard seed. " Who would respect the śrāvakas, who follow the words of another and whose knowledge is but like the brightness of a fire-fly ? " Aśokadattā continues to speak disparagingly of the moral behaviour (*śīla*), contemplation (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) of the śrāvakas in contrast to that of the bodhisattvas. " Just as a jar full of water does not absorb even a drop more when showers fall on it ", says she, " even so the śrāvakas do not retain the doctrine, were a hundred thousand Buddhas to preach it. The bodhisattvas absorb whatever doctrine is preached, just as the ocean holds all the rain water and the water from the streams." A set of stanzas, in which Aśokadattā expresses similar sentiments and eulogises the bodhisattvas, occurs at this point in the text. The first three stanzas in this metrical section state briefly the incident that led her to recite them, viz., the visit of the śrāvakas to the palace, Aśokadattā's indifference to their presence and the questioning of her behaviour by the king, her father. Ajātaśatru is said to have remained silent at the conclusion of his daughter's eloquent explanation.

Then, wishing to test Aśokadattā's knowledge, Śāriputra questions her. Aśokadattā questions him in return and so makes him arrive at the answers himself. In like manner, Aśokadattā answers Maudgalyāyana's questions, elucidating the difference between Buddhas, pratyekabuddhas and śrāvakas and establishing the superiority of the Buddha-ideal. In response to a wish of Maudgalyāyana to see the Buddha and listen to the doctrine, Aśokadattā makes a solemn declaration of truth (*satyakriyā*), wishing the appearance of the Buddha, the truth declared in this instance being the statement that a bodhisattva, the moment he develops the mind of a bodhisattva (*bodhicitta*) excels all pratyekabuddhas and the śrāvakas. The Buddha appears, confirms the truth of Aśokadattā's solemn declaration and preaches the doctrine in a voice that could be heard the world over.

Then, Subhūti and Rāhula question Aśokadattā in turn. After she answers them competently and to their satisfaction, the gods shower celestial flowers in appreciation and honour. Aśokadattā descends from her throne and the śrāvakas pay her respect. Then she, the śrāvakas, the king and the queens and the whole multitude that had assembled there go to the Buddha, salute him and sit on a side, while Śāriputra comments on the excellence of Aśokadattā's knowledge. The Buddha declares that Aśokadattā had cultivated virtue during the times of millions of Buddhas. Asked why Aśokadattā had the form of a woman, the Buddha declares that this was in accordance with her own wish. At this moment, Aśokadattā pronounces a blessing of truth (Tib. *bden-paḥi byin gyis brlabs*, Skt. *satyādhiṣṭhāna*), whereupon her female appearance disappears. Subsequently the Buddha speaks of an existence of Aśokadattā when she would be a Buddha, Aśokadatta by name, in the world Vimalaprabha (Tib. *dri-ma-med-paḥi ḥod*).

The Tibetan chronicle *Deb-ther Sṅon-po* records that the *Ārya-Aśokadattavyākaraṇa* was preached as general doctrine (George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, II, p. 1069).

Two Chinese translations of the sūtra occur in the Chinese Tripiṭaka: *Wu-wei-tê-p'u-sa-hui* 無畏德菩薩會 translated by Buddhaśānta of the Northern Wei dynasty, 386–535 A.C. See *Nanjio*, No. 23 (32) ; *Taishō*, No. 310 (32) and *A-tu-shih-wang-nü-a-shu-ta-p'u-sa-ching* 阿闍貰王女阿術達菩薩經 translated by Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the Western Tsin dynasty, 265–317 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 42 ; *Taishō*, No. 337).

R.H.

AŚOKA-KĀNTĀMĀRĪCĪ-SĀDHANA, the title of two different sādhana texts occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, Nos. 133, 141). Both sādhanas deal with the procedure of worship for the invocation of the deity Aśoka-kāntāmārīcī. According to sādhana No. 133, soon after contemplating on the voidness (*śūnyatā*) of worldly phenomena, the worshipper should meditate on the one-faced, two-armed, yellow-complexioned goddess, lovely and youthful, who, decked in body, bears the image of Vairocana on her bejewelled

crown and stands in a sportive attitude on the moon over the double lotus, on the back of a golden-coloured pig, holding the bough of an *aśoka*-tree with her left hand and displaying with the right the pose of granting a boon (*varada*). The worshipper is also enjoined to chant the mantra, *Oṃ Mārīcyai māṃ svāhā*.

Two Tibetan versions of this sādhana occur in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, the *Mya-ṅan-med-paḥi śiṅ-gi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi thabs*, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje (Amogha-vajra) and Ba-ri (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 4164; *Cordier*, III, p. 10, No. 38) and the *Mya-ṅan-med paḥi śiṅ-gi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs*, translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja). See Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4345 and *Cordier*, III, p. 43, No. 219.

Sādhana No. 141 of the *Sādhanamālā* instructs the worshipper to recite the formula, *Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti*, and then to meditate on Aśokakāntāmārīcī, who is described. The description here, similar to that of the previous sādhana, gives the additional information that the goddess wears white garments, has the form of a pig (*sūkararūpāṃ*) and wards off the wicked by diffusing rays in the form of many pigs from the syllable *māṃ* in the heart. The formula *Oṃ Mārīcyai svāhā* is to be recited after the meditation on the deity.

According to further instructions given in the sādhana this mantra is to be chanted seven times before making a journey to a foreign land, waving one's own upper garment while doing so, and tying knots on the garment of a fellow traveller. By doing so, one ensures safety against being plundered by robbers and the like.

Two Tibetan renderings of this sādhana occur in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, the *Mya-ṅan med-paḥi śiṅ-gi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs*, translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4353) and the *Mya-ṅan med-la dgaḥ-baḥi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs*, translated by Abhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (Śīladhvaja) (ibid. Vol. 80, No. 4055 and *Cordier*, II, p. 387, No. 95).

R.H.

ASOKAMĀLĀ, the wife of Sāli, son of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī of Ceylon (161-137 B.C.). The prince renounced his right to the throne by getting married to Asokamālā, who was born as a caṇḍāla woman of great beauty. Sāli and Asokamālā had been husband and wife in their former birth (*Mhv.* xxxiii, 2–4). In their previous existence they had been named Tissa and Nāgā, and lived in a village called Muṇḍagaṅgā in Ceylon. One day Tissa received a pig from a hunter in payment of some smith's work that he had done and he expressed the wish that eight theras might come to accept a meal from him. His wife also expressed the same wish and both of them decorated the house, prepared eight seats, strewed the village path with sand, erected a hall and, having tied a canopy over it, decorated with flowers, garlands and flags, they awaited the theras' arrival. Dhammadinna thera of Piyaṅgudīpa who divined their wish came to the village with seven other theras. Tissa led them to his home and offered them alms. After they had eaten, they gave thanks and went away. As a result of this good deed he was born as Sāli, son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. His wife Nāgā was born as a caṇḍālī, as a punishment for an offence in another existence. She had been the youngest of seven daughters of the chief carpenter (*vaḍḍhakī*) in a village named Sāli, near the eastern gate of Anurādhapura. Once she accompanied her mother to the monastery and on her return home, while drinking rice-gruel with her sisters, she made the place untidy by throwing the gruel here and there. The mother became so vexed for making the place untidy that she scolded her, referring to her as an outcaste (*vasala*). Then, in her anger the daughter abused her mother in the same terms as had been hurled at her. As a result of this she was born as a caṇḍālī (*MhvA.* pp. 605–6).

The account given in the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* (pp 27-8), in the story of Dhammanandi thera, differs in details. According to this account, Asokamālā was once the daughter of an old woman in Bārāṇasī. Her mother used to give alms to bhikkhus, and one day when two bhikkhus came, as the food was not ready, she asked them to wait in the hall. The two bhikkhus went there and started a religious discussion. When the meal was ready, she sent her daughter to invite the bhikkhus. She went there, and being interested in the Dhamma, stayed there listening to the discussion. When it was finished, she invited the bhikkhus. The old mother scolded her for being late and she retorted by calling her mother a caṇḍālī.

The meeting of Asokamālā and Sāli as given in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (pp. 607–8) differs from that of the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* (pp. 28–9).

According to the former, Sāli once went to the park and, hearing the beautiful voice of a woman, went in that direction and saw this caṇḍāla girl making garlands of *asoka*-flowers. He had her dressed in clean clothes, etc. and took her to be his wife. The latter text calls her Asokamālinī and says Sāli met her near the entrance to the city of Anurādhapura. When she saw Sāli, she was frightened and clung to a wall, thus giving him the impression that what he saw was a painting. When the people told him that it was not so, and that she was the daughter of a caṇḍāla, Sāli became so attached to her that he asked for her hand in marriage.

At first Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was dissatisfied with the marriage of his son to Asokamālinī. But, when he visited them and saw the beauty of his daughter-in-law, he said to Sāli, that if Asokamālinī had not been his wife, he would have married her himself (*Svu.* p. 29).

It is possible that she was named Asokamālā, as mentioned in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī,* because she was making garlands of *asoka*-flowers at the time when Sāli met her. The *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa,* where she is called Asokamālinī, says that she was so named because there emanated from her mouth the fragrance of *asoka* flowers (*Svu.* p. 28).

I.K.

ASOKAMĀLAKA, one of the spots in the Mahāsāgaravana (the present Mahāmeghavana in Anurādhapura) in the time of the Buddha Kassapa, where he preached to the assembled populace when he visited Ceylon. Four thousand people were converted (*Mhv.* p. 123). Later, king Asela erected a cetiya there (*MhvA.* p. 358).

U.K.

AŚOKAMUKHA-NĀGAVINAYA-PARICCHEDA, the title of a Sanskrit work that was translated into Tibetan by Ajitaśrībhadra and Śākya ḥod. This translation occurs in the Gtam-yig (Parikathā and Lekha) section of the Tengyur under the title *Mya-ṅan med-paḥi sgo-nas klu btul-baḥi leḥu* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 129, No. 5696). The text narrates an episode of the taming of a serpent by a king called Aśoka.

One hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha, says the text, there reigned in the city of Pāṭaliputra, a world-ruler (*cakravartin*), Aśoka by name. He summoned five hundred merchants and asked them to go out in search of wealth. The merchants accordingly set forth to the ocean and filled their vessel with various kinds of precious things. On their return journey they were overpowered by a nāga (serpent) in the middle of the ocean and escaped with only their lives.

The king who had news of the incident made a firm wish that the jewels should remain on the shore. Instantly there appeared a grove, set about with ponds and streams, perfumed with agreeable scents, overspread with flowers and resonant with delightful sounds. Everywhere were masses of precious stones. The king's subjects assembled there, jewels appeared and then the king himself arrived. The merchants, too, came and sat on a side. On being asked as to what had happened, they spoke of the nāga and requested the king to subdue it for otherwise no merchant would dare to enter the ocean.

Seated not far from the king was a monk, called Indra (Tib. *Dbaṅ-po*), rich in virtue. The king asked his advice and the monk said that a copper tablet should be cast in the ocean inscribed with the injunction that all plunderers of wealth living there should come to king Aśoka through the power of his might. This was done, but it had no effect on the nāga who sent the tablet back to Jambudvīpa. When the messengers handed it to the king, he became most distressed. As he lay on his couch at night wondering what he should do, two gods spoke to him and advised him to make offerings to the relics of the Buddha and to his disciples. Accordingly, the king, attired in white garments, got the offerings ready and wished that the arhats living in the four quarters should arrive there, through compassion for him. Sixty thousand of them appeared at once. The king first made offerings to the Buddha's relics, recited stanzas in praise of the Buddha and then made offerings to the disciples. He then asked Indra what he should do next. The latter instructed him to get two images made, one of the king and the other of the nāga, and place them in a golden vessel and watch what would happen. This the king did and he was greatly impressed on seeing the image of the nāga bend before his own. As the king continued making offerings to the Buddha relics and to the Saṅgha, the nāga image bent lower and lower in reverence to the king's image. Most delighted, the king uttered three stanzas in praise of paying reverence to the three jewels (*triratna*). The monk said that those stanzas should be inscribed on a copper tablet and cast into the ocean. This was done. The nāga received the tablet on his head and sent a message to say that the merchants could take away their jewels. The king announced

this to the merchants when the monk Indra remarked that the nāga should be made to bring them on his shoulder as a form of punishment. A message was sent to the nāga and he agreed to bring the jewels on a certain day. The king announced the news in Pāṭaliputra. A large number of people assembled to witness the event. The king arrived, displayed many supernatural feats and sat on the throne. Then the nāga and his retinue, assuming the guise of mortals, brought loads of precious stones, laid them before king Aśoka and paid homage to him, lying prostrate at his feet. The king then asked the merchants to take away their jewels. They in turn offered them to the king saying that they rightly belonged to him. Declaring that he had little need for them, the king asked the merchants to take them without hesitation and recited four stanzas expressing his joy about the power of the 'three jewels'. The nāga, too, established himself in the doctrine and went away.

R.H.

ASOKAPŪJAKA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth ninety-four kappas ago, he was the king's park keeper in Tivarā and offered an *asoka* flower to Buddha Paduma. As a result he escaped all evil births thereafter. Seventy kappas ago he was a world ruler (*cakkavattin*) sixteen times, Aruṇañjaha by name (*Ap.* I, 199). *DPPN.* suggests Araṇañjaha as variant.

L.R.G.

AŚOKARĀJA SŪTRA, a work, translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese by Saṅghapāla between 502-57 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 1343). According to Nanjio this may be a translation of the *Aśokāvadāna* and the Sanskrit text is said to be available in *The Catalogue of the Hodgson Manuscripts*, V, 23; VI, 12 and VII, 3. According to Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 285, n. 3) the compiler of the *Divyāvadāna* has taken material from this work, and the Chinese translator is Saṅghabhara or Saṅghabhaṭa. See also AŚOKARĀJĀVADANA, AŚOKĀVADĀNA.

A.G.S.K.

AŚOKARĀJĀVADĀNA, a text, which, according to *Nanjio* (No. 1344) was translated into Chinese under the Eastern Tsin dynasty between 317-420 A.C., but the translator's name is lost. According to Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 285 n. 3) both this work as well as the *Aśokarāja Sūtra* are two translations of a single Sanskrit work about the title of which he is not certain. Also according to him, the *Aśokarājāvadāna* was translated into Chinese as *A-yü-wang-chuan* (approximately) by the Parthian Fa-ch'in between 281 and 306 A.C. Thus according to him, the *Aśokarāja Sūtra* is a shorter version of the same original Sanskrit work and was translated into Chinese in the year 512 by one Saṅghabhara or Saṅghabhaṭa. The original Sanskrit work might have been the Aśokāvadāna (q.v.). Nanjio says that according to Ch'üan-lu this is a shorter version of the *Saṃyuktāvadāna Sūtra*, and he further says that this may be a translation of a part of the *Aśokāvadāna.*

A.G.S.K.

ASOKĀRĀMA, a monastery in Pāṭaliputta, built by Asoka and finished in three years (*Mhv.* v, 80). The construction of the monastery was supervised by the arahant Indagutta (*Mhv.* v, 174; *VinA.* I, 48-9). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (v, 163) says that there was a pond near the monastery. The king used to feed sixty thousand monks daily in this monastery and also hear the doctrine from them (*VinA.* I, 48-9). The monks of the Asokārāma did not hold the *uposatha* ceremony nor the *pāvāraṇa* for seven years. Asoka sent his minister requesting the monks to perform the festivals. When they refused to do so, because of the heretics who had entered the community at the time, the minister struck off the heads of several theras (*Mhv.* v, 234-6). After this incident it was here in Asokārāma that Moggaliputtatissa held the third Council with a thousand other monks and made a compilation of the Dhamma (*Mhv.* v, 276).

It was from Asokārāma that Mahinda set out on his mission to Ceylon in the time of king Devānampiyatissa (*VinA.* I, 69). On the day of the foundation of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura Mittinna, too, arrived thither from Asokārāma with sixty thousand monks (*Mhv.* xxix, 36).

As stated in the *Milindapañha* (pp. 16-18), a learned monk, Dhammarakkhita, resided in Asokārāma during the time of king Milinda. Nāgasena directed by Assagutta went there, studied the Tripiṭaka and its meaning under Dhammarakkhita in a short time, and attained arahantship. One day, when some elders who had assembled at the Rakkhita-tala on the Himālayan mountain sent for him, he left Asokārāma to visit them (*Miln.* 16-18).

H.R.P.

AŚOKASATTVA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi (q.v.) acquired merit (*Mvu.* I, 141).

AŚOKAŚRĪ (1), a Buddha who belongs to the group of "Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession" (*Śikṣ.* p. 169). See AMOGHADARŚIN.

AŚOKAŚRĪ (2), a deity of the bodhisattva-saṅgīti-prāsāda (i.e., the bodhisattva's music hall, named Dharmadhāthupratibhāsaprabha) in Kapilavastu. He is represented as praising and following Sudhana, the chief character in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (385. 19 ff.).

AŚOKA TEMPLE (A-yü-wang-szŭ 阿育王寺), a temple on the Mt. A-yü-wang in the Ning-po prefecture of Chê-chiang province in China.

There is a legend about the origin of this temple. In 281 A.C. (or 282 or 265 A.C.) Liu Sa-ho fell down unconscious, when a golden-complexioned, holy person appeared and told him that his karma was strong enough to take him into hell. He therefore advised him to worship the Aśoka tower in Hui-chi and repent his sins. After recovering consciousness, Liu Sa-ho became a monk and changed his name to Hui-ta. Then, he went to Hui-chi but searched for the Aśoka tower in vain. One night he heard the sound of a bell underground. Three days later, unexpectedly a tower of gems, containing a *śārīrika-dhātu* (body relic) of the Buddha, sprang out of the ground. The tower in purple and black was made of some fine material, which was neither gold, nor copper, nor iron, nor stone. The square tower had splendid carvings on each side. It had a hanging bell inside, but without a roof-plate on it. Watching this miraculous tower, Hui-ta repented of his misdeeds and built a temple there, covering the tower.

During the first year of the I-hsi era (405 A.C.) according to an imperial mandate, a tower, a pavilion and a meditation hall were constructed and many monks were made to reside there. In 425 Wen-ti, an emperor of the Sung dynasty, ordered Tao-yu to repair the temple and to construct three new towers.. Wen-ti, an emperor of the Liang dynasty, issued an imperial edict to build halls and corridors and donated the name tablet, written by himself as A-yü-wang szŭ (Aśoka temple) during the third year of the P'u-t'ung era (522 A.C.). The same emperor ordered Hsiao-ch'a, the ruler of Yüeh region, to make further repairs.

Many emperors, such as Chien-wên-ti of the Liang dynasty (502–57 A.C.), Hsüan-ti of the Ch'ên dynasty (557–89 A.C.), Chung-tsung, Hsüan-tsung, I-tsung of the T'ang dynasty (618–907 A.C.), Shih-tsung of the Chou dynasty (951–60 A.C.), worshipped at this temple.

Formerly, this was the special temple for learning and practising Vinaya, but in 1008 A.C. the emperor Chên-tsung gave it the name tablet written as 廣利禪寺 (Kuang-li-ch'an-szŭ: Meditation Temple for the benifit of many people) and made it a centre for the practice of meditation. When Ta-chüeh Huai-lien was the abbot, the temple prospered greatly. He built a hall named Ch'ên-k'uei-ko (宸奎閣 Hall for imperial literature), where a poem composed by Yin-tsung, the emperor of those days, was kept. Su-shih (1036–1101 A.C.), one of the most celebrated men of literature in China, wrote an elucidation for that poem. Tsung-kao, Chieh-shên, Tê-kuang, Shih-fan and others became abbots, successively, and this temple flourished as the practising hall of the Lin-chi sect (one of the Ch'an sects).

Afterwards, Shih-tsu, an emperor of the Yüan dynasty, gave an order to reconstruct the halls in 1286 A.C. Ch'ung-yu restored the temple in 1368 and repaired the halls in 1382. He changed the name of the temple into Yü-wang-ch'an-szŭ (育王禪寺 Aśoka Meditation Temple) and made it the fifth of the five great Ch'an sect temples in China.

During the eras of Wan-li (1573–1620 A.C.), Ch'ung-chên (1628–44 A.C.), and K'ang-hsi (1662–1722 A.C.), the temple was repaired again.

At present there are the Shê-li Tien (Śārīrika-relic hall), containing the Śarīra-stūpa, said to have been erected by Aśoka for the preservation of the relics of Śākyamuni Buddha, T'ien-wang Tien (Heavenly kings' Hall), Ta-hsiung-pao Tien (Great Gem Hall), a bell tower, Tsu-T'ang (abbots' commemoration hall), abbot's quarters, guest hall and so on. On the premises in front of the Shê-li Tien, the stone-tablet 'Ch'ên-k'uei-ko' and others are fixed. In the fields in front of the temple, there is an octagonal tower of seven stories, made of bricks.

There are temples of the same name in Kua-chou, Ch'ing-chou, P'u-pan and Ping-chou.

K. Tmr.

AŚOKĀVADĀNA, a Sanskrit text whose Chinese version, called *A-yü-wang-chuan* (阿育王傳 *Taishō*, No. 2042), in seven fascicles, was translated

by An-fa-ch'in (安法欽) of the Western Tsin dynasty. It is a historical work recording the events of how king Aśoka of India was converted to Buddhism and how he protected the Dharma, as well as the story of the transmission of the Dharma by the five masters who lived at different times, namely, Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyantika, Śāṇavāsin and Upagupta. Thus, it may also be regarded as a history of Buddhism covering the first hundred years after the Buddha's demise. This work is also given the title of *Ta-a-yü-wang-chuan* (大阿育王傳) or *Ta-a-yü-wang-ching* (大阿育王經), such as mentioned under the heading of "An-fa-ch'in" in the *Record of the Triple-Gem of the Successive Dynasties* (*Li-tai-san-pao-chi* 歷代三寶記), fasc. iv., which contains the statement that "the *Ta-a-yü-wang-ching* in five fascicles was translated in the year Kuang-hsi (光熙 306 A.C.), as recorded in Chu Tao-tsu's *Chin-shih-tsa-lu* (竺道祖：晉世雜錄), the *Miscellaneous Records of the Tsin Dynasty.*" Later, in the *Catalogue of Buddhist Books compiled in the K'ai-yüan Period* (*K'ai-yüan-shih-chiao-lu* 開元釋教錄), fasc. ii, its title was changed according to popular editions into *A-yü-wang-chuan* in seven fascicles. This work and the *A-yü-wang-ching* translated by Saṅghapāla during the Liang dynasty in ten fascicles are different versions of the same original text, but this was the earlier one done at Loyang, the capital of the Tsin dynasty (see the *Record of the Triple-Gem of the Successive Dynasties*).

The contents of this work are divided into eleven topics or nidānas (according to the Korean edition of the Tripiṭaka): The first five and the eleventh nidānas relate the events in connection with king Aśoka, while the sixth to the tenth nidānas record the careers of the five teachers, Mahākāśyapa and the others. The first nidāna *On Offering the Earth to the Buddha* describes how Aśoka in one of his previous lives offered to the Buddha a handful of earth with which he as a child was playing at cooking. Afterwards he was born as the son of king Bindusāra of the Maurya dynasty in Pāṭaliputra. He conquered the country of Takṣaśilā, and when he was enthroned by his ministers, he killed his elder brother Suśīma, five hundred ministers and five hundred maids-of-honour. Thus he was called Aśoka, the merciless. Later, when he saw the miracles performed by a monk, he embraced Buddhism, made a vow to construct 84,000 stūpas and make offerings to the bodhi-tree. Thereafter he was given another name Dharmāśoka: Aśoka, the righteous. The second nidāna *On King Aśoka's Original Events* relates how Aśoka built stūpas at various holy sites of Buddhism on the instruction of Upagupta and others, and how he convened the Pañca-pariṣad (five assemblies) and gave alms to the monks. The third nidāna *On the Original Events of King Aśoka's Younger Brother* gives an account of the king's younger brother Sudatta who was originally a disbeliever, but through the agency of the king, he was converted, became a monk and finally attained arhatship. The fourth nidāna *On the Original Events of Kuṇāla* tells the story of how prince Kuṇāla was persecuted by queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, who had his eyes pulled out, and how he obtained the "eye of wisdom" subsequently. The fifth nidāna *On the Half Āmalaka Fruit* relates how Aśoka spent all his wealth of 96 koṭis of precious jewels in alms-giving and stūpa-building. Finally he lost all his possessions including his throne, except only half an *āmalaka* fruit, which too he offered to the Buddha and the Saṅgha at the moment before his death. His successor, king Puṣyamitra, destroyed Buddhism, demolished monasteries and killed Buddhist monks. Because of these evils the royal line came to its end. The sixth nidāna *On Upagupta* tells how the Buddha predicted that after one hundred years there would be a monk, Upagupta, who would perform great deeds for Buddhism, and that after his demise Mahākāśyapa and five hundred arhats would hold a council to collect the Tripiṭaka. The seventh nidāna *On the Nirvāṇa of Mahākāśyapa* relates how, after transmitting the Dharma to Ānanda, Mahākāśyapa went to the Kukkuṭapāda mountain, where he entered into meditation to wait for the coming of Maitreya Buddha, while Ānanda, after transmitting the Dharma to Śāṇavāsin, went to the Ganges and entered Nirvāṇa. The eighth nidāna *On Madhyantika* tells about Madhyantika performing great Buddhist deeds in the country of Kaśmīra and his entering Nirvāṇa. The ninth nidāna *On Śāṇavāsin* narrates how Śāṇavāsin spread the Dharma in the country of Mathurā, converted Upagupta to Buddhism and entered Nirvāṇa. The tenth nidāna *On Upagupta* records the events of Upagupta propagating Buddhism in Mathurā and entering Nirvāṇa after transmitting the Dharma to Dhītika, as well as an account of the final destruction of Buddhism in the future. The eleventh nidāna *On the Deeds of King Aśoka* depicts how Aśoka propagated and protected Buddhism and how he made offerings to the Saṅgha and performed other meritorious deeds.

In the Sung, Yüan and Ming editions of the Tripiṭaka, this work has been adapted into five

fascicles and the order of the nidānas has been altered, namely, the nidāna ***On the Half Āmalaka Fruit*** is given as the fourth one, the nidāna *On Kuṇāla* as the fifth, and the nidāna ***On King Aśoka's*** *Deeds* as the sixth, while the nidāna ***On Upagupta*** and the following nidānas are made the seventh to the eleventh, respectively. In the Korean edition of the Tripiṭaka, the nidāna ***On King Aśoka's*** *Deeds* is marked with the word 'fourth'. It may be that in old manuscripts it was put before the other nidānas.

Another version of this work is the ***A-yü-wang-ching*** (阿育王經, *Taishō*, No. 2043) translated during the Liang dynasty, and divided into eight nidānas, corresponding to the nidānas 1 to 10 in the version under discussion. (In the Liang version there are actually nine nidānas, but as the nidāna *On Vītāśoka* in fasc. iii is not numbered, there are only eight numbered nidānas.) The nidāna *On King Aśoka's Deeds* is totally absent in the Liang version. As regards the style, the Liang version preserves more of the original verse form, while in the version under discussion more use is made of the prose form. There are also some differences concerning the names of persons. The name of the king's younger brother is given as Sudatta in this version, while in the Liang version it is Vītāśoka. Regarding the genealogy of king Aśoka, the version under discussion gives a line of thirteen generations from Bimbisāra to Aśoka, but in the Liang version only three generations of the Maurya dynasty are mentioned. In connection with the spelling of proper names as well as the narration of events, the two versions also present divergences.

There are still some other versions of this work, such as the *Wu-yu-wang-ching* (無憂王經), in one fascicle, translated by Guṇabhadra of the Earlier Sung dynasty. It is included in the *Saṃyuktāgama* as its 23rd and 25th fascicles, and its contents correspond to the 1st, 2nd, 5th and 10th nidānas in the version under discussion. Among the incomplete translations of this work, there are the *Sūtra on the Childhood of King Aśoka* (*A-yü-wang-tso-hsiao-êrh-ching* 阿育王作小兒經), now lost, translated by an anonymous translator of the Earlier Sung dynasty, in one fascicle, which corresponded to the first nidāna *On Offering the Earth to the Buddha* in the version under discussion; the *Sūtra on the Nidāna of the Prince of King Aśoka Losing His Eyes* (*A-yü-wang-t'ai-tzŭ-huai-mu-yin-yüan-ching* 阿育王太子壞目因緣經 now lost, translated by Chih Lou-chia-ch'an (支婁迦讖) of the Later Han dynasty in one fascicle, and the *Sūtra on the Nidāna of the Son of King Aśoka Losing His Eyes* (*A-yü-wang-hsi-huai-mu-yin-yüan-ching* 阿育王息壞目因緣經 *Taishō*, No. 2045), translated by Dharmanandi of the Later Ch'in dynasty in one fascicle, which is still extant. There is also a Tibetan version entitled *Ku-ṇā-lahi rtogs-pa brjod-pa*, in one fascicle, translated by Padmākaravarma and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. All these translations correspond to the fourth nidāna *On Kuṇāla* in the version under discussion.

The Sanskrit text of the fundamental portions of this work (i.e., the 1st, 2nd, 5th and 10th nidānas) is preserved in the *Divyāvadāna*, chap. xxvi–xxix, edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil and published at Cambridge in 1886.

This work has preserved a considerable amount of the historical materials concerning the life of king Aśoka in relation to Buddhism as well as those concerning the spread of Buddhism during the period immediately after the demise of the Buddha when the Dharma was sustained by the five teachers, Mahā-Kāśyapa and the others. As the stories and legends told in the work are as a whole very expressive of the social features and customs of ancient India as well as of the characteristic style savouring of Indian literature, the work has been highly esteemed by Buddhists and scholars of history and literature since ancient times. With the spread of this work, the name of Aśoka has become widely respected among vast numbers of Buddhists of the Han language system of Buddhism in China.

K. Ku.

AŚOKĀVADĀNA-MĀLĀ, 'garland of legends of king Aśoka,' a poetical rendering of legends, partly selected from the *Avadānaśataka* and partly taken from other sources. The first part contains legends of Aśoka himself. After these follow instructions in the form of stories which Upagupta relates to Aśoka. The ślokas are composed in the common anuṣṭubh metre. Winternitz is of opinion that this collection of Avadānas decidedly belongs to the Mahāyāna (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, 290 ff.; Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, II, preface, p. xii). See AVADĀNA LITERATURE.

W. G. W.

AŚOKAVARṆA, name of a future world-ruler (*cakravartin*) who is to become a pratyekabuddha. A bull taken to be slaughtered was set free at

the request of the Buddha. When the bull was set free the Buddha smiled and Ānanda asked the Buddha why he smiled. The Buddha then points to the bull and says that the animal will die within seven days and, on account of its joy at the sight of the Buddha, it will be born in heaven. Having spent quite a long time in various divine abodes it will pass away and be reborn in the world of human beings as a cakravartin who will later renounce all wordly pleasures, take to the life of an ascetic and become a pratyeka-buddha by the name of Aśokavarṇa (*Divy.* 140–1).

W. G. W.

ASOKAVIRAJA, name of a world-cycle (*kalpa*) pertaining to the universe called Rajo-vimala-tejaśrī, ten thousand kalpas prior to this Bhadra-kalpa (*Gvyū.* 233, 14 ff.).

ĀSPHARAṆAKA-SAMĀDHI (var. *āsphānaka*= Pali *appānaka*, °*ṇaka*) a particular form of ecstatic meditation practised by holding the breath, and sometimes referred to as *āsphānaka-dhyāna* (breath-holding meditation). The *PED.* suggests *a*+*prāṇaka* (breathless) as the probable original Sanskrit form.

The bodhisatta in his last life practised this, while he was performing severe austerities for six years. To begin with he stopped breathing in and out through his mouth and nostrils; then a loud roar rushed out of his ears. In order to practise this to a greater degree, he stopped breathing in and out through his mouth, nostrils and ears. Then the breath that was obstructed, passed through the skull, and he is said to have felt as if someone was splitting his skull with a sharp weapon.

The *Lalitavistara* 183 (25–7) refers to this as the fourth meditation and explains that this is called *āsphānaka* (=*āspharaṇaka*), because the bodhisattva on entering it obstructs and withholds the inward and outward breath. It is further explained that this meditation cannot be judged in any way, cannot be disturbed, changed or perturbed; it is all pervading and completely independent. It is compared to *ākāśa*, space (ibid. 184.1).

But ultimately, the bodhisatta had to give up this meditation as it did not lead to enlightenment. The futile nature of this practice is shown by the Buddha in *M.* I, 243 ff.

S.K.N.

ASPIRATION (Skt. *prārthanā*; Pali *patthanā*; from *pra*+*arth* meaning desire, wish, etc.), sometimes used to denote worldly desire or wish. As stated in the *Mahā-Niddesa* (*Nd. I.* pp. 316, 337) 'aspiration' means 'thirst' (*patthanā vuccati taṇhā*), and according to the *Nettippakaraṇa* (*Nett.* p. 27) the characteristic of aspiration is greed (*patthana-lakkhaṇo lobho*).

By examining the occurrence of *patthanā* in the Pali literature, aspiration can be classified into two main divisions, namely, noble aspiration and low aspiration. Low aspiration is again sub-divided into momentary aspiration and continuous aspiration.

In the *Bīja Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* V, 213), the Buddha says that a person who is endowed with such qualities as right view (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), right thinking (°*-saṅkappa*), right speech (°*-vācā*), right action (°*-kammanta*), right living (°*-ājīva*), right effort (°*-vāyāma*), right mindfulness (°*-sati*), right concentration (°*-samādhi*), right knowledge (°*-ñāṇa*) and right release (°*-vimutti*), is able to make a pleasant (noble) aspiration. In the *Avidūrenidāna* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, the aspiration which was made by Sujātā, a young girl, at the foot of a banyan tree, in order to obtain a son, is regarded as a noble aspiration (*J.* I, 68). A similar aspiration was made by Citta, the householder, at the feet of the Buddha Padumuttara, so as to be born as a hunter during the time of the Buddha Kassapa (*DhpA.* II, 83). The aspect of aspiration in this incident is considered noble, for it was a cause of happiness to the hunter, although hunting is not considered noble.

The term *hīnā patthanā* (low aspiration) occurs in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 154). According to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (V, 212), low aspiration occurs only to those who are endowed with qualities ten in number, such as wrong views (*micchā-diṭṭhi*), etc., the opposites of those given earlier. In the *Culla-Niddesa* (*Nd.* II, 100), in describing the term *asucīmanussā*, literally 'impure beings', it is, stated, that they are the beings who make aspirations with an impure mind. This implies that aspirations made by beings whose thoughts are impure are low aspirations, as in the case of the beautiful woman, who made an aspiration to kill four youths in her next birth, in order to take revenge for their conspiring to kill her (*DhpA.* II, 36). The same story can be taken as an example of a low momentary aspiration. The story of the two wives who in turn killed their young ones during several births (*DhpA.* I, 47–8) is an appropriate example of a low continuous aspiration.

However, it is stated in the *Iṭṭhā Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* III, 47) that there are five things which cannot be obtained through aspiration, namely, long-life (*āyu*), beauty (*vaṇṇa*), happiness (*sukha*), honour (*yasa*), and the deva-worlds (*saggā*).

I.K.

ĀŚRAVA. The term is derived from *ā*+*śru* 'to flow from, to flow towards' and means literally 'outflow, discharge'. It has particular reference to *kleśa*, the passions, and is often used synonymously for it. Āśrava is rendered into Chinese by *lou* (漏) 'to leak', this latter term being usually explained by the words *lou-chu* (漏注) or *lou-hsieh* (漏泄) which convey the meaning of 'to leak' more explicitly. Āśrava figuratively expresses the state in which passion is produced and manifested. Passion or defilement (*kleśa, āśrava*) are considered identical. The common term *yu-lou* (有漏), literally, 'having outflowings', refers to the existence of passion, and its opposite *wu-lou* (無漏) means 'free from passion'. An unenlightened man, that is , a man who has not freed himself from passion, is said to have a *yu-lou-shên* (有漏身), 'a body which has out-flowings', in contrast to the body of the Buddha which is free from defilement and called *wu-lou-shên* (無漏身). According to the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* (Ch. 20), the term 'outflowing' was so chosen because the passions which exist in the mind of the unenlightened man flow out to the external world through the six organs of the body (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind) and come into contact with the six defilements (*liu-ch'ên* 六塵), thereby producing evil. The *Fa-hua-ching-hsüan-tsan* (法華經玄賛) by K'uei-chi(632–82), Vol. 1, compares the body to a funnel with many spouts, because impurity is continually flowing from the body and producing bad karma which will bring a bad return to its producer. The body is also likened to a rickety structure into which rain (impurity) leaks, causing much damage. K'uei-chi declares that this outflow or influx of defilement is the cause of evil. In the *Saṃyuktāgama* (Vol. 47, *Taishō*, 2.343a), the eye is compared to a wound through which we perceive the external world and as a result of which the defilements of lust and passion arise. The same holds true for each of the other five organs. In the *Pieh-i-tsa-a-han* (別譯雜阿含), a different translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (Vol. 1, *Taishō*, 2.380b) we find the following explanation given by the Buddha : the seeds of suffering are vileness. Impurity flows from the organs of the body. Where there is impurity, maggots are sure to gather. These seeds are anger and violence. Allowing one's desire to go unchecked is vileness and neither restraining oneself nor obeying the precepts is impurity. Chih-i writes in his *Fa-hua-wên-chü* (法華文句): "In the *Chêng-shih-lun* (成實論) it is said that āśrava is losing the way, and in the Abhidharma it is written that āśrava means falling into the cycle of birth and death." In the *Fa-hua-i-shu* (法華義疏), Vol. 1, Chia-hsiang writes, "The *Chêng-lun* (成論) says that the existence of āśrava indicates the mind of a man who has lost sight of the truth and clings to forms." From the above quotations it should be evident that āśrava is merely another name for defilement and that the organs of the body in which such defilement is produced are to be regarded as wounds through which impurities may enter. The body of the unenlightened man is often compared to a funnel or a tottering house and, therefore, is held to be something imperfect and loathsome. In the *Chêng-wei-shih-lun* (成唯識論 *Taishō*, 31, 26a) there is the following description : "All forms of āśrava are born together with defilement (*kleśa*) and cease existing when defilement disappears. Āśrava and defilement help each other multiply. In this manner the seeds of āśrava are 'perfumed' (*vāsanā*) and conditioned. These seeds will mature in the future as āśrava." This quotation from the *Chêng-wei-shih-lun* explains the development of *kleśa* and *āśrava*. When the āśrava seeds evolve from the eighth consciousness, i.e., the *ālaya-vijñāna*, āśrava and kleśa help each other to perfume new seeds in the eighth consciousness, thereby enabling these seeds to evolve once again as āśrava phenomena.

Different Names of Āśrava. It has already been noticed that *āśrava* is used synonymously with certain other terms in Buddhism. We shall list a few here : (1) defilement (*kleśa*) ; as defilement flows out from the six organs of our body to the external world it is the substance of āśrava. (2) The 'flow' ; āsrava is so named because it is always in a state of motion, i.e., flowing from the body. This name is frequently met with in compounds : the flowing of the devil, the flowing of lust, the flowing of wrong views, the flowing of ignorance, etc. (3) Fetters is likewise another name for āśrava, because it ties us down and keeps us from enjoying true freedom.

Various Kinds of Āśrava. According to Buddhist doctrine, there are many kinds of passion. As we have already indicated, āśrava is synonymous

with passion. Therefore, we may also say that there are many kinds of āśrava. We can find many kinds in the *Āgama Sūtras* alone. A mere few are given here. (1) The three āśrava. These are (a) the passion of lust which is the general name for all desires held by the inhabitants of the Realm of Desire (*kāma-loka*), except those of ignorance. (b) The passion for existence, which indicates all the desires held by the inhabitants of the Form Realm (*rūpa-loka*), and Formless Realm (*arūpa-loka*), except those of ignorance. (c) The passion which is ignorance is held by inhabitants of the three realms and signifies ignorance which is the basic source of all passion and defilement and the cause of all rebirth in the three realms. (2) The four āśrava are the defilements of desire, of lust for existence, of wrong views and of ignorance. Desire refers to defilements concerning the five desires. Lust for existence is the general name for all defilements concerning existence in the three realms. Wrong views is the name given to those defilements which cause the viewing of things in a one-sided fashion, e.g., to say that the world is permanent or that it is impermanent, to say that it is finite or that it is infinite. Ignorance refers to fundamental ignorance, lack of faith, or fallacious knowledge, and has already been explained above.

These four āśravas are compared in the *Saṃyuktāgama* to the rapid flowing of a river. "On one side of a swift stream there are many terrifying things; on the opposite side everything is calm and peaceful. But there is no boat or bridge to take us to the opposite side. We must tie logs together making them into a raft. By using our hands and feet we propel the raft towards the opposite shore. The swift stream is nothing other than the four āśravas; the peaceful shore is Nirvāṇa; the raft to carry us there is the Noble Eightfold Path; using our hands signifies effort" (*Saṃyuktāgama* 43, *Taishō*, 2.313c). This passage points out the difficulty in crossing the swift stream which is produced by the four passions flowing from us, and in reaching the opposite shore of Nirvāṇa. (3) In addition there are groups of seven āśravas, nine āśravas, etc. However, as these groups are basically repetitions or subdivisions of the various aspects of āśrava discussed above, there is no need to discuss them in any further detail here.

The Terms Yu-lou (有漏) and Wu-lou (無漏)

As we have already pointed out, *yu-lou* refers to the presence of passion, whereas *wu-lou* refers to its absence. As one term is the exact opposite of the other, when we discuss one, the other one is necessarily implied. For this reason Buddhist terminology has always been explained by the comparative method. We shall do so here too.

The Presence or Absence of Passion and Defilement. We shall first compare various phenomena to see whether defilement is present, or not. (1) Āśrava phenomena and their opposites, anāśrava phenomena. Buddhism teaches that phenomena are broadly divided into two groups: conditioned and unconditioned phenomena. Conditioned phenomena are in turn divided into the āśrava and anāśrava phenomena mentioned above. Thus, the body and mind of an unenlightened man should be thought of as conditioned āśrava phenomena, whereas the body and mind of a Buddha must be regarded as conditioned anāśrava phenomena. However, unconditioned phenomena can be only anāśrava and never āśrava. Thus, the absolute 'thus-ness' (*bhūtatathatā*) can only be anāśrava, i.e., free from defilement and passion, because it is an unconditioned element. The first two truths of the Four Noble Truths, conflict and its cause, are held to be āśrava phenomena, whereas the last two truths, the cessation of conflict and the way thereto belong to anāśrava phenomena. Since the Fourth Truth is only the training and discipline which leads to the cessation of conflict, strictly speaking, it is not pure anāśrava. However, the person who is undergoing such training gradually rids himself of defilements, thereby making it possible for his understanding (*anāśrava-jñāna*) to increase gradually. Because illusion will not increase in this Fourth Truth, we include it among the anāśrava phenomena. In short, the three disciplines, viz., the precepts (*śīla*), meditation (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*), which collectively are the context of the Fourth Noble Truth and the Third Noble Truth, are held to be anāśrava phenomena. If the groups of seventy-five dharmas in five categories and one hundred dharmas in five categories are classified according to whether they are āśrava or anāśrava, only the three unconditioned elements (*asaṃskṛta*) of the former and the six unconditioned elements of the latter are anāśrava, all remaining dharmas being āśrava. The highest principle of Mahāyāna, the *bhūtatathatā*, which is also called True Nature, Dharma Nature, Tathāgata-receptacle (Skt. *Tathāgata-garbha*), Buddha Nature (Skt. *Buddhatā*), Undefiled Consciousness (Skt. *amala-vijñāna*), etc., belongs to the Third Truth of the Four Noble Truths or, in the case of the Five Categories,

to the unconditioned element category. It is obviously anāśrava, because it is free from any form of defilement.

Āśrava-body and Anāśrava-body. All inhabitants of the three worlds are said to have an āśrava-body because they still cling to illusions to a greater or lesser extent. The anāśrava-body is the body of the Buddha or the arhats who transcend the three worlds and have cast off all illusion. The āśrava path refers to the path followed by the unenlightened man, i.e., unending birth and death in the three worlds as a result of clinging to illusions. The opposite of this is the anāśrava path which is the path of enlightenment followed by the holy ones who, by freeing themselves from all taint of illusion, have realised the splendid reward of Nirvāṇa. It means in effect the road which leads to the pure realm of Nirvāṇa undefiled by any illusion. The first two of the Four Noble Truths belong to the āśrava path, whereas the last two belong to the anāśrava path. When these last two are divided into the path of insight (*darśana-mārga*), the path of realisation (*bhāvanā-mārga*) and the path of perfection (*aśaikṣa-mārga*) they correspond to the anāśrava path. However, the *aśaikṣa-mārga* belongs particularly to the Third Truth and is synonymous with Buddhahood or arhatship. It is said to be pure and to transcend relative concepts because it is the highest realm, i.e., Nirvāṇa.

Wisdom in its Relation to Phenomena. We distinguish two kinds of wisdom for the recognition of phenomena: āśrava wisdom and anāśrava wisdom. Āśrava wisdom is the wisdom of the unenlightened man tainted by defilements, which is unable to see things in their true light and is always making erroneous judgments. It is also called worldly wisdom, because it is the wisdom possessed by the unenlightened man for the recognition of worldly phenomena. The opposite of this is anāśrava wisdom which is pure, untainted wisdom (*prajñā*), free from defilements. It is the wisdom of the Buddhas, arhats and superior followers of the Three Vehicles. This wisdom enables us to recognise the True Nature (*bhūtatathatā*) which is the transcendent first principle and produces the inner function which will bring about enlightenment. It is also called Buddha wisdom, right insight, fundamental wisdom, āśrava-eliminating wisdom. Right insight is sometimes called correct substance wisdom and is the absolute wisdom which directly perceives the *bhūtatathatā*. Fundamental wisdom is the primary, absolute wisdom which is the source of the wisdom of the Buddha as manifest in his discourses and sermons. This is termed 'Later-acquired Wisdom'. Fundamental wisdom leads to self-enlightenment; later-acquired wisdom leads to the enlightenment of others. Fundamental wisdom is absolute, indiscriminating wisdom; later-acquired wisdom is relative and discriminating. Āśrava-eliminating wisdom, āśrava-eliminating wisdom-light, āśrava-eliminating power, āśrava-eliminating wisdom-power, etc., are all synonymous with each other and are names for a supernatural power of the Buddha. Supernatural power (Skt. *abhijñā*) means the functioning of anāśrava wisdom which is beyond comprehension.

Āśrava and Anāśrava in Religious Practice. Āśrava and anāśrava are distinguished in different ways in regard to religious practice.

(1) Āśrava-deed and anāśrava-deed. Āśrava-karma is divided into good and evil. Evil āśrava-karma consists of such crimes as the five transgressions and the ten evil deeds (*daśa-akuśala*). The reward of such evil is the suffering that results from being born in hell or as a preta. Good āśrava-karma is obtained as a result of observing the five precepts and practising the ten good deeds. Its reward is a good rebirth either as a human being or in heaven. Although āśrava-good is, to be sure, good, it is still tinged with illusion and, therefore, quite inferior to anāśrava-good. This latter term means the practice of the three disciplines, viz., precepts, meditation and wisdom, which the followers of the three 'Vehicles' undertake in order to conquer illusion. By this practice illusion is gradually eliminated and, as a result, the superior reward of Nirvāṇa which is the realm of the Buddhas and arhats is obtained. Such practice is the highest, transcendental religious good and is called absolute good, true good, undiluted good, pure good, etc.

(2) Āśrava meditation and anāśrava meditation. These are also called worldly meditation and transcendental meditation. The former refers to the meditation of non-Buddhists or unenlightened men who, not yet having entered the path of insight (*darśana-mārga*), practise the six meditations, the central theme of which is to despise what is inferior and rejoice in what is superior. There are eight kinds of meditation, four belonging to the Realm of Form and four to the Formless Realm. When the lower stages of meditation are compared with the higher ones, the lower ones are considered to be coarse and still tinged with suffering, whereas the higher ones are pure and free from suffering. Therefore, the

lower stages are despised and the higher ones sought after. For this reason, these meditations are also known as the meditations of despising and rejoicing. By the power of these meditations delusion is gradually eliminated, thereby making it possible to proceed to higher stages. The non-Buddhist or unenlightened man who practises such meditation will ultimately reach the realm of 'neither perception nor non-perception' (Skt. *naiva-saṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*), which is held to be the highest stage in which neither despising nor rejoicing can arise. Non-Buddhists in India considered this the ultimate stage and dwelt contentedly in it, thus making it impossible to rid themselves of remaining illusions. Because such meditation is, in the final analysis, weak and limited, it cannot help one to transcend the three realms. In order to achieve this it is necessary to utilise the anāśrava meditation which perceives the Four Noble Truths. This means in practice that the Holy Ones of the Three Vehicles enter the anāśrava plane of the *bhūmi* stages and, perceiving the Four Noble Truths, first eliminate the illusions of doctrine and then the illusions of phenomena. The former occurs in the *darśana-mārga* and the latter in the *bhāvanā-mārga*. By such practice one is able to transcend the Three Realms and realise Buddhahood or arhatship. In short, āśrava meditation is the meditation of the so-called Four Good Roots, which precede the *bhūmi* stages. Non-Buddhists and unenlightened men by their practice of the six meditations produce āśrava wisdom and thereby eliminate the illusions of the Three Worlds; the Holy Ones (i.e., those who are in *darśana-mārga* or a higher stage) achieve this by their meditations on the Four Noble Truths. Anāśrava meditation is practised in the *bhūmi* stages. Illusions of doctrine are eliminated in the *darśana-mārga* by the practice of meditation on the Four Noble Truths. Next in the *bhāvanā-mārga* the Hīnayānist, by practising meditations on the Four Noble Truths, produces indiscriminating wisdom by which the illusions of phenomena are destroyed. The Mahāyāna bodhisattva does this by practising the *pāramitās*.

(3) Thought-free Meditation (Skt. *asaṃjñā-samāpatti*) and Mind-extinction Meditation (Skt. *nirodha-samāpatti*). The āśrava meditation and anāśrava meditation mentioned above are classified according to their object of meditation. The two forms of mindless meditation under discussion here, thought-free meditation and mind-extinction meditation, differ from each other in the state of mind of the meditator. Thought-free meditation is a kind of meditation practised by certain (Indian) non-Buddhists and unenlightened men in order to obtain Nirvāṇa. They first eliminate the mental aggregate known as perception (Skt. *saṃjñā*), and then proceed to eliminate the mind and mental attributes of the six kinds of consciousness. It represents a state of meditation perfectly free from any thoughts. When they accomplish this meditation, they are born in the Thought-free Heaven (*asañña, asaṃjña*, also known as the Heaven of Great Reward: *Bṛhatphala*) which is their idea of Nirvāṇa. This meditation is considered āśrava because it is a non-Buddhist, unenlightened meditation, the sole purpose of which is Nirvāṇa, which is to them birth in heaven. The mind-extinction meditation, however, is exclusively a Buddhist meditation, practised by the Holy Ones of the Three Vehicles in order to realise Nirvāṇa, which is emancipation. In order to remove all illusions of the Three Worlds which are a barrier to emancipation, first sensation (*vedanā*) and perception (*saṃjñā*) are subdued; then the subjugation of the mind and mental attributes of the seven kinds of consciousness follow. This is what is traditionally termed 'selfless meditation'. In Hīnayāna this meditation is accomplished in the highest realm of the Three Worlds, i.e., in the realm of 'neither perception nor non-perception' which belongs to the Formless Realm (*arūpa-loka*). It is performed without error only in the anāgāmin stage or higher. In Mahāyāna it can be perfectly accomplished only after the eighth of the ten *bhūmi* stages. In this meditation, illusions of phenomena are gradually eliminated, their final elimination being realised in the *aśaikṣa-mārga*. This meditation is considered anāśrava meditation because it eliminates all defilements. In other words it is an anāśrava meditation which produces anāśrava wisdom in the Third and Fourth Noble Truths which are themselves anāśrava.

Āśrava and Anāśrava in their Relation to the Elimination of Delusion. There are two levels in the elimination of delusion: one is the āśrava elimination and the other is the anāśrava elimination. The āśrava elimination refers to the elimination of delusion in the unenlightened man by means of āśrava wisdom while he is still in the āśrava path. To accomplish this he performs the six meditations referred to above. In this manner he eliminates illusions of phenomena of the first eight of the nine stages and their seventy-two subdivisions, leaving behind the one stage of neither perception nor non-perception and its nine subdivisions. This is accomplished in the anāgāmin stage. Anāśrava elimination refers to the elimination of delusion by means of anāśrava wisdom in the anāśrava path. This means that the illusions of phenomena in the last of the nine stages and its nine subdivisions are eliminated completely, thus enabling the meditator to realise arhatship. The doctrine described above is that of the *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra*, a Hīnayāna work. In the Mahāyāna *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra* we find a somewhat different explanation. According to this theory there are five stages on the path to enlightenment: (1) the stage of initial accumulation, (2) the stage of preparation, (3) the stage of limited attainment, which corresponds to the *darśana-mārga*, (4) the stage of practice which corresponds to the *bhāvanā-mārga* and (5) the stage of ultimate attainment, which corresponds to the *aśaikṣa-mārga*. The first two stages are said to belong to the āśrava path, and the last three to the anāśrava path. In Mahāyāna the term āśrava elimination is applied to the elimination of illusions of doctrine, the origin of which is believed to be *a posteriori*. This is accomplished by means of āśrava discriminating wisdom. The term anāśrava elimination is applied to the elimination of illusions of phenomena, which are believed to originate *a priori*. This is accomplished by means of anāśrava undiscriminating wisdom. The third stage above, the stage of limited attainment, is the dividing line between āśrava elimination and anāśrava elimination. There is a difference between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna as to the number of illusions which must be eliminated. The Hīnayāna work, *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra*, holds that there are eighty-eight different illusions of doctrine. These eighty-eight illusions are eliminated in the *darśana-mārga*. The eighty-one subdivisions are eliminated in the *bhāvanā-mārga*. In the Mahāyāna Vijñaptimātratā school, illusion is divided according to its nature into illusion-hindrances (Skt. *kleśāvaraṇa*) and knowledge-hindrances (Skt. *jñeyāvaraṇa*). When illusions are viewed from their point of origin, they may be divided into two other kinds: *a posteriori* illusion and *a priori* illusion. The former is eliminated in the *darśana-mārga*, whereas the latter is eliminated in the *bhāvanā-mārga*. The classification of illusions in Hīnayāna is made according to the number of illusions, whereas in Mahāyāna it is made according to the nature of the illusion. Other than this there is no great difference between them.

Āśrava and Anāśrava in Relation to Karmic Reward. There are two kinds of cause and effect: āśrava cause and effect and anāśrava cause and effect. Their relation to the Four Noble Truths is as follows:

The First Truth (Suffering)—Effect The Second Truth (Its Cause)—Cause	Āśrava cause and effect—popular truth
The Third Truth (Its Escape)—Effect The Fourth Truth (The Way thereto)—Cause	Anāśrava cause and effect—ultimate truth

This classification embodies the most basic principles of Buddhism. Illusions and bad karma, the result of the five transgressions and ten evil deeds, which produce all suffering (the First Truth) in the three realms and six paths and good karma (the Second Truth) which consists of the five precepts and ten good deeds are both considered āśrava causes, whereas the three disciplines and the Noble Eightfold Path (the Fourth Truth), which produce the anāśrava reward of Nirvāṇa enjoyed by Buddhas and arhats, are both considered anāśrava causes. To be more explicit, birth in

one of the four undesirable realms (in hell, as a preta, as an animal, as an asura) is the result of failing to keep the five precepts. If one keeps the five precepts, the result will be rebirth as a human being which is a mixture of suffering and happiness. Rebirth in a heaven, one of the six heavens in the realm of desire (*kāmaloka*), which means the enjoyment of pleasure is realised by the observance of the ten good precepts (absence of lust, anger, ignorance, vilification, duplicity, flattery, falsehood, murder, theft and fornication). Rebirth in one of the Four Meditation Heavens of the realm of form (*rūpaloka*) is accomplished by practising the corresponding meditation. The same holds true for rebirth in one of the heavens of the formless realm (*arūpaloka*). Rebirth in any of the three realms is considered in Buddhism to occur in accordance with the principles of āśrava cause and effect.

Anāśrava cause and effect is a term applied to the holy ones (those persons who are in the *darśana-mārga* or higher) who transcend the three realms. Of these holy ones the śrāvaka attains arhatship by meditating on the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path, the pratyeka-buddha by meditating on the twelve-linked chain of causation, and the bodhisattva by the practice of the six pāramitās. By way of summary we may say that suffering one of the four unhappy rebirths is the result of a bad āśrava cause, whereas a good rebirth, such as rebirth on earth as a human being or in heaven, is the result of a good āśrava cause, and the most excellent reward of Buddhahood or arhatship is the result of a good anāśrava cause. This is called the ideal cause and effect of the three worlds.

In the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra* and other Vijñaptimātratā works, cause is termed "seed" (*bīja*). Thus what we have called āśrava causes and anāśrava causes may also be called āśrava seeds and anāśrava seeds. Seeds are further divided according to their origin into four types: inherent āśrava seeds, inherent anāśrava seeds, newly perfumed āśrava seeds, and newly perfumed anāśrava seeds. Inherent seeds are those causes which exist without a beginning, e.g., the seeds of such inborn defilements as lust, anger, ignorance, etc. (āśrava seeds) and the seeds which will produce enlightenment (Buddha-nature seeds). Newly perfumed seeds are the seeds newly produced (perfumed) by an *a posteriori* experience, e.g., the mental force resulting from either bad deeds or good deeds (the three disciplines). The inherent seeds are stored since the beginningless past within our eighth consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*), whereas the newly perfumed seeds are newly planted in our eighth consciousness by our deeds and experiences. They cause the inherent seeds to multiply and by their combination with inherent seeds various good or evil deeds are produced.

Different stages for the Elimination of Illusion and the Practices leading to them.

The object of Buddhist religious practice is twofold: the elimination of delusion and the attainment of enlightenment. As the kinds of delusion vary greatly, it is only natural that the methods chosen to eliminate them and the different levels of elimination should also vary greatly. It is no wonder then when we consider the complexity of illusion that final emancipation should require so long a period of time. It is necessary at this point to discuss in some detail such questions as the stages for the elimination of illusion, the number of illusions, meditation and insight as a means for the elimination of illusion, the religious trainee who is seeking the elimination of illusion, the time required to achieve this, and finally the holy one who has done so. Some of these points have already been touched upon above, but only in an incomplete fashion. We should like to present these problems now as they stand in relation to each other. Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna will be treated separately in the following discussion, because their respective theories as to the elimination of illusion are at variance with each other.

The Different Stages in Hīnayāna for the elimination of illusion and the methods of reaching them. Two representative canonical works of Hīnayāna Buddhism are the *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra*. We shall discuss below the theories of the latter work. (1) The stages for the elimination of illusion. In the

Hīnayāna doctrine of the Four Noble Truths the third and fourth truths represent the principle of cause and effect as seen in the elimination of illusion (cause) and the attainment of enlightenment (effect). This may be subdivided into the following stages :

The Fourth Noble Truth	The Five Preventative Meditations The Four Separate Meditations The Four Integrated Meditations	The Three Wisdoms	The Seven Means—Stages of the unenlightened man
	The Approach The Peak The Confirmation The Most Superior Doctrine	The Four Good Roots	
	Śrota-āpatti-pratipannaka—(Entering the stream to Nirvāṇa)	*Darśana-mārga*	The Three Paths--Stages of the Holy Man
	Śrota-āpanna (The full attainment of the above stage) *Sakṛdāgāmi-pratipannaka* (Entering the stage of one more rebirth) *Sakṛdāgāmin* (The full attainment of the above stage) *Anāgāmi-pratipannaka* (Entering the stage of no more return) *Anāgāmin* (The full attainment of the above stage) *Arhat-pratipannaka* (Entering the stage of Arhatship)	*Bhāvanā-mārga*	
The Third Noble Truth	—*Arhat*	—*Aśaikṣa-mārga*	

The first stage given above, the five preventative meditations, is so named because each one of them eliminates a specific kind of illusion. The five preventative meditations are as follows :

(1) Meditation on impurity. The delusion of lust is eliminated by meditating on the impurity of the human body and the world in general.

(2) Meditation on compassion. The delusion of anger is eliminated by meditations in which we regard all living things like our father and mother.

(3) Meditation on causation. Ignorance is eliminated by meditating on the twelve-linked chain of causation which enables us to become enlightened as to the principle of birth and death.

(4) Meditation on the composition of the world. The delusion of belief in the existence of a soul is eliminated by meditating on the five *skandhas* and eighteen *dhātus*, etc., which constitute the world.

(5) Meditation on breathing. Distraction is eliminated by concentration on one's breathing.

By practising the four separate meditations and then the four integrated meditations we are able to overcome erroneous thinking and conquer delusion. Such instinctive delusions as lust, anger, etc., are subdued by the practice of the five preventative meditations described above. In order to eliminate delusions of thought, erroneous views, etc., it is necessary to refine our meditations even further by the practice of the four separate meditations.

(1) Meditation on the body. We overcome the illusion of purity by meditating on the impurity of the body.

(2) Meditation on perception. We overcome the illusion of pleasure by meditating that perception is suffering.

(3) Meditation on the mind. We overcome the illusion of permanence by meditating that the mind is impermanent.

(4) Meditation on phenomena. We overcome the illusion of a soul by meditating that nothing has a soul.

When we first begin the meditations given above, our power of meditation is as yet little developed. Thus, we can only perform each of the four meditations separately. Such meditations are, therefore, called separate meditations. Later, when our meditative power develops, we shall be able to perform these four meditations simultaneously. This stage is termed integrated meditation.

After the completion of the integrated meditations described above, we begin our practice of the four good roots.

(1) The approach stage. By meditating on the eight truths of the realms of desire and form, we approach the point at which anāśrava wisdom is produced.

(2) The peak stage. In this stage we reach the highest point in meditation.

(3) The confirmation stage. In this stage we complete our meditations on the Four Noble Truths in the three realms.

(4) The stage of the most superior doctrine. This stage is the highest and final stage of the unenlightened man in this world.

In the various stages of the four good roots we perceive in detail the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths in the three realms and eliminate the illusions of doctrine which would prevent us from knowing the Four Noble Truths. The four good roots are in effect four stages or levels of development in our view of the Four Noble Truths. In the first ('approach' or 'warming') stage we meditate in detail on the Four Noble Truths in the realm of desire and approach the point at which the anāśrava wisdom of the *darśana-mārga* is produced. This stage is called 'warming' because when we have attained it we can feel for the first time the 'warmth' of anāśrava wisdom. The designation 'warming' is thus merely figurative. The second (peak) stage represents a further development in meditation over the first (approach) stage and, in fact, means the highest peak. In the third (confirmation) stage we make further progress and perfect our meditative wisdom by contemplating on the Four Noble Truths of the three realms and not those of the realm of desire alone. This stage is called 'confirmation' because when we achieve it there is no possibility of our falling back into one of the three unhappy states of rebirth. The fourth stage of the most superior doctrine is the highest stage of the āśrava world as well as the last of the four good roots. We are in this stage for only a moment and then pass on to the anāśrava stage of holiness which is called *darśana-mārga*.

Thus at last we have passed through the seven means, i.e., the three wisdom stages and the four good roots, and attained the holy path. This holy path is broadly divided into the *darśana-mārga*, the *bhāvanā-mārga* and the *aśaikṣa-mārga*. It may be further divided into eight stages known as the four directions (entrances) and four attainments. The relationship between the three holy paths and the four directions and four stages is given in the following chart.

Darśana-mārga	—*Śrota-āpatti-pratipannaka*	—The elimination of the eighty-eight illusions of view
Bhāvanā-mārga	*Śrota-āpanna* *Sakṛdāgāmi-pratipannaka*—The elimination of five levels of illusion of phenomena in the realm of desire *Sakṛdāgāmin*—The elimination of one more level of illusion of phenomena in the realm of desire *Anāgāmi-pratipannaka*—The elimination of two more levels of illusion of phenomena in the realm of desire *Anāgāmin*—The elimination of the last level of illusion of phenomena in the realm of desire *Arhat-pratipannaka*—The elimination of the seventy-two levels of illusion of phenomena in the form- and formless realms	The elimination of the eighty-one levels of illusion of practice
Aśaiksa-mārga	—*Arhat*	

We enter the stage of the holy ones for the first time in the stage of the most superior doctrine, which is the fourth of the four good roots. *Darśana-mārga* is the name given to that stage in which the eighty-eight illusions of the Doctrine are eliminated, by means of true anāśrava wisdom, and the true doctrine of the Four Noble Truths is perceived. This stage is also called *śrota-āpatti-pratipannaka.* In the next stage the eighty-one kinds and levels of illusion of practice belonging to the three worlds are eliminated. This stage is known as the *bhāvanā-mārga* and consists of 'three entrances and three attainments'. Nine kinds of illusion of practice belonging to the realm of desire are eliminated between the *sakṛdāgāmi-pratipannaka* stage and the *anāgāmin* stage. In the *arhat-pratipannaka* stage which follows, the remaining seventy-two kinds of illusion of phenomena of the realms of form and the formless are eliminated. Illusions of phenomena is the name given to those illusions which are *a priori* and inborn and exist from the time of birth. Because they are the cause for rebirth in the three realms and the three unhappy states, we must eliminate them if we want to escape such rebirth. Those people who have eliminated the first six kinds of illusion of practice of the realm of desire, leaving only three kinds of illusion to be extinguished, will have just one more rebirth in the realm of desire and are accordingly termed *sakṛdāgāmin* (returning only once again). Those people who have eliminated the remaining three kinds of illusion of practice of the realm of desire will have no more rebirth and are therefore called *anāgāmin* (non-returning). Those people who are in the process of extinguishing the seventy kinds of illusion of practice of the realms of form and the formless are called *arhat-pratipannaka* (moving toward arhatship), whereas the person who has eliminated all illusions of the three worlds is called arhat which is defined as not to be born again, because one who has attained this stage can never be reborn again in any of the three realms. This stage is also termed the Path of No-Learning (Skt. *aśaikṣa-mārga,* i.e., the path requiring no further learning) and is synonymous with Buddhahood.

The eighty-one levels of illusion of practice are eliminated by the wisdom acquired through meditating on the Four Noble Truths or the six meditations. (Actually these latter meditations can only eliminate the first seventy-two illusions of practice.) We may therefore say that the elimination of illusion depends indirectly on the power of meditation. Indeed, meditation is the very essence of Buddhist practice. Of the three realms, only the realm of form and the formless realm can receive the rebirth of one who practises meditation, and are therefore termed Lands of meditation. The four meditation levels of the realm of form and the four meditations on formlessness of the formless realm, taken together, constitute eight kinds of meditation. These are sometimes called the four dhyānas (of the realms of form) and the eight concentrations (i.e., the four of the realms of form and the four of the formless realms) or the eight *samāpatti* (attainments). These eight concentrations are divided according to their character into three types : clinging meditation, pure meditation and anāśrava meditation. Clinging meditation is that form of meditation which arises in conjunction with lust and is held to be an āśrava-meditation because it lusts after and clings to pure meditation which was experienced in the past. Pure meditation is that form of meditation which arises in conjunction with such good āśrava thoughts as non-lust, etc. Both clinging meditation and pure meditation belong to the category of āśrava meditation. Anāśrava meditation, on the other hand, is the most superior form of meditation and is the basis for producing correct (undiscriminating) wisdom which is anāśrava. It is this meditation which serves as a cause leading to enlightenment. Each of the eight meditations (four on the realm of form and four on the formless realm) may be divided into approaching meditation and basic meditation. Approaching meditation is so named because it is a provisional meditation for entering the basic meditation, and in this sense may be said to approach it. Pure (āśrava) meditation, mentioned above, is in effect approaching meditation, but because its power is weak, it can

eliminate illusion neither on the stage which its practiser has attained nor on a higher stage. It is only capable of subduing illusion on lower stages and becoming an auxiliary cause enabling its practiser to enter basic meditation for this present stage. Basic meditation is the true meditation for the particular stage which the practiser has attained, its essence being anāśrava meditation. It produces anāśrava undiscriminating wisdom and has power strong enough to eliminate illusions on the lower stages and the present stage of attainment as well as the higher stages. In this manner the eighty-one levels of illusion of practice in the three worlds are completely eliminated and the noble reward of Nirvāṇa is realised.

There are basically two kinds of wisdom : āśrava wisdom and anāśrava wisdom. Āśrava wisdom may also be divided into inherent wisdom, aural wisdom, thought wisdom and practice wisdom, the latter three kinds of wisdom being acquired by religious practice. These four kinds of wisdom are held to be āśrava wisdom because they do not have the power to eliminate illusion. Anāśrava wisdom is divided into Dharma wisdom and *anvaya* (similar) wisdom. Dharma wisdom is the wisdom by which one views the true doctrine of the Four Noble Truths in the realm of desire and eliminates the thirty-two kinds of illusion of views in the realm of desire (the remaining fifty-six illusions of views do not belong to the realm of desire, but to the realms of form and the formless). It is called Dharma wisdom because it perceives the true nature of the Dharma. *Anvaya* wisdom is the wisdom which perceives the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths in the realms of form and the formless and thereby eliminates the remaining fifty-six kinds of illusion of views in these realms. This wisdom is called *anvaya* (similar) because its elimination of illusion is similar to that of the Dharma wisdom in the realm of desire. Anāśrava wisdom may also be divided into eliminating wisdom and non-producing wisdom. These two kinds of wisdom not only eliminate illusions of views, but also the eighty-one kinds of illusion of practice. Thus, in effect, they eliminate every kind of illusion and prevent rebirth in any of the three realms. Such wisdom occurs in the final stage of progress toward enlightenment, the *aśaikṣa-mārga*, in which no further learning is required.

The theories discussed above describe the elimination of illusion and the attainment of enlightenment from the standpoint of the śrāvaka (one who seeks enlightenment by perceiving the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths). In the case of the pratyeka-buddha (one who attains enlightenment by perceiving the laws of causation without following a teacher), there are no stages like those of the four entrances and four attainments which the śrāvaka must pass through. Because the pratyeka-buddha has highly developed senses and faculties, he is able to eliminate illusions of views and illusions of practice simultaneously. Accordingly, he passes through only the stage of ' one entrance and one attainment '. The bodhisattva requires three asaṅkheyyas (infinitely long periods of time) and one hundred kalpas to eliminate all illusions and attain enlightenment because of the vastness of the path of the Buddha. It should be remembered, however, that these are all Hīnayāna theories.

Different Stages in Mahāyāna for the Elimination of Illusion and the Attainment of Enlightenment and the Methods of Attainment. In Mahāyāna there are differences in the numbers, grouping, nomenclature etc., of the various stages leading to enlightenment according to the particular work in which they are listed or the sect which teaches them. Often, however, fifty-two stages are given as representative of the Mahāyāna path to salvation. They are the ten faiths, the ten abidings, the ten practices, the ten *pariṇāma* (merit-transferences), the ten bhūmi (stages or supports), the enlightenment-equivalent stage and the wonderful enlightenment stage. The chart below gives the stages to enlightenment as they are taught in the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra*.

- Unenlightened Stages (Pre-bhūmi)
  - Stage of Initial Accumulation
    - Ten Faiths — Faith in Buddhism begins
    - Ten Abidings — Unshakable, abiding faith in the Three Treasures and Four Noble Truths
    - Ten Practices — The practice of the Six Pāramitās
    - Ten Pariṇāmas — The merit accrued from practising the Six Pāramitās and Four All-embracing is transferred to all living things
  - Stage of Preparation
    - The Tenth Pariṇāma
      - The Approach Stage
      - The Peak Stage
      - The Confirmation Stage
      - The Most Superior Doctrine Stage
      - — Practice of the Four Thought Meditations and Four Realistic - wisdom Meditations on all things
- Holy Stages
  - Darśana-mārga — Stage of Limited Attainment
    - The First Bhūmi — Perfection of the Anāśrava Meditation on the doctrine of the emptiness of Ātman and phenomena in regard to the Four Noble Truths
  - Bhāvanā-mārga — Stage of Practice
    - Nine Bhūmi — Practice of the Pāramitās which lead to Enlightenment as to the two kinds of Śūnya
    - The Tenth Bhūmi
      - Enlightenment equivalent Stage
  - Aśaikṣa-mārga — Stage of Ultimate Attainment — Wonderful Enlightenment

In Mahāyāna Buddhism two types of hindrances to enlightenment are recognised. One is called the illusion hindrance (*kleśāvaraṇa*) and the other is called the knowledge hindrance (*jñeyāvaraṇa*). Those illusions belonging to either of the two hindrances which arise from wrong thinking (*parikalpasamutthita*: illusions of views) are gradually subdued by the crude meditations, which are included in the category of āśrava discriminating wisdom, in the stage of the four good roots. When we enter the *darśana-mārga*, we eliminate them suddenly by the two śūnya meditations (i.e., that both beings and phenomena are śūnya). These meditations belong to the category of anāśrava undiscriminating wisdom. Thus we are enlightened as to the principle of the two śūnyas. Next, those illusions which are with us from the time of birth (illusions of practice) that belong to the illusion hindrance are completely eliminated in the seventh bhūmi of the ten bhūmi, whereas those inherent illusions of practice that belong to the knowledge hindrance are completely eliminated in the eighth bhūmi. However, it must be remembered that this elimination refers only to the manifestation of illusion, and not to the seeds of illusion or such subtle illusions as fundamental ignorance. These are eliminated in the final instant of the tenth bhūmi. They linger until the last moment before Buddhahood. This final elimination is termed the enlightenment-equivalent stage and is the highest attainment of the bodhisattva. Full enlightenment as to the doctrine of the two kinds of śūnya is then gained. This is what is called wonderful enlightenment or Buddhahood.

Other Theories Concerning Āśrava and Anāśrava. As we have already stated above, the distinction between the unenlightened man and the enlightened one depends upon the presence or absence of āśrava. Man has illusions inherently and is therefore considered as having āśrava. It is only by entering the path of Buddhism that he can gradually eliminate the illusions that fetter him. Thus, the state of anāśrava begins to grow within him as he practises meditation; his nature then is a mixture of āśrava and anāśrava. But by continuous religious training the āśrava nature gradually disappears and the anāśrava nature is strengthened. At last he arrives at the stage in which his nature is pure anāśrava. This is the attainment of arhatship or Buddhahood.

Philosophical support for the theories of the development of āśrava and anāśrava natures can be found in the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* and the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra*. In these works the doctrine of the *bīja* consciousness (that part of the 'mind' which stores 'seeds') is expounded. The latter work divides 'seeds', which are held by the *ālaya-vijñāna* or store-consciousness, into two kinds: āśrava and anāśrava. These are in turn divided into inherent āśrava seeds, inherent anāśrava seeds, newly perfumed āśrava seeds, and newly perfumed anāśrava seeds. Inherent seeds are those seeds which lie dormant in the eighth consciousness from the time of birth. Newly perfumed seeds are the seeds which are produced in the eighth consciousness as a result of daily experiences. The inherent seeds are strengthened and multiplied by the newly perfumed seeds. The two combine and together become the cause for producing an effect. For example, when a man does something evil, this deed produces newly perfumed āśrava seeds in his eighth consciousness. These strengthen the power of the inherent āśrava seeds. The newly perfumed āśrava seeds and the inherent āśrava seeds combine and together produce an evil rebirth (hell, etc.). When we follow the path of Buddhism and devote ourselves to the anāśrava practices of the three disciplines, newly perfumed anāśrava seeds are produced in the eighth consciousness, which strengthen the inherent anāśrava seeds (also called Buddha seeds). These two combine and produce the most superior anāśrava rewards of enlightenment and Nirvāṇa. Thus, the recognition of āśrava and anāśrava seeds provides the theoretical basis for the distinction between the unenlightened man and the enlightened one, transmigration and Nirvāṇa, illusion and enlightenment, the ultimate truth and the apparent seeming truth, good rebirth and evil rebirth, etc.

The different branches of the Vijñapti-mātratā school are not necessarily in agreement as to what receptacle holds these āśrava and anāśrava seeds, or whether the nature of the receptacle itself is āśrava or anāśrava. The Fa-hsiang 法相 (Japanese: Hossō) sect teaches that this receptacle is the *ālaya* consciousness, which is āśrava and false. This sect divides the mind into eight classes of consciousness. The eighth consciousness is named the ālaya (store) consciousness and belongs to the unenlightened man. It is held to be a false āśrava consciousness because it contains the seeds of illusion. However, as the āśrava seeds are gradually eliminated through religious practice, the anāśrava seeds grow, thus transforming the ālaya consciousness into a pure anāśrava

consciousness called perfect mirror wisdom (Skt. *ādarśa-jñāna*). Thus the eighth consciousness of the unenlightened man is called the ālaya (store) consciousness, whereas the eighth consciousness of the enlightened man (the Buddha) is called the undefiled consciousness or the perfect mirror wisdom. In the Ti-lun 地論 (Japanese: Jiron) sect the ālaya consciousness was held to be the essence of all things. It was considered ever-abiding, pure and true, and was thought of as being identical with the *Bhūtatathatā*. The reason for this can be surmised from the fact that ālaya was defined in Chinese as the non-disappearing consciousness. Although man passes through many births and deaths, this consciousness knows neither birth nor death; it can never disappear. Other names for it are the Store Consciousness, the Sacred Consciousness, the First Truth, the Pure Consciousness, the True Consciousness, the Bhūtatathatā Consciousness, the " House " Consciousness, etc. The first seven of the eight consciousnesses are considered to be false āśrava consciousnesses, subject to repeated birth and death in contrast to the eighth (ālaya) consciousness which is held to be the ever-abiding anāśrava true consciousness free from birth and death. The Shê-lun 攝論 (Japanese: Shōron) sect teaches the doctrine that the nature of the ālaya consciousness is a blend of the true and the false. The Buddha taught that there are three natures: the discriminating nature (i.e., the false and defiled nature), the causation nature (which is a combination of the false and the true) and the true nature. If these three natures are contrasted with the eight kinds of consciousness, the first seven classes will correspond to the discriminating nature, the eighth consciousness to the causation nature, and the *bhūtatathatā* to the true nature. The eighth consciousness contains both the true and false natures, the first seven classes of consciousness, which are false āśrava consciousness, being evolved from its (the eighth consciousness) false nature. The *bhūtatathatā*, which is the true nature, stands above the eight kinds of consciousness and is called the ninth consciousness, the *amala* consciousness, the undefiled consciousness, the bhūtatathatā consciousness, etc. The three natures, i.e., the discriminating nature, the causation nature and the true nature, are likened to hardness, earth (containing gold) and pure gold, respectively. (See *Taishō Daizōkyō* 31.345a, b, for detailed explanation.) The theories of this sect are based upon this idea. Thus, the Shê-lun sect considers the ninth undefiled consciousness the highest existence and the cause leading to anāśrava Nirvāṇa, whereas the eighth ālaya consciousness is the cause of āśrava rebirth.

G. H.

ĀŚRAVAKṢAYA-JÑĀNA, the knowledge of the extinction of all mental intoxicants. See ĀSAVAKKHAYA-ÑĀṆA.

ĀŚRAYA. This term occurs in Buddhist Sanskrit texts and is derived from *ā-śri*=to rest, to inhabit, to resort to, to depend on etc. It is used not only in its ordinary sense, but also in its philosophical sense.

According to Suzuki, it means that which constitutes the basis of various types of consciousness (*vijñāna*), that is, the *ālayavijñāna* (*Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, pp. 158, 183, and 390). Edgerton in his *BHS*. p. 120 cites *Laṅk*. 10.5 with a variant reading to mean that, " if the basis is otherwise regarded (there is) destruction (it is fatal to the holder of such a view). "

According to a citation by Burnouf (*Introduction à l' Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 449) the six *āśrayas* are to be understood as the six sense organs, forming one of the three groups constituting the eighteen elements (*dhātu*). Monier-Williams, too, in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (see under *āśraya*) explains that in the Buddhistic sense it means the five organs of sense with mind (*manas*): the six together being the recipients of objects (*āśrita*) which enter them by way of their qualities (*ālambana*).

Occasionally this term is found in combination with the term *parāvṛtti* (revulsion). In such instances, *āśraya parāvṛtti* comes to mean, revulsion which takes place at the basis of consciousnesss by which one is enabled to grasp the truth of all existence, liberating the mind from bonds of false discrimination and leading to true perception (Suzuki, op. cit. p. 184). The phrase *vikalpasyāśrayaparāvṛttiḥ* is found in *Laṅk*. (233.15) where it is stated that, " When it is comprehended that the objective world is nothing but what is seen of the mind itself, there is revulsion at the basis of discrimination, which is emancipation and not destruction " (*svacittadṛśyabā-hyārtha parijñānād vikalpasyāśrayaparāvṛttir mokṣo na nāśah*).

The term *āśraya* is sometimes used to mean the body, as in *Lal*. 236.22: *śubhato kalpayamāna āśrayam vitathena* (falsely imagining the body to be handsome). In the same sense it also occurs in the *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā*, e.g., 23.1, *me jvalita āśrayaḥ* (my body was burned).

S. K. N.

ASSAGUTTA (1), an arahant thera in the time of Asoka (3rd century, B.C.). He was born in Pāṭaliputta. After he became a bhikkhu he dwelt in the Vattaniya hermitage (*MA*. III, 276). His name occurs in the following succession of theras : Mahākassapa, Candagutta, Suriyagutta, Assagutta, Yonaka, Dhammarakkhita, Tissa, the younger brother of Asoka (*SA*. III, 143).

Assagutta thera was considered foremost among those who practised loving kindness (*mettāvihārīnaṃ aggo*). It is said that the Buddha foresaw the achievements of Assagutta in time to come and, for that reason, did not in his lifetime proclaim anyone as being worthy of this honour (*MA*. III, 276). In several instances in the commentaries, Assagutta is mentioned as an example of a spiritual friend, delighting in the development of kindliness, association with whom would lead to the elimination of ill-will (*DA*. III, 779 ; *MA*. I, 283 ; *SA*. III, 166 ; *AA*. I, 48 ; *VibhA*. 272).

He was apparently held in very high esteem as he is described as giving advice to the Saṅgha in the whole of Jambudīpa. He spent his time preaching on subjects of mental training (*kammaṭṭhāna*) to the bhikkhus. We are told that later on he even missed his alms-round, preaching to the bhikkhus. Then the people would bring alms to the monastery. It is said that Asoka heard of his virtues and wishing to see him sent for him three times, but Assagutta remained at the hermitage instructing the bhikkhus (*MA*. III, 276).

There are instances when Assagutta is mentioned as having made use of his supernormal powers as an arahant. He is said to have spread a rug in the air and having sat on it taught topics of meditation to the bhikkhus (*MA*. III, 276; *Vism*. p. 80). Again, once when he saw the bhikkhus eating dry food at the Vattaniya hermitage he made a wish that the water pool nearby should daily become curd before meal-time and revert to its normal state after the meal, and so it came to pass (*DhsA*. p. 419 ; *Vism*. p. 363).

It was Assagutta who ordained Janasāna, the Ājīvaka, who foretold the glorious future of Asoka by interpreting the pre-natal desires of his mother. After hearing Assagutta preach, Janasāna attained arahantship (*MhvA*. I, 192–3).

An account of Assagutta's previous lives is also met with. In the time of the Buddha he was born as Sakuludāyī, the wandering mendicant. He wished to join the Saṅgha but was prevented from doing so by his followers who thought it unworthy of their teacher to become a mere pupil of the Buddha. This, says the commentator, was as a result of Sakuludāyī's kamma in a former birth. In the time of the Buddha Kassapa he was a bhikkhu. When a fellow bhikkhu had expressed a wish to forsake the Saṅgha, Sakuludāyī had given him full encouragement through love for his robe and bowl. But the Buddha (Buddha Gotama) preached the doctrine to Sakuludāyī, knowing it would be of use to him in his future lives (*MA*. III, 276).

L. R. G.

ASSAGUTTA (2), an arahant thera in the time of Milinda (king Menander of 2nd century B. C.). He was probably the leader of the Saṅgha at the time, for it was he who convened an assembly of the monks on Yugandhara mountain to discuss the danger caused to Buddhism by Milinda's controversies. He is said to have gone to Tāvatiṃsa heaven with other arahants to ask Mahāsena deva to be born as a human being and defeat Milinda in his religious debates. Accordingly, Mahāsena was reborn as Nāgasena.

Assagutta commissioned Rohaṇa, the only bhikkhu who had absented himself from the assembly of monks, with the ordination of Nāgasena. This was done and Rohaṇa sent him to Assagutta at the Vattaniya hermitage to spend the rainy season with him. It was while preaching after a meal given by an old female lay devotee of Assagutta that Nāgasena attained the first stage of sainthood (*sotāpatti*). Assagutta then directed Nāgasena to Dhammarakkhita who was living at Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta to learn the doctrine from him (*Miln*. pp. 6–8, 14–16). In the *Atthasālinī Atthayojanā* (p. 265 in the Sinhalese edition, edited by Kodāgoḍa Paññāsekhara thera, 1890), in a verse quoted from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which however cannot be traced in the *Mahāvaṃsa* of the present day, there is a reference to an Assagutta thera who dwelt in the Vattaniya hermitage in the Vindhyā forest. Assagutta is described there as a great thera who possessed the fourfold analytical knowledge, and who came flying through the air with sixty thousand bhikkhus from the Vattaniya hermitage in the Vindhyā forest. In the present *Mahāvaṃsa* the closest parallel to this verse is contained in chapter xxix, on the building of the great thūpa, in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (see T.W. Rhys Davids in *SBE*. XXXVI, p. xviii). This Assagutta thera would therefore also have to be placed in the 2nd century B. C. and might refer to the same person.

L. R. G.

ASSAJI (1), one of the first five disciples of the Buddha and the fifth of the Pañcavaggiya monks (Skt. Aśvajit, Aśvajī). He was the son of one of the eight brāhmans who interpreted the signs on Gotama's body on the day of the name-giving ceremony. When Gotama renounced the world, Assaji, too, abandoned the worldly life, following his father's wishes, and practised severe austerities in Uruvelā along with Koṇḍañña (the youngest of the eight brāhmans referred to) and Bhaddiya, Vappa and Mahānāma (the sons of three of the other brāhmans), who had likewise taken to asceticism. These five were later joined by Gotama. When Gotama abandoned rigorous asceticism realising its futility, Assaji and the others lost faith in him and left Uruvelā for the deer park at Isipatana in Bārāṇasī where the Buddha visited them after his enlightenment (*J.* I, 56 f., 67 f.; *Vin.* I, 8). The Sanskrit and Tibetan sources vary from the Pali version regarding Assaji's life before he became a follower of the Buddha. The former describe Aśvajit as a pupil of Udraka Rāmaputra and the latter make him out to be a disciple of Ārāḍa Kālāma (See Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 28, n. 1).

It was to these five, who later became known as the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus, that the Buddha preached his first sermon, the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* in the deer park at Isipatana on the full moon day of Āsāḷha. While Koṇḍañña attained *sotāpatti* after listening to the sutta, the Buddha had to discourse further to the others which he did taking them, in turn. Last to win *sotāpatti* was Assaji after the Buddha had preached to him while the other four begged for alms. This was on the fourth day of the lunar fortnight. After the preaching of the *Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta* on the following day, Assaji became an arahant together with the others (*Vin.* I, 11 ff.; *J.* I, 82; *VinA. V*, 965; *AA.* I, 147; *MA.* II, 192; *Dpv.* I, 32. See also *Mhvu.* III, 328 ff. for a variant version).

Assaji was responsible for the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Sāriputta had become a wandering mendicant in quest of truth. One day he saw Assaji begging for alms in Rājagaha and was greatly impressed by his demeanour. He waited for an opportune moment till Assaji finished his alms-round and then enquired about his teacher and the teachings he followed. Assaji was at first reluctant to preach because he was newly ordained in the Saṅgha but on being urged by Sāriputta, Assaji briefly summed up the Buddha's teachings in a verse which has, since become famous:

All that arises from a cause, of that the Buddha knows the cause.
And of whatever is subject to cessation, the Great Sage has spoken.

(*Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetu tathāgato āha.*
Tesaṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃ vādi mahāsamaṇo 'ti).

Sāriputta immediately after the first line grasped its meaning and attained *sotāpatti* and later when he repeated it to his friend Moggallāna, he too won the same state (*Vin.* I, 39 ff.; *AA.* I, 157 ff.; *ThagA.* III, 94 f.; *DhpA.* I, 75 ff.; *Ap.* I, 24 f.). A reference to this incident is found at *J.* I, 85. The Tibetan version has different details (see Rockhill, op. cit. p. 45). For the view that Assaji was responsible for the doctrine of causation in Buddhism, see Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, pp. 124 ff.; *Gotama the Man*, pp. 76, 77, 108, 242; *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 215; *The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism* in *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 193 ff.).

Assaji was always held in great respect by Sāriputta. We are told that if Assaji resided in the same monastery as Sāriputta, the latter would first pay his respects to the Buddha and next to Assaji. If Assaji stayed in another monastery, then Sāriputta would pay homage in that direction (*SnA.* I, 328). Before he went to sleep he would worship the direction in which Assaji stayed and put his head towards that quarter (*Ap.* I, 31; *DhpA.* IV, 150 f.).

Saccaka, the Jain, was led to meet the Buddha, through Assaji. When Assaji had entered Vesālī for alms, Saccaka questioned him regarding the Buddha's teaching, and Assaji explained by giving briefly the doctrine of *anicca* (impermanence) and *anatta* (non-self). With the idea of disproving this doctrine, Saccaka visited the Buddha with a large number of Licchavis. This was the occasion for the preaching of the *Cūlasaccaka Sutta* (*M.* I, 227 ff.). The commentary says that Saccaka questioned Assaji as he was well-versed in the Buddha's doctrine (*satthusamayakovido*). It states further that Assaji chose the method of exposition that would leave Saccaka the least opportunity for debate (*MA.* II, 271).

The *Saṃyutta* records a visit paid by the Buddha to Assaji when he lay seriously ill at Kassapārāma in Rājagaha. He tells the Buddha that he finds it difficult to achieve concentration because of his bodily pain. The Buddha consoles him and diverts his attention to thoughts of impermanence (*S.* III, 124, ff.; *SA.* II, 316 f.). This might have been Assaji's last illness but we are not told so specifically.

Assaji was a *mahāsāvaka* (a great disciple: *ThagA.* III, 205), and gained prominence chiefly as one of the first five disciples of the Buddha and the one responsible for the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna who later became the two chief disciples of the Buddha. However, Assaji does not figure as a great preacher. He appears to have been of a retiring nature and rather lacking in self-confidence. His verses are also conspicuous by their absence in both the *Theragāthā* and the *Apadāna*.

In Sanskrit literature Assaji is commonly referred to as Aśvajit (*Svū.* p. 2; *Lal.* p. 1; *Divy.* p. 268; *Sdmp.* p. 1; *Mhvyut.* 47). But the *Mahāvastu* consistently calls him Aśvakī (*Mhvu.* III, pp. 139, 328, 337, etc.). A noteworthy difference in these Sanskrit accounts is that Assaji is always given the second place in the group of five monks as against the fifth place given to him in Pali literature.

L. R. G.

ASSAJI (2), a sectarian leader at the time of the Buddha. He and his followers were noted for their lack of discipline. Yet they were liked by the people for their pleasant ways and speech.

After being admonished by Sāriputta and Moggallāna they did not mend their ways, and some of them returned to the householders' life, while others were expelled from the Order. The followers of Assaji are always banded together with the followers of Punabbasu. Assaji and Punabbasu were the leaders of the band of six, the notorious Chabbaggiya bhikkhus. See ASSAJI-PUNABBASUKĀ.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASSAJI-PUNABBASUKĀ, the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu, two of the sectarian leaders in the Buddha's day (*MA.* III, 186). Five hundred in number (*DhpA.* II, 108), they lived at Kīṭāgiri, a market town in Kāsi between Sāvatthi and Ālavi. As mentioned in the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* III, 614) Kīṭāgiri was chosen by them as their residence because it was watered by both monsoons, produced three crops and had suitable sites for buildings.

The monks of this group were noted for their misconduct and indiscipline. As mentioned in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (II, 9 ff.; III, 197 ff.) they planted small flowering trees and sent garlands and wreaths to women of respectable families, their daughters and female slaves. They sent also other presents such as ear ornaments and breast plates. They ate from one dish together with these females, drank together from one beaker, sat together on one seat and even slept together. They engaged in dancing, indulged in gambling and other games, took part in wrestling and other sports, frequented shows and used perfumes. They drank intoxicants and ate at all odd hours. Thus, bringing families into disrepute, they committed the thirteenth offence entailing a formal meeting of the Order. The *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* III, 625) says that they did not follow the eighteen precepts well. However, these monks seem to have been liked by the people in the neighbourhood, for they are spoken of as polite, genial, pleasant of speech, beaming with smiles and easily accessible.

When the Buddha heard of this shameless behaviour of the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu, he sent Sāriputta and Moggallāna with many other monks from Kīṭāgiri with the necessary instructions to make an act of banishment (*pabbājanīya-kamma*) against them. Even after the act of banishment these monks did not mend their ways or become subdued. Instead, they not only cursed and reviled the monks who took part in the act but also left the Order. When the matter was reported to the Buddha, he had the *pabbājanīya-kamma* revoked because it had served no purpose.

The *Assaji-Punabbasukā-vatthu* of the *Dhammapada* commentary (II, 108 ff.), referring probably to the same incident, says that some of the monks of this group received the admonition of the two chief disciples of the Buddha and corrected themselves, others returned to the house-holders' life, while still others were expelled from the Order.

The above accounts refer to Assaji and Punabbasu as fellow monks of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. The Assaji-Punabbasukā monks had a special dislike for Sāriputta and Moggallāna who also refer to them as violent and rough. On one occasion when the Buddha was visiting Kīṭāgiri with Sāriputta and Moggallāna and sent word to the Assaji-Punabbasukā monks to prepare dwelling places, they sent answer to the Buddha that he was very welcome but not Sāriputta and Moggallāna, for they were under the influence of depraved desires. Before they arrived, the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu distributed the lodgings. On this occasion, too, the Buddha rebuked them ordering that lodging places, along with four other things, should not be divided up by the monks (*Vin.* II, 171 ff.).

Another reference to them in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 472 ff.) shows that they had not much regard even for the Buddha. Here, when some monks informed them that the Buddha did not take

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meals at night and was of good health, their reply was that they took meals at night, early morning and at other odd times, and were of good health also and hence saw no reason why they should change their habits. When the Buddha heard this he summoned them and admonished them. Yet the discourse does not mention that they gave up eating at night.

In the *Dhammapada* commentary (II, 525) Assaji-Punabbasukā are mentioned as an example of those who paid no heed to precepts, great or small. Assaji and Punabbasu were two leaders of the Chabbaggiya bhikkhus.

See also AŚVAKA-PUNARVASUKA.

H. R. P.

ASSAJI SUTTA, the sixth sutta of the *Thera Vagga* of the *Khandha Saṃyutta* (*S.* III, 124 ff.). It records a visit paid by the Buddha to Assaji on his sick-bed. Assaji was staying at Kassapārāma in Rājagaha, seriously ill. At Assaji's request the Buddha visits him. He tells the Buddha that he cannot win balance of mind because of his physical pain. The Buddha comforts him and diverts his thoughts to the impermanence of the five aggregates and in particular to the impermanence of feeling.

The commentary explains that because of his difficulty to restrain ' in and out breathing' (*assāsa-passāsa*) the ailing Assaji could not attain the fourth *jhāna* (*SA.* II, 315).

The introductory portion of this sutta is very similar to that of the preceding sutta where the Buddha visits Vakkali on his death-bed.

L. R. G.

ASSAKA, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (territories) mentioned in the Buddhist texts. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* I, 213 ; IV, 252, 256, 260) places it as the thirteenth *janapada* in the list, between Surasena and Avanti. The *Suttanipāta* (*Sn. v.* 977) and its commentary (*SnA.* II, 581) and a few birth-stories (e.g., *J.* III, 2–5) place it in south India on the Godhāvarī, its capital being referred to as Potali or Potāna (*J.* II, 155 ; III, 2–5). The name does not, however, occur in the list of twelve countries mentioned in the *Janavasabha Sutta* (*D.* II, 200).

Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 20) holds the view that since Assaka appears in the list between Surasena and Avanti, the territory mentioned in the list was probably situated immediately north-west of Avanti. As observed by B. C. Law (*Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 51–2) this view is supported by the fact that Assaka is placed in the north-west by the authors of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. Asaṅga in his *Sūtrālaṅkāra* places it in the basin of the Indus. This seems to be identical with the kingdom of Assakenus of the Greek writers.

Rhys Davids (op. cit. p. 20) is of the opinion that there were two territories of the same name and that Assaka in the north-west was the older settlement while the one on the Godhāvarī was a later colony. Yet, both these settlements were probably as old as the time of the Buddha, if not older, for, on the one hand, Buddhist texts refer to kings who ruled the Assaka kingdom before the time of the Buddha and on the other hand the list of the *janapadas* should have been current in the community to be mentioned in the early Buddhist texts.

Kings of Assaka on the Godhāvarī are referred to in a few Buddhist texts. The *Cullakāliṅga Jātaka* (*J.* III, 2–5) says that Aruṇa, the king of Assaka, defeated the king of Kāliṅga in a battle, married his daughters and later lived amicably with him. See ARUṆA (4). The *Nimi Jātaka* (*J.* VI, 53) mentions Assaka as one of those kings who in times past had been unable to get beyond the domain of sense even by giving great gifts. The *Assaka Jātaka* (*J*: II, 155) relates the story of a monk who in one of his previous births was the king of the Assaka country.

The *Vimānavatthu* commentary (*VvuA.* 259–67) tells of an Assaka king who ruled in the city of Potali not long after the demise of the Buddha. His son, named Sujāta, by his chief consort, entered the Order at the age of sixteen. It was Mahākaccāna who converted him. In the time of king Reṇu, Brahmadatta was the king of Assaka (*D.* II, 236).

Sarabhaṅga established a ermitage on the banks of the Godhāvarī in the Assaka country (*Mhvu.* III, 261). According to the *Suttanipāta* (*v.* 977) a brāhman teacher, called Bāvarī, too, settled near a village on the Godhāvarī in the Assaka territory. The king of Assaka at the time, called an Andhakarājā, took money to the value of a hundred thousand for the plot of land given for Bāvarī's hermitage.

H. R. P.

ASSAKA JĀTAKA (No. 207), preached by the Buddha to console a monk who was distracted by the recollection of his former wife.

In the town Potali of the Kāsi country lived a king, by name Assaka, with his young and beautiful queen Ubbarī. Ubbarī died an untimely death, and the king was so grieved over it that he preserved the dead body in a coffin and, placing it beneath his bed, lay thereon, starving for seven days. The relatives of the king tried their utmost to console him, but quite unsuccessfully. At this time the bodhisatta was an ascetic of great spiritual attainment, living in the Himālayan country, and seeing with his divine eye, the miserable plight of the king he appeared in the royal park to help the king. A resident of Kāsi informed the king that an ascetic living in the park could tell the present whereabouts of the king's dead wife. The king hurried to the park where the ascetic told the king that his queen was reborn as a dung-worm in that same park because she had been drunk with the pride of youth and had done no good deed. The ascetic brought the dung-worm to the presence of the king and through his spiritual power got it to speak out when the king refused to believe what he said. Questioned by the ascetic whether it had any regard for the king as its former husband, the worm replied that though the king was its former husband it had its present mate and, therefore, had no use for the king. When the king heard these words, he had the body disposed of, married a new queen and spent the rest of his life happily (*J*. II, 155–8).

W. G. W.

ASSALĀYANA, a young brāhman, sixteen years old, of Sāvatthi, very learned in the Vedas and allied subjects. Five hundred brāhmans, staying in the city, asked him to hold a discussion with the Buddha and refute his views. He agreed only after repeated requests, because, he said, Gotama was a thinker with views of his own and, therefore, difficult to defeat in controversy. He visits the Buddha and asks what he has to say concerning the claims of the brāhmans to be the only superior class, the legitimate sons of Brahmā. The Buddha points out to him that such pretensions are baseless, and that virtue, which alone leads to purity, can be cultivated by any of the four classes. Assalāyana sits silent and upset at the end of the discourse, but when the Buddha relates to him a story of the past, where Asita Devala had defeated brāhmans who held these same views, Assalāyana feels relieved and expresses his admiration of the Buddha's exposition. He declares himself a follower of the Buddha.[1] Buddhaghosa [2] tells us further that Assalāyana became a devoted follower of the faith and built a cetiya in his own residence for worship, and that all his descendants, down to Buddhaghosa's day, built similar cetiyas in their houses.

Assalāyana is probably to be identified with the father of Mahākoṭṭhita, his wife being Candavatī. There is, however, one difficulty connected with this theory : Mahākoṭṭhita says that he was won over to the faith after hearing the same sermon of the Buddha as converted his father (*yadā me pitaraṃ Buddho vinayī sabbasuddhiyā*).[3] It is unlikely, if the identification be correct, that this refers to the *Assalāyana Sutta*, because at the time of the sutta, Assalāyana was only sixteen years old ; but there exists no record of any other sutta preached to Assalāyana, dealing with ' *sabbasuddhi* '.

Assalāyana's name occurs in a list of eminent brāhmans found in the *Suttanipāta* commentary.[4] (*DPPN*.s.v.)

ASSALĀYANA SUTTA records the conversation between the Buddha and the brāhman youth, Assalāyana (*M*. II, 147 ff.).

The discussion was initiated by Assalāyana by declaring the claims of the brāhmans to be the only superior class, the legitimate sons of Brahmā, and by questioning the Buddha regarding his own views about the matter.

The sutta is of importance in that it includes all the arguments put forward by the Buddha in refuting the claims of the brāhmans.

Emphasising the biological unity of mankind, the Buddha is represented as saying that brāhman wives are known to have their ' seasons ' (*utu*), to conceive, to give birth and to give suck, even as women belonging to the other three castes. Hence, considering the way of birth, there does not appear to be any difference among them. Moreover, children born to a brāhman youth and a girl belonging to some other caste would be like their parents.

Then the sociological argument is brought forward by the Buddha who says that in certain societies in

1 *M*. II, 147 ff.
2 *MA. II, 785.*
3 *ThagA. I, 31: Ap. II, 480.*
4 *1,372.*

the borderlands such as Yona and Kamboja, there are only two classes (*dve'va vaṇṇā*), the lords (*ayya*) and the serfs (*dāsa*). Even this is not a rigid division since the masters sometimes become slaves and the slaves masters, the fluctuation in the social status being prompted by economic factors.

Moral and ethical arguments, too, are adduced to refute the claims of the brāhmans to superiority of caste. Not only people belonging to the warrior (*khattiya*), merchant (*vessa*) and menial (*sudda*) castes, but also those belonging to the priestly (*brāhmaṇa*) caste who indulge in immoral practices such as killing, stealing, etc., are reborn in woeful states (*duggati*). On the other hand, people who lead a morally good life are, irrespective of their social status, reborn in happy states (*sugati*).

Again, out of two uterine brothers (*bhātaro sa-udariyā*), one skilled in the Vedas, learned in them, but of bad moral conduct and of evil character. and the other not skilled in the Vedas but of good moral habit and of good character, Assalāyana is made to admit that the latter is worthy of being served with gifts and respect, not the former.

Caste does not present an obstacle to a man in his attempt to lead a religious life. Not only brāhmans but also members of the other castes are, according to the Buddha, capable of developing a mind of friendliness, without enmity and without malevolence. The members of the so-called inferior castes, too, are capable of cleansing themselves of dust and mud by bathing in a river.

Lastly, the Buddha gives the most significant argument against the claims of the brāhmans and, according to the Buddha, the most important reason for his adopting that standpoint. It is the spiritual unity of mankind. According to the Buddha, the fire kindled with sandalwood, etc., by persons belonging to the higher caste is not at all different from a fire kindled by a man of low caste with dry sticks from a castor-oil shrub (*elaṇḍa*). The reason is that both fires are able to serve the same purposes (*sakkā agginā aggikaraṇiyaṃ kātuṃ*). Even so, men, although said to belong to various castes, high or low, have within themselves the potentiality to climb on to the top-most rung in the ladder of spiritual perfection.

Assalāyana, who accepted all the arguments adduced by the Buddha as being valid, was left with no strength or authority to prove the claims of the brāhmans to superiority of caste. By a process of argumentation he was led to accept a position against which he had challenged the Buddha at the outset.

Finally, as he sat silent and at a loss for an answer, the Buddha related the story of the sage Asita Devala, who rebuked and reviled the seven brāhman sages who held the same pernicious view with regard to the superiority of the brāhmans. Asita asks the latter in the course of the discussion about caste whether they could say about their parents and grandparents that they were of the same caste even up to seven generations. To which the answer is given that they could not. This historical argument is followed by a discussion of the pre-natal growth of a child. According to the sutta, this takes place through a combination of several factors. In addition to the physical constitution of the child, which is due to a combination of genetical factors derived from both parents which, elsewhere, is given as name and form (*nāma-rūpa: D.* II, 62–3), the influence of the psychic factor (*viññāṇa*) constituting the impressions of former births, without which the personality could not develop (loc. cit.) is a necessity. This psychic factor seeking rebirth,, which in this sutta is termed *gandhabba* (s.v. ANTARĀBHAVA) cannot be considered as belonging to any particular caste, so that the essence of one's personality is beyond caste distinction. It is then concluded that in such circumstances " we do not know who we are " (*na mayaṃ jānāma keci mayaṃ homa*).

At the end of the discourse Assalāyana seeks refuge in the Buddha as a lay devotee.

D. J. K.

ASSAM, an Indian state which comprises the valley of the river Brahmaputra, with the mountains on either side as far as the Tibetan frontier on the north, and the Lushai hills and part of the (former) district of Sylhet. The area is 62, 704 sq. miles and the population was nearly twelve millions in 1961. The bulk of the indigenous people are of a Tibeto-Burmese-speaking stock ; Assamiya is the *lingua franca* of the country. The principal religion of Lower Assam had been Hinduism from early times. When in 640 A.C. Hsüan-tsang travelled here to Kāmarūpa (as north Bengal and lower Assam were then known), it was a Hindu ruler whom he found on the throne.

The Tais, known as Āhoms (from which Assam is derived), invaded the country under the orders of their king Hsö Khan-hpa who founded the Möng Mao empire. Their invasion took place early in the thirteenth century ; they settled down on two islands formed by branches of the Brahmaputra. Having gradually occupied the entire valley or the

main portion of the country, they established Buddhism everywhere except in the hills. The religion prevailed until 1611 A.C. when their ruler, Chu-cheng-hpa, adopted Hinduism; his example was followed by practically all his subjects. At the census of 1901 there were only 9065 Buddhists (some ·16 of the population) and Buddhism was expected to disappear before long (*ERE.* III, 43 f.).

This expectation, however, does not appear to be materialising, for today the country has a much larger number of Buddhists, about fifty thousand adherents. Nearly a third of this number lives in a corner of the Lushai hills. It is mainly the less informed classes, such as peasants and cultivators, who form the bulk of the Buddhist population.

Āhom monks are known as *Kalitas*. The pagodas generally follow the styles of the Burmese and of the Shans. *Kalita* vihāras continue the age-old traditional lay-out.

There are places of worship and resting-halls for bhikkhus in the town of Shillong, Dib-rugarh, Diboi and Jorhat, as well as centres of Buddhist activity in the Lushai and the Garo hills and in Pandu, Lumding, Baderpur, Lakhimpur, Merherita and north Lakhimpur. Pali teaching has been started in some of these places. The influence of Buddhism, which came to be felt in recent times, is to be mainly attributed to the efforts of Burmese Buddhists. Burma has had contacts in Assam's history, but they were generally for war and pillage, unlike in modern times when the motives were the spread of culture, and religious zeal.

D. T. D.

ASSAPĀLA, the second son of king Esukāri's chaplain. He was born in the world of men at Sakka's request. His father had him brought up among the keepers of horses (*assa-pāla*), so that he might not renounce the world. But in spite of his father's attempts, he followed his elder brother, Hatthipāla, into the ascetic life and lived on the banks of the Ganges (*J.* IV, 476). He was Sāriputta in the present age (ibid. 491).

U. K.

ASSAPURA, a city of the kingdom in Aṅga mentioned in the Pali texts (*M.* I, 271, 281 ; *MA.* I, 483 ; *J.* III, 460). In the *Cetiya Jātaka* (*J.* III, 460) it is said that the second of the five sons of Upacara of the Ceti kingdom founded this kingdom, as he was instructed by the brāhman Kapila, on the spot where he found a royal horse, pure white. It lay to the south of Sotthivatī, Upacara's capital.

H. R. P.

ASSAPURA SUTTA, see under CŪḶA-ASSAPURA SUTTA and MAHĀ-ASSAPURA SUTTA.

ASSĀRĀMA, the place of death of Sikhī Buddha (*BuvA.* 247). The *Buddhavaṃsa* calls it Dussārāma (*Buv.* 55).

ASSARATANA (Skt. Aśvaratna), 'the horse treasure', the third of the seven treasures of a world ruler (*cakkavattirāja*). See CAKRAVARTI-RĀJA, RATANA.

ASSĀSA SUTTA (*S.* IV, 254). Sāriputta, in answer to the questions of the paribbājaka Jambukhādaka, describes comfort as the understanding of the arising and ceasing, the satisfaction and the misery of, and also the escape from the sixfold sense-sphere. The approach to such realisation is the Noble Eightfold Path.

U. K.

ASSA SUTTA, the fifth sutta of the *Gāmaṇi Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* IV, 310), preached to a horse trainer (*assāroha*) who had come to visit the Buddha at Jetavana.

The horse trainer tells the Buddha that according to teachers of old, who were also horse trainers, a horse trainer, who in battle exerts himself, puts forth effort and gets killed by others, is reborn after death in the company of Devas of Passionate Delight (*Sarājitā*). What would the Buddha think about that view ? The Buddha refuses to answer him three times, but ultimately declares that such a view is a perverted one and that its result is rebirth either in a purgatory or as an animal. Thereupon the trainer laments greatly, saying that he had been deceived by his teachers, and declares himself thenceforth a follower of the Buddha.

I. K.

ASSATARA, name of a class of gods mentioned with several classes of nāgas (serpent-gods) such as Kambala and Pāyāga, who were all present at the great assembly of celestials at Kapilavatthu to hear the preaching of the Buddha as recorded in the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*D.* II, 25).

Buddhaghosa (*DA.* II, 688) adds that they inhabited the foothills of mount Sineru and were so powerful that they could resist even the Supaṇṇas.

Assataras are also mentioned, along with Kambalas, among the nāgas whom Dhataraṭṭha of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* commanded to assemble and aid

him in his war to win Samuddajā. It is clear that the word *nāga* is here being used to denote a species of celestial serpents and not elephants. It is also a curious fact that the word *assatara*, as occurring elsewhere (*Dhp*. 322; *DhpA*. 1, 213) means "a kind of horse". The Vedic form of the word is *aśvatara*.

B. J.

ASSEMBLIES, *parisā* (Pali) and *parṣad, pariṣad* (Sanskrit) from *pari+sad* : to sit around.

The Pali term *parisā* and its Sanskrit original *pariṣad* are two terms commonly used in Buddhist literature. Both terms mean assembly. Assemblies were of great significance in the religious as well as the social life of both clergy and laity. These assemblies were of many kinds. The term in itself means only an assembly of any human or superhuman beings. Valuable information can be gathered by an examination of this term as used in literature. Such a study would also help to find out the relations which existed between the Buddha and his disciples on the one hand and between them and the laymen on the other.

Thus, in *D*. II, 109, eight kinds of assemblies are enumerated by the Buddha. They are (1) *khattiya* (nobles), (2) *brāhmaṇa* (brāhmans), (3) *gahapati* (householders), (4) *samaṇa* (monks), (5) *cātummahārājika* (gods of the *cātummaharājika* heaven), (6) *tāvatiṃsa* (gods of the *tāvatiṃsa* heaven), (7) *māra* (gods by that name) and (8) *brahma* (brahmas).

After enumerating these eight kinds of assemblies the Buddha says that in the past, whenever he entered an assembly of many hundred nobles (*anekasataṃ khattiyaparisaṃ*) he would immediately become like them in colour and voice and after preaching to them he would suddenly vanish, leaving the members of the assembly to wonder who he was, whether he was a human being or a god, etc. In such cases he would never reveal his identity but would merely vanish after his discourse. The text repeats the same for the other seven kinds of assemblies.

The *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, the commentary to the *Dīgha Nikāya*, explains this *anekasataṃ khattiyaparisaṃ* by saying that they were like the assemblies of king Bimbisāra, or of kinsmen, or of the Licchavis and that even in worlds other than ours such types of assemblies are to be found (*Bimbisāra samāgama—ñātisamāgama—Licchavi—samāgamādi–sadisaṃ ; aññesu cakkavāḷesu pi labbhati yeva*). The assemblies of many hundred brāhmans is explained as the assemblies of brāhmans like Soṇadaṇḍa and Kūṭadaṇḍa and are said to be found in other worlds too (*anekasataṃ brāhmaṇaparisā ti Soṇadaṇḍa Kūṭadaṇḍa samāgamādivasena ceva aññacakkavāḷavasena ca sambhavo veditabbo*).

Then, according to the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, the Buddha quoted these eight kinds of assemblies and his presence in them, to show his fearlessness (*abhītabhāvadassanavasena*), for he says that whenever he visited any of these assemblies and preached in their midst, fear or nervousness (*bhayaṃ vā sārajjaṃ vā*) never came upon him. In the company of any of these beings the Buddha was quite free from fear, nervousness, or diffidence (*abhīto Ānanda Tathāgato ; acchambhī sato sampajāno*).

D. III, 260 and *A*. IV, 307 also refer to these eight kinds of assemblies. In *M*. I, 72 they are repeated *verbatim*.

The *Majjhima* commentary, *Papañcasūdanī*, gives a more detailed description than the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*. According to this description, a *khattiyaparisā* is a place where the nobles have gathered and are seated. A *māraparisā* is a similar assembly of the class of gods, *mārakāyika*, and not of the *māras*. All these instances of assemblies have been taken to show their might and their prestige. For instance, in the royal assembly the people are frightened even to utter the word 'king', for that will make them sweat, the royal assembly being such a majestic gathering. Regarding the brāhmans, they are well-versed in the three *vedas* while the householders are conversant with various usages and literary activities, like poetry. The monks are proficient in all matters pertaining to their own vocation. Thus, in the midst of a gathering of this nature, preaching and discussing the doctrine is a task of great magnitude. In an assembly of super-humans the task is still more difficult. The whole body begins to quiver at the mention of the word *yakkha*. On seeing yakkhas or hearing their voice people fall in a swoon. The discussion of the Dhamma in such an assembly is thus an extremely difficult task.

The description of the other assemblies in the *Majjhima* commentary are identical with those referred to in the *Dīgha* commentary.

In *D*. III, 236 mention is made of the first four of the above assemblies (i. e., *khattiya, brāhmaṇa, gahapati* and *samaṇa*). Here it is said that an immoral person, when coming to any of these assemblies, feels diffident and disturbed (*avisārada maṅkubhūta*). Conversely, a person who is morally good attends such an assembly with confidence and courage (*visārada amaṅkubhūta*).

These four assemblies are again referred to in *M.*I,163.

As is to be expected, the information so far furnished pertains to religious assemblies, where all kinds of beings, both human and super-human, gather for some religious purpose, specially to listen to the Dhamma.

In the above list of eight assemblies, the first three assemblies referred to (i. e., of nobles, brāhmans and householders) throw some light upon the social conditions during the time of the Buddha. They testify, for instance, to the rigidity of the caste system as obtaining during that period. Even to listen to the Dhamma, the nobles (khattiya) had their own assemblies . On special occasions the nobles, brāhmans and the householders seem to have assembled separately even to listen to the Buddha preaching a sermon. Although the Buddha discouraged such practices, these literary references show the rigidity of the caste distinctions of the day.

Besides distinctions of caste, the intellectual capacity of each of these categories was also probably responsible for this exclusiveness. The Buddha being a unique teacher of psychological ethics, the type of doctrine preached depended upon the intellectual attainments of the audience.

For instance, while the nobles and the brāhmans were able to understand even highly philosophical doctrines, on account of their being the educated classes of society, householders had to be taught much simpler things, in keeping with their lower level of comprehension. Further, the vocations of these categories differed from one another. Whereas the nobles had to tackle the problems of state diplomacy, etc., the field of activity of the brāhmans was on the religious side. Accordingly, the views and ideas, the opinions and concepts of those various classes were bound to be divergent. Thus, each category demanded a different kind of sermon and this fact, too, might have contributed to these divisions being observed in assemblies summoned specially for religious instruction.

The fourth kind of assembly was that of the monks (*samaṇa*) and the fact that their assembly was confined to monks alone is not surprising for theirs was a type of assembly completely different from that of laymen.

The fifth assembly was that of the gods of the *Cātummahārājika-deva* world. This is the lowest deva world and it derives its name from the four regent gods (*cattāro mahārājāno*) who dwell there as the guardians of the four quarters. The *Gandhabbas, Kumbhaṇḍas, Nāgas* and *Yakkhas* dwell in this heaven as the retinues of the four regents. There are references in Buddhist literature to the fact that the Buddha used to visit this heaven once in a way and preach the Dhamma to the inhabitants there.

Similarly, the assembly of the gods of *Tāvatiṃsa,* the second of the six deva worlds, comprised the sixth kind of assembly. This is the heaven in which Sakka is supposed to live. Buddhist literature refers to numerous connections between this heaven and the Buddha and his disciples. This seems to be the deva world with which the Buddha and his followers had the closest contact. For it is said that every Buddha spends the retreat (*vassa*) following the performance of the Twin Miracle (*yamaka pāṭihāriya*) in *Tāvatiṃsa.* The Sākyamuni went there to preach the abhidhamma to his mother who was reborn there as a *devaputta.* Going there in the seventh year of his enlightenment, the Buddha is said to have spent three months in this heaven, preaching the doctrine to the gods, seated on the Sakka's throne, the *pāṇḍukambalasilāsana.* Eighty crores of gods are said to have attained emancipation as a result of his preaching (*J.* IV, 262 ; *DhpA.* III, 216). Sometimes, theras like Moggallāna used to visit *Tāvatiṃsa* to learn from the inhabitants about their past meritorious deeds and repeat these accounts to men.

Regarding the seventh kind of assembly, the *Māraparisā*, the commentary says that it was an assembly not of the *māras* but of the class of gods called *mārakāyika,* who are none but the followers of Māra, living in the *Paranimmitavasavatti deva* world.

The eighth kind of assembly is called the *Brahmaparisā,* which refers to the assemblies of the *brahmas* who gathered around the Buddha when he visited the *brahma* worlds.

Thus, it is evident that all these eight kinds of assemblies were exclusively religious gatherings where the Buddha went to preach his doctrine. The information provided by the Pali canon and the commentaries reveals that these instances are given to substantiate the fact that whatever was the character of an assembly, whether of gods or of men, the Buddha was quite free from nervousness or excitement when preaching the doctrine in their midst. This fact is repeatedly mentioned as an index to the greatness and the uniqueness of the Buddha, both among men and gods.

In *A.* V, 10 it is said that among the qualities of a genuine full-fledged monk, frequenting debates in assemblies (*parisāvacara*) and the ability to expound

the Dhamma to them with confidence and without fear (*visārado parisāya dhammaṃ deseti*), are given as two very important ones.

Such preaching was considered a really difficult task (*tesaṃ majjhe dhammakathākathanaṃ nāma ativiyabhāro*). In the first place the preacher had to be fully versed in the Dhamma. As the members of all these assemblies were, as explained in that commentary, well-educated people, the preacher had to answer their questions and to clear their doubts on the spot. Absence of stage-fear and nervousness and the ability to meet and refute any argument were indispensable qualities for the preacher.

In addition to the eight kinds of assemblies so far discussed there is another classification of four kinds of assemblies. They, too, are religious in character. But they are not exclusively of one class of people, as in the earlier classification. These four are referred to as *bhikkhu* (monks), *bhikkhunī* (nuns), *upāsaka* (male lay devotees) and *upāsikā* (female lay devotees), and are collectively called *catuparisā* (*A*. II, 133). In *J*. I, 40 the practice of frequenting these four assemblies is given as a characteristic of the Buddha, who is often referred to as seated in the midst of these four kinds of people and instructing them. On such occasions anyone who belonged to any of these four categories could join the assembly (*J*. I, 85). According to *J*. I, 148, when the elder Kumārakassapa's mother was taken before the Buddha to report to him about her pregnancy while being a nun, the Buddha says that the matter should be inquired into and the nun's innocence proved in the presence of the king and his court (*sarājikāya parisāya majjhe*) ; and the Buddha orders the elder Upāli to clear her name in the midst of the four classes of his disciples.

An important factor that emerges from these references is that these assemblies include every section of society, both ecclesiastical and secular. This classification of society by the Buddha in relation to his religion is quite in keeping with his attitude to caste. Here, no caste distinctions are observed at all. The *bhikkhu* and the *bhikkhunī* sections included all the members of the Saṅgha, irrespective of distinctions even of sex, while the *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* divisions embraced all the lay people, notwithstanding all social barriers such as caste distinctions. The catholic outlook of the Buddha is brought into prominence here. Kings, brāhmans, nobles and the outcastes were treated on an equal footing. All met on a common platform to hear and discuss the Dhamma. Unlike the eight kinds of assemblies mentioned above, where material considerations have been at work in their classification, in this division that exclusiveness of a particular class of people is done away with. The earlier classification was more sociological than religious, for it reveals the pattern of society obtaining at the time. But in the latter division, the true spirit of Buddhist socialism is evident where the principle of the brotherhood of man is given pride of place over material considerations.

Moreover, in the earlier classification there is an air of the supernatural in that three of its divisions belong to the *deva* worlds, whereas in the latter system all four classes are found in society and therefore true to life. As such it was the more practical way of classification.

To be noted also is the fact that while the former eight assemblies are mentioned only as places visited by the Buddha to preach therein, the latter four assemblies are not meant exclusively for preaching. They meet even for other purposes, related to religion. The example cited above, where the Buddha wanted to vindicate the innocence of Kumārakassapa's mother in the presence of all four classes of people and also of the king with his court, is a case in point.

In the *Parisā Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 70) ten kinds of assemblies are taken, pair by pair, one good and one bad, and enumerated systematically. It should be mentioned at the outset that all ten are assemblies only of monks. Here the word *parisā* is taken in the sense of company or group and not in the earlier limited sense of an assembly gathered for the purpose of listening to the Dhamma.

The first pair of such assemblies is referred to as shallow (*uttāna*) and deep (*gambhīra*). In whatever company the monks are frivolous, empty-headed, busy-bodies, garrulous, of loose talk, lacking concentration, not alert, not composed, of a flighty mind and with senses unrestrained, such an assembly is called shallow. Conversely, the company of monks in whom those qualities are absent is the good company and, therefore, called deep (*gambhīra*), and as such it has pre-eminence over the other (*etadaggaṃ dvinnaṃ parisānaṃ yadidaṃ gambhīrā parisā*).

The second pair of assemblies is called the discordant (*vagga*) and the harmonious (*samagga*). In whatever company the monks are divided, quarrelsome and disputatious, and live wounding each other with the weapons of the tongue, it is called the discordant company. Conversely, the company, in which monks dwell in harmony, enjoying

each other's company without disputes, like milk and water mixed together, looking at each other with the eye of affection, such a company is called harmonious. This latter company is the superior one.

The third pair of assemblies is called the notorious (*anaggavati*) and the distinguished (*aggavati*). The assembly wherein the monks live in abundance, are lax, deviate from the religious life, shirk the responsibilities of a secluded life, make no effort to attain the unattained, to realise the unrealised and whose successors will be likewise, such a congregation is called notorious. The assembly of monks who are not subject to these lapses is called distinguished and is the one recommended for the Buddhist monk.

The fourth class is designated the ignoble (*anariya*) and the noble (*ariya*). The assembly of monks ignorant of the Four Noble Truths, is called ignoble and, conversely, the assembly of those who know these truths is referred to as noble.

The fifth category is referred to as the dregs (*parisakasaṭa*) and the cream (*parisamaṇḍa*). The company of monks who pursue the four wrong paths of impulse, malice, delusion and fear are called the dregs. Those monks who do not fall victims to these four are designated as the cream (*parisamaṇḍa*).

The sixth pair of assemblies is that in which the monks are trained by superficial means and not by deep inquiry and that whose monks are trained by inquiry and not by superficial means. The company of monks, who do not listen to the discourses preached by the Buddha which are deep in meaning, transcendental and dealing with the theory of the void, and who do not lend a ready ear to them, do not apply their minds to comprehend them, do not consider those teachings as something to be memorised and mastered, but who bend their energies and try to master discourses made by poets spiced with sweet phraseology but which are exotic to the Dhamma, and who take them unsuspectingly as the true doctrine—such a company of monks is the one that is superficially trained. Conversely, the company of monks who ignore such poetical discourses and who find delight in and master the genuine discourses of the Buddha, comprise the real company of monks who are correctly disciplined.

The seventh category comprises the one that honours material gifts instead of spiritual ones and *vice versa*. The company of monks who sing each other's praises in the presence of householders, with the idea of gaining material gifts and personal favours, such a company of monks is bad and belongs to the former category. On the other hand, that company of monks who value spiritual things more than material things is the good company and is praised by the Buddha.

The eighth category of assemblies is called the crooked (*visama*) and the straight (*sáma*). That in which lawless deeds prevail over the lawful, unrestrained deeds over the restrained, where such deeds are conspicuous, whereas lawful and restrained deeds are inconspicuous, such a company is called crooked. The company of monks in which these bad qualities are absent is the straight company.

The ninth is called the unrighteous and the righteous. The characteristics of these two kinds of companies are identical with those of the eighth class.

In the tenth category, which is the last of the series, the two companies are called the one that is of unrighteous speech and the one of righteous speech. The company of monks who take up a law-suit, whether lawful or otherwise, and, instead of coming to an amicable settlement, remain stubbornly attached to their own pre-conceived notions, such a company is referred to as unrighteous. The reverse of this is the assembly comprising monks of righteous speech.

In the preceding enumeration of the ten kinds of assemblies of monks are epitomised all the virtues that go to make a company of monks living together an example of virtue and good conduct. The various terms used to describe each kind of group collectively represent the ideal of what Buddhist social life should be. Although the reference here is to monastic social life, the criteria can be applied with equal force to the social life of the laity as well.

Here it is seen how bad qualities like arrogance and garrulousness are subjected to downright condemnation. These are qualities that make any society wicked and destroy social peace and harmony. The training of the individual's mind is given pride of place throughout. Whether one is a recluse or a householder, the proper control of one's senses is a desirable aim which is conducive to a peaceful life in the world. In short, the proper control of mind, speech and body, which is the basis of the Buddhist way of life, is also the basis of the above enumeration.

Shirking one's responsibilities is another bane of society that is condemned here. If these examples of good life come from the correct quarters, then it is said, that the succeeding generation would follow suit, for the true spirit of Buddhism is that precept should be accompanied by example.

In the fourth category, it is said how the ability to see the world and its ways in their correct perspective makes an assembly of monks noble (*ariyā parisā*). It is also seen how the qualities that make a good judge or an administrator are emphasised. What is referred to as superficial training is meant to discourage the tendency among certain groups of monks for studying poetics and similar pursuits in preference to the teachings regarding the transcendental. This implies that the poetical sections found even in the Tipiṭaka such as the *Khuddakapāṭha* and the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā* sections were evidently looked upon with disfavour. There must have been groups of monks who pursued such studies, neglecting the profound aspects of the Buddha's doctrine. The monks are requested to be very discriminating in the selection of the discourses contained in the Tipiṭaka.

There are other uses of the term *parisā* in various other places in Pali literature.

It is a very common usage that the locative singular of *parisā* is used in the sense of 'in public' (*parisati vaṇṇam bhāsanti*: they praise him in public: *Vin.* IV, 285; *parisamajjhe vā rahogataṃ vā*: either in public or in private: *J.* V, 332). In *It.* 64, good sons are said to shine in assemblies like the moon released from a cluster of clouds. In all these places the term *parisā* means a group, company, assembly, association, multitude, etc.

M. II, 160 refers to two assemblies of people as *sārattaratta* and *asārattaratta*, meaning those who are deeply attached to worldly comforts and prosperity and those who are devoid of all mundane attachments and hence intent on going from home to homelessness. A phrase in which the Pali literature abounds is the one in which the Buddha is described as preaching the Dhamma surrounded by an assembly of monks (*bhagavā mahatiyā parisāya parivuto dhammaṃ desento nisinno hoti*: *Vin.* III, 12; *S.* I, 177, etc.).

The proper kind of behaviour in an assembly is described in various places in Pali literature. In *Vin.* IV, 153 it is said that when, in an assembly, the monks are engaged in the discussion of a controversial matter, if any monk leaves the assembly before the discussion is over, the moment he is at a hand's distance away from the assembly (*parisāya hatthapāsaṃ*), he commits an offence.

In *A.* II, 19, an assembly of monks who are well-behaved and virtuous is referred to as the best of assemblies (*parisāya maṇḍo*). In *A.* II, 183, the Buddha surveys the assembly of monks round him and, observing their quietness and silence, praises them saying that theirs is an assembly which is pure and valuable and that such an assembly is a rare sight in the world. Further, the Buddha pays a glowing tribute to such an assembly by saying that it is worthy of veneration and hospitality, of gifts and respect, and calls it an incomparable field of merit, even a trivial offering to which becomes amply rewarded. He further says that it is worth undertaking even a long journey in order to see such an assembly.

A. III, 253 says that an unworthy monk who violates the rules of discipline when visiting any of the four assemblies, goes confused and diffident because he is not genuine. On the other hand, the Buddha says that for a monk to be worthy of offerings, honour and respect, he should be endowed with seven qualities, one of which is that he should know everything about the various kinds of assemblies, and how to approach and behave in them, how to talk there, etc. Such a bhikkhu is referred to as *parisaññū* (*A.* IV, 113).

In *A.* II, 225, the Buddha refers to four kinds of people who abuse assemblies (*parisadūsaka*) and these are enumerated according to the four religious groups *bhikkhu, bhikkhunī, upāsaka, upāsikā.* Any member belonging to any of these four groups who is immoral and of base conduct is called a 'seducer' of that particular assembly. Conversely, the same four kinds of people who are morally good and of commendable behaviour are referred to as adding lustre to assemblies.

There is an interesting reference in the *Miln.* 359, to thirty-eight divisions of the royal retinue (*aṭṭhatiṃsarājaparisā*), but what they are is not explained. It probably refers to the hierarchy of various craftsmen, such as potters, barbers, etc.

Another term, very often used in Pali literature to mean assembly, is *sannipāta.* This word is used for a large concourse, either of monks or laymen, coming from various quarters and not meaning a small gathering for which the word *parisā* is used. In *D.* II, 5 ff. and 76, *sannipāta* is repeatedly used in this sense. Still another kind of assembly referred to in Buddhist literature is *samajja* (*samāja*) meaning a festive gathering, which was not a religious gathering (*DhpA.* IV, 59).

References to religious assemblies in Buddhist Sanskrit are not as numerous and differentiated as in Pali. In Mahāyāna books there are references to assemblies of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, which are more or less mythical in character. The normal connotation in which the word *parisā* is used in Pali literature is found in Sanskrit, too. Thus, in

the *Mhvu.* I, 133, the word *pariṣad* is used in this sense (*pariṣāskhalitavacanā*). Assemblies where both gods and men are present together are often referred to in Sanskrit, too. Thus, *Mhvu.* I, 158, refers to such an assembly (*devamanuṣyasaṅkulā pariṣā sarvabhūtagaṇā ti*). The same work (310, 354) refers to brāhmaṇa and śākya assemblies, but no details are given. The four kinds of assemblies of monks, nuns, male devotees and female devotees are referred to in *Mhvu.* III, 53 (*catūhi pariṣāhi bhaviṣyati*). The royal assembly is referred to in page 10 of the same work.

A. G. S. K.

ASSEVERATION, 'Act of Truth.' See SACCA-KIRIYĀ.

ASSIMILATION, perceptive —, a phase in the process of the evolution of thought. See SAÑÑĀ.

ASSOCIATION. In the process of mental evolution, which according to Buddhist philosophy is based on the expansion of the misconception of a separate I-entity (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), the tendency to 'progress' employs both the method of integration as well as of differentiation.

By means of integration, the ego strengthens its concept of separate individuality by drawing into it all cognate matter, by a process of assimilation, which has greed (*lobha*) at its root. On the other hand, by refusing to accept within its stronghold whatever is not affiliated with it, i.e., by repelling all inimical influxes, the ego also strengthens its position through opposition and differentiation, which is a process of alienation, which has aversion (*dosa*) at its root. This tendency to differentiation may be summed up in the term 'individuality' and the tendency to integration in the term 'association'.

The process of evolution is obviously associated with change, but change immediately affects the continuity of the individual ; and thus within the process of evolution with its general tendency to 'progress' is also found the basic conflict (*dukkha*) between change (*anicca*) and continuity (*atta*), which has its foundation in the misunderstanding of the self-concept, and which conflict, therefore, can be solved only by right understanding of the entire process.

The first and main association in the mental process is the association of delusion (*moha*) with either greed (*lobha*) or aversion (*dosa*), although a combination or association between these two is never possible owing to their divergent natures.

All emotions are associations, according to the Buddha's doctrine ; and although not so long ago modern psychology classified emotions as primary manifestations of human activity, many psychologists are now inclined to doubt that emotion should be considered a primary category of human behaviour at all. Anger, aversion, hate are responses to an obstruction of some activity which is deemed necessary to satisfy a need. Joy, delight, zest are associated with achievement. Fear is an anticipation of frustration or injury. In short, emotions generally serve some purpose : anger brings out extra energy which may be useful in conquering the obstruction. Fear and anxiety intensify alertness and provide thereby additional protection. Joy and delight serve the purpose of an outlet to surplus energy, not required anymore once the goal has been achieved. In other words, emotions are expressions and indications on the one hand of increased effort to obtain the needful, or a relaxation of such effort after attainment of the object. They are forms of desire (*taṇhā*) based on the misconception of individuality ; they are expressions associated with need, which has become greed. Physical need has become psychological greed through the association of the experience of a physical need, say, hunger, with the psychological problem of the survival of the individual. This tendency of association is very happily expressed in the word *emotion*, which indicates its essential characteristic of movement towards or away from its object.

Association is one of the twenty-four modes of relative conditionality. This association-condition (*sampayutta-paccaya*) refers to the relationship in which phenomena are placed which arise simultaneously (*sahajāta*), the arising of one being dependent on the arising of the other condition ; this is also a mutual relationship (*aññamañña-paccaya*).

As classical examples of such relationship are given the various aspects of the thought-process in which sensory reception (*vedanā*), sense-perception (*saññā*) and the mental reaction (*saṅkhāra*) thereto are in a co-nascent and mutual relationship of association. *Saṅkhāra* being the collective name for fifty mental factors or concomitants (*cetasika*), which together with sensation (*vedanā*) and perception (*saññā*) constitute the comprehensive total of mental phenomena, it is evident that each and every thought-unit (*citta*) of the mental process of thinking is primarily a 'bundle of composites'

(*suddha-saṅkhāra-puñja* : *S.* I, 135). And these composites, by the very fact of their being 'bundled' together, are associated in relationship. It is such association which constitutes individuality ; and as this association is always changing its relationship within every fresh thought, it is obvious that there is nothing of a permanent nature in the individual. New evaluations constitute also transformation which is not a mere change of attributes of an unchanging core or substance. For, here the individual is nothing but relationship which is a constantly permuting association. The change of relationship will often be a gradual one in which association is not fully broken off and renewed elsewhere; hence, the change will pass virtually unnoticed and even leave the impression of continuance, until the shift is so marked that a new alignment becomes essential.

Thus, rebirth is spoken of when a departing thought (*cuti-citta*) takes up again the link (*paṭisandhi*) in the process of consciousness (*citta-vīthi*), i.e., when new associations are formed in a more general and less gradual way.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ASSURANCE. See ABHINĪHĀRA.

ASSU SUTTA, the third sutta of the first chapter of the *Anamatagga Saṃyutta*, preached by the Buddha at Sāvatthi (*S.* II, 179 f.). The beginning of this *saṃsāra* (round of rebirth) is incalculable and the flood of tears shed by a person on various sorrowful occasions in this *saṃsāra* is greater than the waters of the ocean. This fact alone should be sufficient for one to be repelled by all things of this world.

L. R. G.

ASSUTAVĀ SUTTA (*S.* II, 95–7). The Buddha tells his monks that untaught worldlings might be repelled by the body, because the change is apparent in it ; but they are not able to feel repelled by the mind, because for a long time it has been for them that which they call 'self'. It were better if they regard body, and not the mind, as self, because the body is seen persisting for a considerable length of time, unlike the mind which changes every moment.

Herein the well-taught āryan disciple gives his thought, thoroughly and systematically, to the causal law (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) that, just as from the adjusted friction of two sticks fire is born, while if there is no friction there is no fire, so from contact feeling is born and if contact ceases, feeling ceases. He realises this and attains freedom, Nibbāna.

U. K.

ASSUTAVATA SUTTA (*S.* II, 94–5) deals with the same theme as the *Assutavā Sutta* (q. v.). Here the mind is compared to a monkey which catches hold of a bough and, letting it go, seizes another.

Herein the well-taught āryan disciple gives his thought, thoroughly and systematically, to the causal law, and is repelled by the five groups of existence. He attains freedom, Nibbāna.

In these two suttas, three terms — *citta, mano* and *viññāṇa* — are used as synonyms ; and it is pointed out that the mind, whether it is called *citta* or *mano* or *viññāṇa,* is a thing that changes every moment. It is one thing now and another thing the next moment ; and so it goes on night and day like a monkey jumping from bough to bough ; the mind is quicker to change than the body.

U. K.

AṢṬABHAGINĪ, name of the gotra (clan) of the nakṣatra Revatī (Revatī Asterism, i. e., the fifth nakṣatra) mentioned in *Divy.* 641. 11 in a list of the names of brāhmaṇa gotras, detailed by Triśaṅku, a Caṇḍāla king, while explaining the origin and diversification of the brāhman class to Puṣkarasārin (=prob. Pāli : Pokkharasāti).

W. S. Kt.

AṢṬABHAYA - MOCANA - SIDDHI - GUPTASAMPUṬA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a text containing the secret amulet (*guptasampuṭa*) for acquiring freedom from the eight fears. Its Tibetan version is incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur as *Ḥjigs-pa brgyad-las thar-baḥi sgrub-pas sbas-paḥi gaḥu shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3856). Ye-śes rdo-rje (Jñānavajra) is the author of the work.

The text describes the procedure to be adopted by those who wish to be free from the fears of punishment of kings, fire, robbery and theft, beasts of prey, the female sprites called ḍākinīs, serpents, and poison. The eighth source of fear is missing in the text. For an enumeration of the eight fears elsewhere, see the *Aṣṭabhaya-trāṇa-tārā-sādhana* and the *Aṣṭabhaya-mūḍha-karaṇopāya-nāma.*

R. H.

AṢṬABHAYA - MŪḌHA - KARAṆOPĀYA - NĀMA, the Sanskrit title corresponding to the Tibetan *Ḥjigs-pa brgyad rmoṅs-par byed-paḥi thabs shes-bya-ba,* the name of a text incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 69, No. 3255), the authorship of which is ascribed to Bhakhana (Viṣāṇa). The Sanskrit title of the text as quoted in this version of the work is *Cabura-muktikaranaṃ upāyaṃ.* Other known titles of the work are *Aṣṭabhaya-mūrkha-karaṇopāya-nāma* (*TM*: No. 2413) and *Aṣṭabhaya-mukti-karaṇopāya-nāma* (*Cordier*, p. 244, No. 87).

The text contains instructions regarding the performance of a rite for obscuring the fears of serpents (Tib. *sbrul*), tigers (Tib. *stag*), robbery and theft (Tib. *chom-rkun*), arrows (Tib. *mdaḥ*), fetters (Tib. *bciṅs*), fiends (Tib. *śa-za*), water and fire. (For a similar list of the eight fears see AṢṬABHAYA-TRĀṆA-TĀRĀSĀDHANA).

The following mantras occur in the text: *Oṃ kāli kāli mahākāli maṃsaśodhani bhojani. . . . bhāsini . . . . mamaṃ paśyante manuśa ha ha hrīḥ hūṃ svāhā. Oṃ ruddhakirāṭi kiri kiri miri miri rudhra amele kṣupa kṣupa svāhā. Namo viśvamitrāya te hūta bhe ha ha stambhaya mi jili svāhā.*

R. H.

AṢṬABHAYA - MUKTI - KARAṆOPĀYA - NĀMA, the title of a text extant in its Tibetan translation. See AṢṬABHAYA-MŪḌHA-KARAṆOPĀYA-NĀMA.

AṢṬABHAYA-MŪRKHA-KARAṆOPĀYA - NĀMA, the title of a text extant in its Tibetan translation. See AṢṬABHAYA-MŪḌHA-KARAṆOPĀYA-NĀMA.

AṢṬABHAYA-TRĀṆA, the reconstructed title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥjigs-pa brgyad-las skyob-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4510). The authorship of the work is attributed to Dpal Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes (Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna).

The procedure of the worship of Tārā forms the content of the work. The worshipper should contemplate on the syllable *tāṃ*, pay obeisance to the goddess, his own teachers (Tib. *bla-ma*) and the Buddhas who become visible in the sky emanating from it, confess his sins, take refuge in the Three (Jewels), make a wishing-prayer (*praṇidhi*), chant the formula *oṃ śūnyatājñāna-vajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ* and meditate on *śūnyatā* (the emptiness of all phenomena). Then, through the efficacy of the vow made earlier, the goddess Tārā will emanate from the syllable *tāṃ*, in the middle of an eight-petalled lotus arising from the syllable *baṃ*. The text describes the form of this Tārā. She is green in colour, has one face and two arms. She displays the *varada-mudrā* (the pose of the granting of a boon) with her right hand, carries a blue lotus (*utpala*) with the left, wears a diadem on her head and sits in the *ardhaparyaṅka* attitude. The mantra to be chanted in propitiating her is *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

R. H.

AṢṬABHAYA-TRĀṆA-TĀRĀ-SĀDHANA, a sādhana text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥjigs-pa brgyad-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-maḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4503). The author of the sādhana as given in the colophon is Thams-cad mkhyen-paḥi bśes-gñen (Sarvajñamitra). A paṇḍit from Kaśmīra, called Tathāgatabhadra, and the monk Ḥphags-pa translated the work into Tibetan. The text, which begins with a salutation to Tārā, deals with the procedure of worship of the same goddess in her form of the saviour from the eight great fears (Aṣṭamahābhayatrāṇa Tārā).

As in other sādhanas the worshipper is called upon to perform the preliminary rites such as meditating on the four divine states, taking refuge in the Triple Gem, acquiring the mind of wisdom (*bodhicitta*), chanting the *svabhāvaśuddha-mantra*; viz., *Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāh sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'haṃ* and contemplating on the voidness (*śūnyatā*) of all phenomena with the recitation of the formula *Oṃ śūnyatajñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ.* Then he is enjoined to meditate on Tārā, originating from the syllable *tāṃ*. Her form is described in the text. Green in colour, she is one-faced and eight-armed. With her right hands she carries a string of beads and a jewel, and displays the gestures of *varada* (granting of a boon) and *abhaya* (fearlessness). With her left hands she carries a blue lotus (*utpala*), water-vessel (Tib. *bum-pa*) and a book, and shows the pose of granting protection (Tib. *skyabs-sbyin*). Calm in expression, she is youthful and fair and is adorned with many ornaments. This goddess should be invoked with the mantra, *Oṃ ehyehi bhagavati prasādaṃ dayāṃ kuru. Pūjāṃ gṛhṇa. Atra sannihito bhava.* Then

after making offerings to her she should be entreated as follows: *Oṃ bhagavati samayeśvari............ tāre adhiṣṭhānaṃ me kuru svāhā.* The mantra to be chanted while contemplating on this goddess is: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarvabhaya-śamani sarva-durgatitāriṇi ture svāhā.*

Eight deities who grant protection from each of the eight fears surround the principal goddess. They should be meditated upon. The text describes their forms and cites the mantras which should be chanted for invoking their protection. The descriptions of these eight goddesses and excerpts from the mantras with a few emendations in spelling are given below.

1. The saviour goddess (*Tārā*) who grants protection from the fear of lions (Tib. *seṅ-geḥi ḥjigs-pa-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *siṃha-bhayatrāṇa Tārā*) is seen on the right of the principal deity. She has a lion's face with a grinning expression, a tongue that resembles a flash of lightning, yellow eyes and yellow hair. Red in colour, she is adorned with many ornaments. The two-armed goddess displays the pose of granting fearlessness. The mantra for invoking her is: *Oṃ siṃhavadane mahādaṃṣṭre vidyujjihve, piṅgala-netre garja garjaya tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.* Cp. Siṃhāsyā or Siṃhavaktrā (B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography,* 2nd edition, p. 321).

2. On the left of the principal goddess is the Tārā who bestows safety from the fear of elephants (Tib. *glaṅ-po-cheḥi ḥjigs-pa-la skyob-paḥi sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *dvirada-bhayatrāṇa Tārā*). She is an elephant-faced, two-armed goddess, with a lofty trunk, visible tusks and a drooping belly. She is of the colour of smoke. With her two outstretched hands she displays the pose of threatening (*tarjana*). Her protection should be sought with the formula, *Oṃ dviradavadane............ mahānāse lambodare....................trāsaya trāsaya śoṣaya śoṣaya tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

3. The goddess who confers security from the fear of fire (Tib. *meḥi ḥjigs-pa-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *agnibhayatrāṇa Tārā*), seen on the right of the central deity, has a blazing face, seven mouths and seven tongues. She is two-armed and adorned with ornaments. The mantra for invoking her is: *Oṃ śikhivadane................ saptamukhe ....tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

4. The goddess, who grants protection from the fear of serpents (Tib.. *sbrul-gyi ḥjigs-pa-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *sarpa-bhayatrāṇa Tārā*) is seen on the left of the chief goddess. She has one face, two arms, a serpent's head with ten hoods and black hair. She is adorned with many ornaments. With her two hands she displays the *abhaya-mudrā.* The mantra to be chanted for seeking her favour is *Oṃ phaṇi mahāphaṇi kṛṣṇavadane..........calaya calaya .... tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

5. On the right of the principal goddess is the Tārā who confers safety from robbery and theft (Tib. *choms-rkun-gyi ḥjigs-pa-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *corabhayatrāṇa Tārā*). She has a face frowning through anger and two arms. With the right hand she carries a raised sword and shows a pointing finger with the left. The mantra for imploring her protection is: *Oṃ khaḍgahaste bhṛkuṭimukhe ūrddhvakeśe añjanavarṇe chindhi chindhi bandhi bandhi uddhāraya uddhāraya tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

6. The goddess who grants protection from iron fetters or chains (Tib. *lcags-sgrog-gi ḥjigs-pa-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *ayaḥpāśabhayatrāṇa Tārā*) is on the left of the principal Tārā. Red in colour, she has a single face and two arms. She carries a goad (*aṅkuśa*) and a noose (*pāśa*) in her right and left hands, respectively. She is adorned with ornaments. The mantra for soliciting her favour is: *Oṃ raktavarṇe pāśāṅkuśahaste mahārave mahābale sara sara visara visara gṛhṇa gṛhṇa ......tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

7. The goddess who bestows freedom from the fear of water (Tib. *chu-ḥi ḥjigs-pa-las sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *jala-bhaya-trāṇa Tārā*) is on the right of the principal goddess. She is white in colour, one-faced and two-armed. She carries an iron fetter or chain (*sṛṅkhalā*)[1] with her right hand and shows a pointing finger with her left. The mantra for supplicating her protection is *Oṃ jale jale mahājale tāraya tāraya uttāraya śṛṅkhalahaste ......mahā-kāruṇike tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

8. The eighth goddess who is on the left of the central goddess is the deity who grants protection from fiends (Tib. *śa-zhaḥi ḥjigs-pa-las sgrol-baḥi sgrol-ma,* Skt. ? *piśācabhaya-trāṇa Tārā*). This goddess, who is one-faced and two-armed is shown

1 The objects carried by the goddess who grants protection from the fears of iron fetters or chains and water are given here, as found in the Tibetan text and the Sanskrit mantras quoted. There may have been some confusion about these in the transmission of the Sanskrit text, for it would be more appropriate for the former goddess to carry the iron chain rather than the latter.

in a posture of sitting. Her body, adorned with ornaments, is of the colour of the jasmine (*kunda*) and the moon. She displays the gestures of granting a boon (*varada*) and fearlessness (*abhaya*) with her right and left hands, respectively. The mantra for imploring her protection is : *Oṃ mahā-gāmbhīrye mahākāruṇike...... vara-abhayahaste mahākundindudhavale prahasita-vadane .... tāraya tāraya tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.*

R. H.

AṢṬABHAYATRĀTA-STOTRA, the restored title of the Tibetan Text *Ḥjigs-pa brgyad skyob-kyi bstod-pa*, as quoted in a Tibetan index (*Cordier*, III, p. 72, No. 369).

AṢṬABHUJA-KURUKULLĀ-SĀDHANA, a text in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* II, pp.351–3). Indrabhūti (717 A. C.), the author of this *sādhana*, is mentioned as the king of Uḍḍiyāna, or Oḍiyāna, generally identified with Orissa (ibid. pp. li,xcix).

The *sādhana* deals with the procedure of worship of the goddess Aṣṭabhujakurukullā (the eight-armed Kurukullā). The worshipper is asked to meditate on *śūnyatā* (the voidness of all phenomena) and the like, and then contemplate on Kurukullā whose form is described. The eight-armed goddess, red in colour, sits in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude on the orb of the sun over an eight-petalled red lotus. She is decked with ornaments. With her first pair of hands, she displays the *trailokyavijayamudrā* and shows a goad (*aṅkuśa*), an arrow drawn up to the ear and the *varada-mudrā*, with her remaining right hands. In her remaining left hands, she carries a noose, a bow and a blue lotus. The goddesses Prasannatārā, Nispannatārā, Jayatārā, Karṇatārā, Cundā, Aparājitā, Pradīpatārā and Gaurī, all red in colour, sit in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude on the petals of the lotus, in the east, south, west, north, north-east, south-east, south-west and north-west directions, in respective order. Four goddesses occupy the four gates : Vajravetālī, the eastern, Aparājitā, the southern, Ekajaṭā, the western, and Vajragandhārī, the northern. For more details about Kurukullā and the twelve surrounding deities, see B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 150-1, where the *dhyāna* describing them is quoted in extenso and translated into English.

At the end of the description of Kurukullā and the surrounding divinities, the *sādhana* defines the *trailokyavijaya-mudrā*, the mystical pose displayed by the principal goddess. The mantra to be chanted, viz., *Oṃ Kurukulle hrīḥ svāhā* is quoted and the beneficial effects of chanting it are expounded.

Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja) translated the *sādhana* into Tibetan. This translation occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Rigs-byed-ma phyag brgyad-maḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4394).

R. H.

AṢṬABHUJA-PĪTA-MĀRĪCĪ-SĀDHANA, a *sādhana* text occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, pp. 281–3). It deals with the procedure of worship for the invocation of the Buddhist goddess, Aṣṭabhuja-pīta-mārīcī, the eight-armed, yellow Mārīcī.

The worshipper should sit in an easy pose, perform the preliminary rites such as washing his face, confess his sins, chant the *svabhāvaśuddha mantra*, meditate upon the voidness of all phenomena (*śūnyatā*), think of himself as Vairocana and contemplate on the eight–armed goddess, who originates from the syllable *māṃ*. Reciting the mantra *Oṃ māṃ*, he should contemplate on Mārīcī who resides within the cavity of a caitya and rides a chariot drawn by seven pigs. Below the chariot is Rāhu who originates from the syllable *haṃ*. The eight-armed, yellow-complexioned goddess Mārīcī is three-eyed and three-faced. The principal face, yellow in colour, has a lower-lip resembling the flower *bandhūka*. The face on the right is red and round, while that on the left, which is blue, bears the appearance of a sow's face, wrathful, distorted and terrible, with a frowning expression and a lolling tongue. Four attendants, Vartālī, Vadālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī, surround the goddess.

To the accompaniment of the mantra *huṃ vaṃ hoḥ*, the worshipper should adopt the mystic pose of the hands (*mudrā*) described in the text and recite the mantra *Oṃ Mārīcyai svāhā*. The *śatākṣara mantra* should then be chanted. The mystic pose of the hands should be given up after chanting the formula *Oṃ Mārīcyai muḥ.*

Bhattacharyya notes that almost all the images of Mārīcī, known so far, belong to the variety of the goddess described in this *sādhana* text (*The Indian Buddhist Iconography* by B. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1958, p. 211).

The *sādhana* has been translated into Tibetan by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja). It is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary)

section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥod-zer-can phyag brgyad-ma ser-moḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4349).

R. H.

AṢṬABUDDHAKA-(NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-) SŪTRA (*Ārya-aṣṭā°*), the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which is incorporated in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *saṅs-rgyas brgyad-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 37, No. 937).

The text contains a sermon on eight Buddhas and their Buddha-fields, preached in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta Grove at Śrāvastī, where, on one occasion were assembled a community of monks, two thousand and five hundred in number, all of them arhats, with only one exception and that was Ānanda. When Śāriputra entered the assembly and sat down, the ' three thousand great thousand ' (innumerable) worlds trembled in a sixfold manner, and there were various other miracles. In the eastern direction, there sprang up eight lotuses, golden-stalked and silver-petalled, their anthers being of the *vaiḍūrya* (cat's eye) gem. At the centre of each of the lotuses was a throne, and on each throne appeared a Buddha. Then by the power of those Buddhas, Śāriputra rose from his seat, paid obeisance to the Buddha and asked him for an explanation of the spectacle. The Buddha, addressing Śāriputra, spoke to him of the eight Buddhas and their Buddha-fields.

To the east of the present Buddha-field, beyond as many worlds as the grains of the sand of the river Ganges, is the first of these. The second is said to be to the east of this, beyond worlds numbering twice as many grains of sand as there are in the river Ganges, the third to the east of this, beyond worlds numbering three times as many grains of sand as there are in the Ganges and so on. In each Buddha-field lives a Buddha, expounding the doctrine. The names of the Buddha-fields and the Buddhas listed in this text are as follows :

Buddha-field	*Buddha*
(1) Gshal-gyis mi khyab-pa	Śin-tu yoṅs bsgrags dpal
(2) Yid ḥoṅ dgaḥ	Dbaṅ-po-ḥi tog-gi rgyal-mtshan-gyi rgyal-po (Indraketudhvaja-rāja)
(3) Sdug dgaḥ	Śin-tu rnam-par gnon-pa grags mchog dpal
(4) Sgo kun-nas ḥjug-pa	Gyul-las śin-tu rnam-par rgyal-baḥi rtsal
(5) Rnam-dag brtsegs-pa	Yon-tan bkod-paḥi dpal kun-tu snaṅ-ba
(6) Ḥgyur-med ldan	Sman-gyi rgyal-po dpal thogs-pa med-pa
(7) Spobs-pa brtsegs-pa gaṅ	Rin-po-cheḥi pad-ma-las rnam-par gnon-pas bshud-pa(? Ratnapadmavikrāmin)
(8) Sgra dbyaṅs sñan-pa (? Mañjunirghoṣa)	Rin-po-cheḥi pad-ma-la rab-tu gnas-pas laḥi rgyal-po (Ratnapadmasupratiṣṭhita-śailendra-rāja)

The Buddha declared that these Buddha-fields were free from impurities and defilements, and uninhabited by women. The world of the animals (*tiracchāna-loka*) and the world of the god of death (*yama-loka*) were unknown in those Buddha-fields and there was no danger from flies, scorpions, serpents and the like. If a householder, man or woman, were to hear the names of the eight Buddhas listed above, remember them, listen to them and impress them in his mind, he would not take birth in the three evil states, i.e., in the hells (*niraya*), the world of animals or in the world of the god of death (*yama-loka*), and would not be bereft of knowledge until the attainment of supreme enlightenment. The Buddha concluded the sutta by reciting a set of stanzas, setting out these and other beneficial effects of knowing the names of the Buddhas. At the end of the sermon, the assembly rejoiced and applauded the teaching of the Buddha.

For an enumeration of the eight Buddhas and their Buddha-fields elsewhere in Tibetan sources, see AṢṬA-MAṆḌALAKA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (2) and MAṄGALĀṢṬAKA- MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

The eight Buddhas and their Buddha-fields are described in the following Chinese works, too :

1. *Pa-chi-hsiang-shên-chou-ching* (八吉祥神咒經 *Nanjio*, No. 299; *Taishō*, No. 427), translated by Chih-ch'ien of the Wu dynasty (222-80 A. C.).

2. *Pa-yang-shên-chou-ching* 八陽神咒經 *Nanjio*, No. 300 ; *Taishō*, No. 428), translated by Dharmarakṣa of the Western Tsin dynasty (265-317 A. C.).

3. *Pa-pu-fu-ming-ching* (八部佛名經 : *Nanjio*, No. 410 ; *Taishō*, No. 429), translated by Prajñāruci of the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535 A. C.).

4. *Pa-chi-hsiang-ching* (八吉祥經 : *Nanjio*, No. 301; *Taishō*, No. 430), translated by Saṅghavarman (460-524 A. C.).

5. *Pa-fu-ming-hao-ching* (八佛名號經 : *Nanjio*, No. 302; *Taishō*, No. 431), translated by Jñānagupta (523-600 A. C.).

R. H.

AṢṬACATVĀRIṂŚATPĀDA-STOTRA, the corresponding Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Rkaṅ-pa bshi-bcu-rtsa-brgyad-paḥi bstod-pa*, incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. Śrī Jayasena and Dpal Dharma Yon-tan (Śrī Dharmaguṇa) are credited with the Tibetan translation (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 52, No. 2232). Elsewhere, Śrī Jayasena is stated to be the author and Dharmaguṇa the translator (*Cordier*, II, p. 51, No. 2).

The text is an eulogy of a deity, in forty-eight metrical lines. The deity, whose name is not mentioned, is described as one of an excellent understanding (Tib. *blo-gros chen-po*, Skt. *mahāmati*), capable of moving and agitating the three worlds, terrible and awe-inspiring with his grinning expression, a thousand eyes, a hundred thousand mouths, tongues resembling flashes of lightning and a large number of arms. He carries a battle axe, a noose, a skull and a pointed stake in his hands, wears a garment of tiger-skin and a garland of bones and makes the sounds *ha ha, hūṃ hūṃ*, and noises loud enough to shake Mt. Meru. Surrounded by wicked demons and possessing the brightness of the fire at the end of a world-cycle (*kalpa*), he takes delight in haunting large cemeteries and grants protection from evil but does harm to enemies.

In a concluding stanza the author makes a fervent wish that all beings would attain omniscience by virtue of the merit acquired by the composition of the work.

R. H.

AṢṬĀDAŚAPAṬALA-VISTARA-VYĀKHYĀ, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation known by the name of *Leḥu bco-brgyad-paḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pa* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (Skt. tantra-vṛtti—tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*Cordier*, II, p. 131, No. 2). The authorship of the work is credited to Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub); and Kumārakalaśa (Gshon-nu bum-pa) is mentioned as the one who translated the work into Tibetan. The work is not preserved in the Sde-dge edition (*TM*.).

E.H.P.

AṢṬĀDAŚA-PAṬALA-VYĀKHYĀNA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a commentarial work, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Leḥu bco-brgyad-paḥi rnam-par bśad-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 64, No. 2712). The colophon states that Zla-baḥi ḥod (Candraprabha) who was known by another name, Rin-chen rdo-rjeḥi myu-gu (Ratnavajrāṅkura) was the author of the work, while Sunayaśrīmitra (Sunyāya°, according to the Sde-dge edition. *TM*. No. 1849) and Dar-ma grags (Dharmakīrti) were the translators.

R. H.

AṢṬĀDAŚA-KARMĀNTOPADEŚA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Las-kyi mthaḥ bco-brgyad-paḥi man-ṅag*, incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. Rdo-rje go-cha (Vajravarman) is credited with the authorship of the work (Peking Ed. Tip. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3735). The title of the work has also been restored as *Aṣṭādaśa-sādhanopadeśa* (*Cordier*, II, p. 331, No. 221).

The title suggests that the work deals with an eighteenfold rite. But the text under consideration describes the procedure of performing a rite under four headings, viz., the propitiation of the deities (Tib. *bsñen-paḥi tshig*), the arrangement or preparation (Tib. *sta-gon*) for the reception of the deity, the ceremonies connected with the magic circle (maṇḍala) and (?) the prayer after the conclusion of the rite (Tib. *ṁjug-bsṅu-ba* for ? *mjug bsṅo-ba*). These four sections could be a selection from eighteen discussed in a text entitled *Aṣṭādaśa-karmāntopadeśa*.

The following fragments of mantras occur in the text: *sarvavidyā ghūrṇa ghūrṇa māraya kuru ye svāhā ; āyu-vardhane putiṅ* (? for *puṣṭiṃ*) *kuru ye svāhā*.

R. H.

AṢṬĀDAŚA-SĀHASRIKĀ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-aṣṭādaśa*°), the name of a Sanskrit text of which only fragments are known to exist (See Sten Konow, 'Central Asian fragments of the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā*° in *ASIMem*. No. 69, 1942).

A Tibetan translation of the work has been incorporated in the Śer-phyin (Prajñāpāramitā) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa khri-brgyad stoṅ-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vols. 19–20, No. 732). This edition of the text does not quote the names of the author or of the translator. The possibility of Ye-śes-sde (Jñānasena) being the translator has been suggested (*TM.* No. 10).

The earlier Tibetan authors, Bod sṅa-ma-pa, as they are referred to by Tsoṅ-kha-pa and his school, classed the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā*° as one of the six 'mother' works (Tib. *yum drug*) in the Prajñāpāramitā section of the Tibetan canon, the other five being the *Śatasāhasrikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, the *Daśasāhasrikā*, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the *Saṃcaya* (E. Obermiller, *The Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya*, Leyden, 1932, p. 8). A commentary on the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā* and two of the other Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras listed above, viz., the *Śatasāhasrikā* and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, has been ascribed to Daṃṣṭrāsena (Tib. Mche-baḥi sde) of Kaśmīra (ibid. p. 5). Another work, the *Aṣṭa-samāna-artha-śāsana* ascribed to 'Smṛtijñānakīrti, is a commentary with references to the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*, the *Śatasāhasrikā* and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (ibid. p. 10).

The title *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā* suggests that the work contains eighteen thousand verses. But the text like the *Śatasāhasrikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, the *Daśasāhasrikā* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, is in prose. Rajendralāla Mitra, who edited the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, points out that "the word 'verses' is used to indicate in the language of the Indian scribes, the extent measured by stanzas of thirty-two syllables each" (*AṣP.* p. iv).

The *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā* in its Tibetan version contains eighty-seven sections the titles of which are listed below : (1) Gleṅ-gshi (2) Sems bskyed-pa (3) Ñe-par brtag-pa (4) Mi-mñam-pa-daṅ mñam-pa (5) Ljags-kyi dbaṅ-pa (6) Rab-ḥbyor (7) Skyon-vmed-pa-la ḥjug-pa (8) Kun-tu-rgyu bzo-sbyaṅs (9) Mtshan-ma (10) Sgyu-ma lta-bu (11) Khrel-yod-pa (12) Lta-ba spaṅ-ba (13) Pha-rol-tu phyin-pa drug (14) Ma-bciṅs mgrol-ba (15) Tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdsin (16) Gzuṅs-kyi sgor ḥjug-pa (17) Sa yoṅs-su sbyaṅ-ba bya-ba (18) Theg-pa-chen-pos ṅes-par ḥbyuṅ-ba bstan-pa (19) Zil-gyis gnon-pa (20) Gñis-su med-pa (21) Gnas-brtan rab-ḥbyor (22) Brgya-byin-gyi leḥu daṅ-po (23) Rtogs-par dkaḥ-ba shes-bya-ba (24) Mthaḥ-yas-pa (25) Brgya-byin-gyi leḥu gñis-pa (26) Yoṅs-su bzuṅ-ba (27) Mchod-rten (28) Byaṅ-chub sems-kyi yon-tan yoṅs-su brjod-pa (29) Gshan mu-stegs-can (30) Ḥdsin-pa-daṅ ri-mor-byed-paḥi phan-yon (31) Sku-gduṅ (32) Bsod-nams-gyi khyad-par (33) Rjes-su-yi raṅ-po-daṅ yoṅs-su bsṅo-ba (34) Mṅon-par bsgrub-paḥi yon-tan yaṅ-dag-par bsṅags-pa (35) Sems-can dmyal-ba (36) Chos thams-cad rnam-par dag-par bstan-pa (37) Gnas-pa (38) Dmigs-su med-pa (39) Byaṅ-phyogs-kyi rgyud (40) Bdud (41) Bdud-kyi tshogs-pa-daṅ mi-ldan-pa (42) Ḥjig-rten-pa (43) Bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa (44) Ḥdus-pa (45) Gru (46) Chos-thams-cad-kyi ṅo-bo-ñid bstan-pa (47) Ḥdod-chags ḥdul-ba (48) Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi bslab-pa rnam-par gshag-pa (49) Phyir mi-ldog-pa (50) Phyir mi-ldog-paḥi rtags bstan-pa (51) Thabs-la mkhas-pa bstan-pa (52) Pha-rol-tu phyin-pa drug-gi thabs yoṅs-su rdsogs-pa (53) Gaṅ-gāḥi lha-mo luṅ-bstan-pa (54) Thabs-la mkhas-pa bsgom-pa bstan-pa (55) Rnam-par rtog-pa spaṅ-bar bstan-pa (56) Bslab-pa mñam-pa (57) Spyod-pa (58) Rnam-par mi-rtog-pa bstan-paḥi dpe brjod-pa (59) Chags-pa med-pa (60) Yoṅs-su gtaṅ-ba (61) Mi-zad-pa (62) Thod-rgal-du sñoms-par ḥjug-pa (63) Chos gñis-kyi shu-ba maṅ-po (64) Yaṅ-dag-par bstan-pa (65) Dge-baḥi bśes-gñen-la bsñen-pa daṅ bsten-pa daṅ bsñen-bkur bya-baḥi thabs (66) Thabs-la mkhas-pa bstan-pa (67) Tshul-khrims (68) Rnam-par ḥphel-ba (69) Lam bsgom-pa bston-pa (70) Mthar-gyis bya-ba daṅ bslab-pa daṅ bsgrub-pa bstan-pa (71) Mtshan-ma med-pa daṅ dmigs-su med-paḥi chos-ñid (72) Mtshan-ñid med-pa bstan-pa (73) Mtshan-daṅ dpe-byad bzaṅ-po-daṅ yi-ge mṅon-par sgrub-pa bstan-pa (74) Chos thams-cad mñan-pa-ñid-du bstan-pa (75) Mi-ḥkhrugs-pa bstan-pa (76) Sems-can yoṅs-su smin-par bya-baḥi go-cha (77) Saṅs-rgyas-kyi shiṅ yoṅs-su dag-pa bstan-pa (78) Saṅs-rgyas-kyi shiṅ yoṅs-su dag-par-bya-baḥi thabs-la mkhas-pa bstan-pa shes-bya-ba (79) Dṅos-po med-paḥi ṅo-bo-ñid bstan-pa (80) Kun-nas ñon-moṅs-pa daṅ rnam-par byaṅ-pa med-pa (81) Don dam-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor (82) Chos-ñid ḥgyur-ba med-pa bstan-pa (83) Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi slab-pa rab-tu dbye-ba (84) Bsdud-paḥi tshigs-su bcad-pa (85) Rtag-tu ṅu (86) Chos ḥphags (87) Yoṅs-su gtaṅ-ba.

The first of these sections states the venue of the discourse and the events leading to the preaching of it. The information given here corresponds to that contained in the first chapter of the *Śatasāhasrikā*. For this introductory episode as also for what follows compare the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* ed. by P. Ghoṣa, Calcutta, 1902.

The Buddha was residing at the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, states the introductory chapter of the

Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā, in the city of Rājagṛha, in the company of a large community of monks—all arhats except one, that is Ānanda—, and innumerable bodhisattvas. On one occasion the Buddha sat on a lion throne, cross-legged and straight-limbed, and attained the state of concentration (*samādhi*) called *sarvasamādhirāja*. Rising from that samādhi, the Buddha looked at this Buddha-field with his divine eye and radiated a lustre from his body. Millions of rays spread from the soles of his feet, the toes, the ankles, the calves, the knees, the hands, the shoulders, the neck, the eyes, the ears, the mouth, and so on. The radiance he thus emanated illumined the numerous worlds in all directions. Touched by those lustrous beams, the inhabitants in these worlds became destined to attain the highest knowledge, noble and supreme. The Buddha then extended his tongue and smiled and on the lustrous rays that beamed forth, there appeared thousand-petalled lotuses, beautiful to look at, sweet in smell and soft to the touch. On each of these was seated a Buddha engaged in preaching the doctrine. The six pāramitās were the subjects of their discourses. These Buddhas visited each world in each direction and preached the doctrine. They who heard them became destined to attain supreme enlightenment.

The Buddha then attained another buddha-samādhi, *siṃhavikrīḍita* by name, when the earth trembled in a sixfold manner. And at that very moment, all hells, the worlds of beasts and the worlds of the dead (*yamaloka*) disappeared. The inhabitants therein were born among human beings and gods. All these men and gods, recalling their past births, went to the Buddhas in their respective Buddha-fields and paid obeisance to them. On that occasion those born blind gained their sight, the deaf could hear, the insane became sane and the sick became healed. The Buddha remained sitting on the throne, and seeing him, all the gods approached him with celestial offerings. According to the wish of the Buddha, these offerings became accumulated in a hall in the sky above the Buddha.

Through the lustre that the Buddha Śākyamuni emanated, the people in all the worlds saw him, the arhats and the bodhisattvas. At that time a Buddha, called Ratnākara, preached the *prajñāpāramitā* in the world called Ratnāvatī in the east. The bodhisattva Samantaraśmin of that world approached him and asked him the cause for the miracles that were taking place. In reply the Buddha said that it was through the power of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni who was teaching the *prajñāpāramitā*. The bodhisattva then expressed a desire to see the Śākyamuni, to worship him and to attend on him. The Buddha approved of his wish, exhorted him to visit the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, and gave him a hundred golden lotuses to offer him. The bodhisattva offered the lotuses, conveying the greetings of the Buddha Ratnākara. The Śākyamuni accepted the flowers and scattered them in the eastern direction, whereupon the worlds in the east became visible and Buddhas appeared on the lotuses, preaching the doctrine, the topics of their discourses being the six pāramitās. All who heard the preachers were destined to attain supreme enlightenment.

Similarly the bodhisattvas Vigataśoka, Cāritramati, Jayadatta, Vijayavikrāmin, Padmahasta, Sūryapratibhāsa, Ratnottama, Padmottara and Nandadatta of the worlds Sarvaśokāpagata, Upaśāntā, Jāyā, Samādhyalaṃkṛta, Bodhimaṇḍālaṅkārasurucirā, Vigatarājasambhavā, Vaśībhūtā, Padmā and Nandā of the south, west, north, north-east, south-east, south-west, north-west, lower and upper regions, respectively, went to the Śākyamuni and offered lotuses sent by their respective Buddhas, Aśokaśrī, Ratnārci, Jāyendra, Samādhihastyuttaraśrī, Padmottaraśrī, Sūryamaṇḍalapratibhāsottamaśrī, Ekachatra, Padmaśrī and Nandaśrī. The Śākyamuni accepted these lotuses and scattered them in the respective directions when the worlds in those directions came into view and Buddhas appeared on those lotuses discoursing on the six pāramitās.

On such an occasion the Buddha addressed Śāriputra and said that bodhisattvas desirous of knowing all the doctrines (*dharmā*) should resort to the *prajñāpāramitā*. Asked as to how this should be done, the Buddha delivered a lengthy and elaborate discourse on the topic which forms the content of the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā*. Some of the Buddha's comments in the sūtra are addressed to Ānanda, Subhūti and Kauśika, the lord of gods, in elucidation of the points raised by them. The text ends with the oft repeated stanza :

ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat

teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.

A Chinese translation of the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā*, which agrees with the Tibetan, is included in a collection of sixteen sūtras called the *Ta-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to-ching* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*) in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Chinese canon (*Nanjio*, No. 1,c).

R. H.

AṢṬĀDAŚA-ŚŪNYATĀ-ŚĀSTRA, or *Aṣṭadaśākāsa-śāstra,* extant in Chinese translation, *Shih-pa-k'ung-lun* (十八空論: *Nanjio,* No. 1187; *Taishō,* No. 1616), translated by Paramārtha of the Liang dynasty (502–57 A.C.), a treatise in one fascicle which deals with the eighteen kinds of voidness, seven kinds of 'thusness' (*tathatā*) and ten kinds of superior wisdom. This is the interpretation of some parts of the chapters on *lakṣaṇa* and on *tattva* of the *Madhyānta-vibhāga-śāstra.*

The Korean edition of the Chinese translation mentions Nāgārjuna as the author of this work; but Chi-tsang (549–623 A.C.) states in his work *Fa-hua-hsüan-lun* (法華玄論) that the author of this work is Vasubandhu. Neither appears to be correct from the point of view of its contents. Hakuju Ui says that some parts of this work correspond to certain quotations from Paramārtha's work *Chung-pien-fên-pieh-lun-shu* (中邊分別論疏: a commentry on the *Madhyānta-vibhāga-śāstra*), quoted in the *Chieh-shên- mi-ching-shu* (解深密經疏: a commentary on the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra*) by Yüan-ts'ê (613–96 A.C.) and in the *Ch'êng-wei-shih-lun-shu-chi* (成唯識論述記, a commentary on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*) by K'uei-chi (632–82 A.C.). Therefore, Paramārtha should be considered as the author and not as the translator of this work.

K.TMR.

AṢṬĀDAŚAVAKRA, one of a group of seven mountains from which the river Aṣṭādaśavakrikā flows, on the way to Badaradvīpa, mentioned to Supriya the charioteer by a goddess who instructed Supriya to go to Badaradvīpa to earn a fortune (*Divy.* 103. 2; 106. 26, 28).

AṢṬĀDAŚAVAKRIKĀ, name of the river that flows from the mountain Aṣṭādaśavakra on the way to Badaradvīpa, mentioned to Supriya the charioteer by a goddess who instructed Supriya to go to Badaradvīpa to earn a fortune (*Divy.* 106. 28; 107. 1).

AṢṬADEVĪ-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-aṣṭa°*), the Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Ḥphags-pa lha-mo brgyad-kyi gzuṅs,* occurring twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 7, No. 196; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 624). The Tibetan translation is attributed to Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde. The work contains eight dhāraṇīs for the propitiation of the eight goddesses, whose names are listed below, along with their respective dhāraṇīs.

(1) Ye-śes chen-por dbaṅ bskur ldan-pa: *namaḥ sarva-tathāgate-bhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarvathā he buddhamātari sarvapāpanāśani garja garja bhañja bhañja marda marda ? gamari galhari hasa hasa dama dama matha matha vidhvansaya vidhvansaya sarva-śatrūn ? tarmati vimale pūraya pūraya pratirañjana sarva-buddhaparyupasite bhagavate gana gana jahi jahi bimsani kramaṇi dhabani dhabani ramaṇi ramaṇi mātaṅgi ge svāhā.* (2) Rdo rjeḥi dbyiṅs-kyi dbaṅ phyug-ma (Vajradhātvīśvarī): *namaḥ sarvatathāga-tebhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarvathā amari amari taṭa bhañja bhañja jha jha mici mici sphoṭaya spho-ṭaya matha matha duradānta ? nahadmaka svāhā namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarva-thā he he ga ni de sarvatathāgata bhaneke bodhindade trāṭa trāṭa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ garja garja paramati bihūrike svāhā namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarvathā bhagavati prajñāpāra-mite sarvapāpa akarijñāne arciṣbaraṇi bhañja bhañja matha matha dama dama ānaya ānaya sara sara māraya māraya sarvabuddhajanetrīye svāhā namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarva-thā garja garja matha matha dhama dhama bhañja bhañja dundubhisarvanirghoṣe hana hana vidhvan-saya vidhvansaya moṭaya moṭaya daha daha vipula-nirmalanirjāte āhara āhara gaccha gaccha sarva-buddhaparyupasite mā mā vilamba svāhā.* (3) So-sor ḥbraṅ-ba chen-mo: *namaḥ sarvatathāgate-bhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarvathā oṃ bhagavati sarvatathāgatajñānike pūraya pratijñāna taṭa taṭa marda marda āhara āhara hūṃ hūṃ jati svāhā.* (4) Rdo-rje mi ḥpham-ma (? Vajra-aparājitā): *namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarvathā hūṃ hri sarvabuddhamātari bhañja bhañja mathā mathā damani damani gargāri gargāri hri svāhā.* (5) Sdig-pa thams-ced spoṅ-ba (? Sarva-pāpaviśod-dhanī): *namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhebh-yaḥ sarvathā trāta trāta muhu muhu sarvapāpavi-śodhani svāhā.* (6) Gdul dkaḥ-ma (? Durdāntā): *namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarva-thā dhaka dhaka moṭa moṭa daha daha sarvatathāgata-jñanirjite svāhā.* (7) Bdud thams-cad rnam-par ḥjoms-ma (? Sarvamāravināśinī): *namaḥ sarvata-thāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhebhyaḥ sarvathā ha ha mi hu mi hu dama dama khāhi khāhi dhuna dhuna mi ci mi ci durdānta-damanı svāhā.* (8) Sgo mthaḥ-yas sgrub-pa: *namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ sarvamukhe-bhyaḥ sarvathā mici mici garja garja sphoṭaya spho-ṭaya matha matha dama dama svāhā.*

He who knows the dhāraṇī will be rid of impurities and fear. He will experience no harm from robbers and thieves or enemies. Quarrels will not affect him. Weapons will not touch him. He will not have any fear of untimely death. He will always be prosperous. The virtues amassed

by a million Buddhas, he will understand in one day. After death he will be born in Sukhāvatī.

Hearing this exposition of the Buddha, gods, men, asuras and gandharvas rejoiced and applauded.

R. H.

AṢṬADEVĪ-MAṆḌALĀBHIṢEKA, the reconstructed title of the Tibetan text, the *Lha-mo brgyad-kyi dkyil-ḥkhor-du dbaṅ-bskur-ba,* occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3771). The authorship of the work is attributed to Dpal Mar-me-mdsad bzaṅ-po (Śrī Dīpaṅkarabhadra).

The text deals with the ceremony of consecration in the magic circle (*maṇḍala*) of the eight goddesses. Instructions for drawing the maṇḍala are given. A red eight-petalled lotus is to be drawn in a square. This should have a blue centre and a yellow rim. The surrounding courtyard should be white. Four gateways should also be drawn, at each of which a peg of 'khadira' (*acacia catechu*) wood should be posted. The tops of these should be wrapped with silk ribbons. Nine water-vessels (Tib. *bum-pa*) should be decorated and placed in their positions. The symbols of each deity should be drawn with saffron and vermilion. The deities should then be invited to take their places in the water-vessels. An enumeration of the names of the deities and short descriptions of each follow. Rdo-rje occupies the water-vessel in the centre. Blue in colour, this deity clasps a water-vessel to the chest with both hands. The mouth of the vessel is set with diamonds and the body of it adorned with jewels of different kinds. Eight goddesses occupy the eight directions. The white goddess Mu-tig of the east holds a *śrīvatsa* (Tib. *dpal beḥu,* a particular auspicious mark) to her chest with both hands. The goddess of the south-east, Ḥjoms-byed, who is also white, carries a wheel (*cakra*). Rgya-ba of the south is blue in colour. She carries a lotus (*padma*) with both hands. Also blue in colour, the goddess of the south-west, Rnam-rgyal (? *Vijayā*) by name, carries a banner of tiger-skin with her two hands. The goddess of the west is red and her name is Dkar-śam. She carries an umbrella in her two hands, while the red-complexioned Mdaṅs-can (? *Tejasvī*) of the north-west holds a golden water-vessel with both her hands. Yid-gshuṅs-ma of the north, greenish-yellow in colour, carries a conch-shell. Yid-bzaṅs-ma of the north-east is of the same colour. She carries the *svastika,* an auspicious symbol. All these goddesses are said to be adorned with jewels of various kinds.

The worshipping priest is enjoined to meditate on these deities, invoke them with incantations, make offerings, sing their praise and beseech them to fulfil his desires. A mantra to be chanted in the course of the ceremony is quoted, viz., *Oṃ matisthira vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ sutisthira vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ pratisthira vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ aprativajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ amoghavajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ ehi vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ śīghraṃ vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ....vajra hūṃ phaṭ.*

Offerings to the guardians of the quarters and to evil spirits should also be made, subsequent to which the pupil student (Tib. *slob-ma*) should enter the maṇḍala and be consecrated.

R. H.

AṢṬAGRAHA-SARVASIDDHA-KARMA-SĀDHAKA-VIDHI-KĀMA-PRAŚĀNTI-NĀMA, the reconstructed title of a text occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, viz., the *Gzaḥ brgyad-kyi las ma-grub-pa-rnams grub-par-byed-paḥi cho-ga ḥdod-pa rab-tu shi-ba shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed.Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3859). The authorship of the work is attributed here to Dpal Mar-me mdsad bzaṅ-po (Śrī Dīpaṅkarabhadra). But the Sde-dge edition cites the name Ye-śes rdo-rje (Jñānavajra) as that of the author (*TM.* No. 3035).

The text describes the procedure of a rite that should be performed by those who wish to propitiate the planets (*graha*) and acquire beneficial effects. The worshipper should draw a maṇḍala, post eight pegs of 'khadira' (acacia) wood within it, write the mantras of the planets on them, smear their tops with blood, and prepare offerings of flesh and blood. The offerings are to be made to the accompaniment of the chanting of mantras and favours solicited. These, the text states, will be granted without fail, if the rites are duly performed.

R. H.

AṢṬA-GRANTHA, a name for *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyanīputra. See JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA.

AṢṬAKA, a former birth of Śāriputra. See AṢṬAMAKA (2).

AṢṬAKRODHA-MAṆḌALĀBHIṢEKA, the possible Sanskrit equivalent of the Tibetan title, ***Khro-bo brgyad-kyi dkyil-ḥkhor-du dbaṅ-bskur-ba,*** **of**

a text incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol.79, No. 3770). The author of the work is Dpal Mar-me mdsad (Śrī Dīpaṅkara).

The text describes the procedure of consecration in the magic circle (maṇḍala) of the eight *krodha* deities. Instructions for the drawing of the maṇḍala are given and the names of the *krodha* deities, each of whom is associated with a particular direction, are cited. They are: (1) Rdo-rje rnam-par ḥjoms-pa, the principal deity, presumably of the east, (2) Bdud-rtsi ḥkhyil-ba (Amṛtakuṇḍalī or Amṛtāvarta) of the south-east, (3) Gnod-mdse of the south, (4) Khro-bo mṅon mtho of the south-west, (5) Rta-mgrin (Hayagrīva) of the west, (6) Gshan-gyis mi thub-pa of the north-west, (7) Gtum-po (? Caṇḍa or Bhīṣaṇa) of the north and (8) Gśin-rje (Yama) of the north-east.[1]

Two mantras to be chanted in the course of the ceremony are quoted in the text. They are: (i) *namo ratnatrayāya namaścaṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye oṃ magha magha vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ dhuna dhuna vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ daha daha vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ paca paca vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ dhāra dhāra vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ dharaya dharaya vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ dhāruṇa dhāruṇa vajra hūṃ phaṭ oṃ chinda chinda vajra hūṃ phaṭ*; (ii) *sarvagrahe svāhā sarvadurasvapa svāhā sarvabhikalpa svāhā sarvajvare svāhā.*

R. H.

AṢṬĀKṢAṆA-KATHĀ, the title in Sanskrit of a Tibetan text occurring in the Dbu-ma (Madhyamaka) and the Gtam-yig (Parikathā and Lekhā) sections of the Tengyur. Rta-dbyaṅs (Aśvaghoṣa) is stated to be the author of the work while Śrī Ajitabhadra and Śākya-ḥod are named as the translators (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 103, No. 5423 ; ibid. Vol. 129, No. 5667).

The text enumerates the eight obstacles to happiness (Tib. *mi khom-pa*, Skt. *akṣaṇa*). These are the eight inopportune births, births under such circumstances that one cannot learn from a Buddha. These, as cited here, are birth in (1) hells, (2) the world of animals, (3) the world of departed spirits (*preta*), (4) birth among gods who enjoy very long life (*dīrghajīvi-deva*), (5) birth in barbarous border countries, (6) birth with defective faculties of mind or body, (7) birth as adherents of heretical doctrines, and (8) birth in regions where the Tathāgata has not made an appearance.

The *akṣaṇa* states are also listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (2299–2306) and the *Dharmasaṅgraha* (*BHS*. s.v. *akṣaṇa*). Known as *akkhaṇa* in Pali, inopportune births, eight in number, are listed in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 287) and in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 225, 19 ff.). Elsewhere, the *Dīgha Nikāya* quotes a list of nine, the additional state being birth as an asura (III, 263).

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀBHAYA-TĀRĀ, a form of the goddess Tārā as the defender from the eight great fears or dreads (Tib. Sgrol-ma ḥjigs-pa-brgyad-skyobs). In this aspect her figure is expressed in eight forms as the spiritual consort (śakti) of Avalokiteśvara. The eight Tārās of Nyima-sba pas (surajgupta) are also founded on it (L. A. Waddell in *JRAS*. for 1894, pp. 88 f.). In iconography the goddess is particularly distinguished by being seated in the position of *ardhaparyaṅka* (or *mahārājalīlā*). In this position one leg is laid on the seat and folded inward towards the thigh of the other leg, which itself is so bent as to rest the sole flat on the seat. She is also accompanied by ten goddesses who originate from the ten syllables of the Tārā-mantra (*Oṃ Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*), and have the identical appearance of the goddess herself (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd ed., p. 308). The goddess is described in the *Āryāṣṭamahābhayatārā-sādhana* of the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, pp. 207-8). See AṢṬAMAHĀBHAYATĀRĀ-SĀDHANA.

D. T. D.

AṢṬAMAHĀBHAYATĀRAṆĪ-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-Aṣṭa°*), the title of a work, the Tibetan version, of which occurs twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kanjur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T.Suzuki Vol. 8, No. 396 and ibid. Vol. 11, No. 556), under the

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1 The *krodha* deities figure in several maṇḍalas of the *Nispannayogāvalī*, where they are eight or ten in number. They are enumerated and described in the *Mañjuvajra maṇḍala* (*Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949. text pp. 1-2; Introd. pp. 33-4), the *Akṣobhya maṇḍala* as described in the *Piṇḍīkarma tantra* (ibid. Text p. 6; Introd. p. 36), the *Vajrahūṃkāra maṇḍala* (ibid. text pp. 24-5 ; Introd. p. 44), the *Tricatvāriṃśadatmaka-mañjuvajra maṇḍala* (ibid. text pp. 52-3 ; Introd. p. 59) and the *Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara maṇḍala* (ibid. text p. 60 ; Introd. pp. 63-4)

title *Ḥphags-pa ḥjigs-pa chen-po brgyad-las sgrol-ba shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs*. The text contains the dhāraṇī : *dhare dhare dhāre dhāraṇī . . . . abhayākalpe kalpani . . . . anantakalpe amṛtakalpe hutāśane anantamukhe anantacakṣusamudgate oṃ bha svāhā*. This spell, it is stated, was uttered by the Buddha for the welfare of people born in evil existences, and is efficacious in granting freedom from eight fears—the fears of hells (*niraya*), the world of animals, the world of the god of death (*Yama*), the world of the departed spirits (*preta*), deserts and wilderness, birth, disease and death. The text ends with the formula : *namaḥ sarva . . . siddhantu me mantravādāḥ svāhā*.

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀBHAYA-TĀRĀ-SĀDHANA (*Āryāṣṭa°*), a sādhana text occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, pp. 207–8). The author pays obeisance to Aṣṭamahābhaya-tārā, the mere recollection of whom dispels the eight fears, and then expounds the procedure of worship of the same goddess. The worshipper should confess his sins, take refuge in the three (jewels), meditate on *śūnyatā* (voidness of all phenomena) and then contemplate on the single-faced, youthful deity, who, decked with many ornaments, sits in the *ardhaparyaṅka* posture, showing the *varada-mudrā* with her right hand and carrying a blue lotus (*utpala*) in her left. He should also meditate on the eight white goddesses in the intermediate space, who bear the same form as Tārā, chanting the following mantra : *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā. Oṃ svāhā pūrve oṃ tā svāhā, dakṣiṇe, oṃ re svāhā paścime, oṃ tu svāhā uttare, oṃ ttā svāhā vahnikoṇe, oṃ re svāhā nairṛtyāṃ, oṃ, tu svāhā vāyavye, oṃ re svāhā eiśanyām*.

Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja) translated the work into Tibetan. This translation occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥphags-ma ḥjigs-pa chen-po brgyad-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-maḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4314).

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀBHAYOTTĀRĀ-TĀRĀSTAVA (*Āryāṣṭ°*), the title of a work, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥphags-ma sgrol-ma ḥjigs-pa chen-po brgyad-las sgrol-baḥi bstod-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 86, No. 4873). The authorship of the work is ascribed to Dpal Btsun Zla-ba (Śrī Candragomin).

The text which begins with a salutation to Tārā contains ten verses in praise of her. In the opening stanza, the author quotes his own name and declares his intention to compose a work eulogising Tārā, who, revered by gods (*sura*) and their opponents (*asura*) alike, look with compassion on those born in evil states. The eight stanzas that follow refer in terms of praise to the power of the mere thought of Tārā in averting the eight fears. Lions seen on the highways, their paws red, besmeared with the blood of the elephants they killed, disappear into the thick forest at the thought of Tārā. Elephants in rut are overpowered by calling her to memory. The mention of Tārā's name is sufficient to extinguish blazing fires fanned by strong winds. Serpents, who come out from their hollows and frequent the paths, turn back subdued at the thought of her. If a person were to think of Tārā on encountering armed thieves on a highway, he shall reach home safely before long. Those taken prisoner will have their fetters shattered to a hundred pieces at the recollection of Tārā. Even if a ship becomes wrecked in the middle of the ocean, so full of frightening sea-monsters, it is no reason for fear, if Tārā be recalled in one's mind. The evil spirits (*vetāla*) who find delight in bodies of the dead become subjugated when one remembers Tārā.

In the tenth stanza, the concluding one in the text, the author expresses the wish that the merit gained by composing the work would spread over the whole world.

For an enumeration of the eight fears from which Tārā grants protection, similar to if not identical with those given here, see AṢṬABHAYA-TRĀṆA-TĀRĀ-SĀDHANA.

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀDEVA-MAṆḌALĀBHISEKA-SAṄMĀRGA-DEŚAKA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Lha chen-po brgyad-kyi dkyil-ḥkhor-du dbaṅ-bskur-ba legs-paḥi lam ston-par byed-pa shes-bya-ba* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3780). The authorship of the work is credited to Dpal Marme-mdsad bzaṅ-po (Śrī Dīpaṅkarabhadra).

The text expounds the procedure for the ceremony of consecration in the magic circle (*maṇḍala*) of the eight great gods (*mahādeva*). Instructions for the drawing of the maṇḍala are given. At the completion of the preliminary rites, an eight-petalled red lotus with a blue centre and a yellow rim

should be drawn on a raised stand at a chosen spot. There should be a court-yard with gateways. The following symbols should be drawn at each of the directions: a trident (*triśūla*) in the east, a lotus (*padma*) in the west, a wheel (*cakra*) in the north, a three-pointed *vajra* in the south, an arrow in the south-east, the tusks of an elephant in the south-west, a noose in the north-west and a lance (*śūla*) in the north-east. Further instructions enjoin the worshipper to place nine water-vessels, adorned and bearing the symbols of each deity. Pegs of *khadira* wood should be embedded at the corners and the sides. The principal deity should then be invited with the magic formula (*mantra*), *dzaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ*. The mantras for inviting the eight subordinate deities of the maṇḍala are also quoted. The gestures of the hands to be adopted in doing so are specified and short descriptions of the deities are given.

Mahādeva should be invited with the formula *oṃ ru svāhā* with a gesture showing the left hand touching the skull and three fingers in the right bent to appear like a *triśūla* (trident). This deity is pale green in colour and has one face and two hands. He holds a three-pointed spear (*triśūla*) with his right hand and a skull with his left. He has bristling hair, goggle-eyes and a grinning expression.

Brahmā should be summoned with the formula, *oṃ oṃ svāhā*, with the left hand shaped like a lotus and the thumb of the right hand pressed against the heart. The single-faced and two-armed Brahmā, who is white in colour, carries a red lotus (*padma*) in his left hand and a conch-shell in his right. He has bristling hair and a grinning expression.

Viṣṇu should be invoked with the mantra, *oṃ bhī svāhā*, with the worshipper's left hand posed to form a wheel and the right showing the gesture of wielding a staff. The nine-faced and smoke-coloured Viṣṇu has his hair twisted into a single plait. He has a gaping mouth, carries a wheel in his left hand and brandishes a jewelled staff with his right.

Indra's presence should be solicited with the mantra *oṃ i svāhā*. While chanting this *mantra* the worshipper should let the thumb and the fore-finger of the right hand touch each other and keep the three other fingers apart (The pose to be adopted with the left hand is not mentioned).[1] The yellow-complexioned Indra, who is adorned with many ornaments, has one face and two arms. A three-pointed *vajra* which he carries in his right hand and a garland (*mālā*) in his left are his symbols.

Oṃ gaṃ svāhā is the formula for inviting Kāmadeva, a single-faced and two-armed god, dark-bay in colour. Embellished with ornaments, he carries the bow and arrow in his left and right hands, respectively. The thumb and the middle fingers of both hands should be bent and the rest of the fingers posed like an arrow, while supplicating this god.

Gaṇeśa should be summoned with the formula *oṃ ga svāhā*. The worshipper should have clenched fists and the fore-fingers of both hands pointed to appear like the tusks of an elephant. A single-faced and two-armed deity, Gaṇeśa is black in colour. He is adorned with the bones of serpents. He carries the tusks and hide of an elephant with his right and left hands, respectively.

Both hands outstretched, the worshipper should invoke Mahākāla (Śiva), chanting the formula, *oṃ bhī svāhā*. Black in colour, he is strong-limbed. He has bristling hair, pointed teeth, a single face and two arms. He carries a noose in his hands.

Kārttikeya, a green-complexioned, single-faced and two-armed god who holds a lance with both hands should be invited with the formula *oṃ ga svāhā*, the worshipper adopting the pose of brandishing a lance.

Offerings should then be made to these gods, who would take their places in the respective vessels. Their praise should be sung and favours solicited. Subsequently the pupil student (Tib. *slob-ma*) is enjoined to enter the maṇḍala, chant the formula *oṃ pratīccha dhaṃ mahāsajjho vajradhara ājñāpaya ha ha ho*, make offerings and be consecrated with the water in the vessels. Offerings to the guardians of the quarters and other deities are to be made at the conclusion of the ceremony.

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀGRAHA-MAṆḌALĀBHIṢEKA-VIDHI-ARKARASĀYANA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a work, the Tibetan version of

1 The gestures that the worshipper is enjoined to make in this text appear to correspond to the poses of the hands of the deities adopted in carrying their symbols. The pose prescribed for the right hand in this instance seems to be more suitable for carrying the garland, which the deity does with the left hand, rather than for holding the vajra. It may, therefore, be suggested that the text is corrupt here and the pose of the right hand, and not the left, is unspecified.

which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tenygur, under the title *Gzaḥ chen-po brgyad-kyi dkyil-ḥkhor-du dbaṅ-bskur-baḥi cho-ga ñi-ma bcud-len shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3778). The authorship of the work is attributed to Dpal Mar-me-mdsad (Śrī Dīpaṅkara).

The text contains injunctions on the procedure of consecration in the magic circle (*maṇḍala*) of the eight great planets. Instructions for drawing the maṇḍala are set out at the beginning of the text. Nine water-vessels, one in the centre for the principal deity and eight others in the directions for the eight planets, are required to be placed in the maṇḍala. Then the deities are to be invoked. The poses of the hands (*mudrā*) to be adopted in doing so and the mantras to be chanted are given in the text. Short descriptions of the deities also occur.

Rnam-ḥjoms, the principal deity in the centre, is to be invoked with the mantra, *oṃ namo caṇḍa-vajrapāṇaye hūṃ*, the worshipper forming both hands into the shape of a wheel. This white-complexioned deity, who is adorned with ornaments, carries a wheel in his right hand and a water-vessel (Tib. *bum-pa*) in the left.

Śukra (Venus) in the east, red in colour and adorned with ornaments, is to be invoked with the formula, *namo ratipiya sarvasva ta lha lṅa naya karana rgyanata kara hi hi ga svāhā*, with the right hand posed to form the shape of a lotus.

Candra (Moon) of the west is white in colour, and rides a goose. He carries a lotus and has near him a woman carrying drum-sticks. While invoking him with the mantra, *namaś caṇḍayaśi ha ha prabhāvamālini svāhā*, the worshipper should fold his left hand, stretch the thumb and fore-finger and form the shape of a half moon.

Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) of the south, white in colour, sits on the surface of the moon. He wears a yellow silk upper garment, carries a book (*pustaka*) with his left hand, and adopts the pose of teaching the dharma with his right. While invoking him with the mantra, *namo devaguru bhakiśaya parasyatyena ha ga ri ri svāhā*, the worshipper should fold his left hand and show the pose of granting a boon (*varada mudrā*) with the right.

Budha (Mercury) of the north is yellow-complexioned and adorned with many ornaments. He carries a blue lotus (*utpala*) in his left hand, shows the *varada mudrā* with his right, and sits on a lotus seat. Both hands clasped, the worshipper should invoke him with the mantra, *namo upā rājaya sarvasatva pajalaya svāhā.*

Maṅgala (Mars) of the south-east, white in colour and adorned with ornaments, carries a sword in his right hand and a *chan-gri* (? Tib.) with his left. While invoking him with the mantra, *namo bhusutaragatamabya sriyagarata aparanaya svāhā.* The worshipper should fold his right hand and make a sign (Tib. *mtshan-ma*) with the fore-and middle fingers.

Rāhu of the south-west, dark-grey in colour, stands on a human head, with the lower part of the body resembling a coiled serpent. He carries the bow and arrow with his right hand and a vessel of jewels with his left. The worshipper should form the shape of a vessel with his left hand while invoking him with the mantra, *namo bhiśama gaismra śi jalita acaśa svāhā.*

Āditya (Sun) of the north-west, red in colour, rides a horse and carries a lotus. Both hands folded, with the thumbs and the little fingers (Tib. *mtheḥu chuṅ*) stretched, the worshipper should chant the mantra, *oṃ ma ka śopaya svāhā.*

Śanaiścara (Saturn) of the north-east is black. Clad in red garments, he carries a sword with his right hand and a noose with his left. The mantra for inviting him is *namo bha hiri ga ma mahāya naka sa svāhā.* While chanting this the worshipper should have his hands clasped.[1]

A mantra for invoking all the eight deities is quoted in the text, with the injunction that it be chanted a hundred and eight times. The mantra with a few minor emendations follows: *oṃ śu svāhā oṃ so svāhā oṃ bṛ svāhā oṃ bu svāhā oṃ maṃ svāhā oṃ rā svāhā oṃ ā svāhā oṃ śa svāhā.* It may be noted that the syllables occurring between *oṃ* and *svāhā* in each phrase are the first syllables of the names of the eight planets. *So* in the second phrase appears to stand for Soma, another name for Candra.

1 Ten planets are enumerated in the *Kālacakra maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta, (ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949, text p. 91; Introd. p. 84). Ketu and Kālāgni are the additional planets in that list. Nine planets are cited in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīś- vara maṇḍala* of the same text, Ketu being the additional planet (ibid. text pp. 62-ᵃ; Introd. p. 65). Short descriptions of the planets are given , ve, which, however, do not always agree with the descriptions occurring in our text. The forms of the nine planets as they appear in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara maṇḍala* are described by B. Bhattacharyya in the *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, (Calcutta, 1958, pp. 367-78).

The text contains another mantra to be chanted in the course of the ceremony, viz., *oṃ mahākāle vegarana acite jvala jvala tiṭi tiṭi tiṅgale daha daha tejavati tili tili hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀNĀGA-MAṆḌALĀBHIṢEKA-VIṢA-JIN-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Klu chen-po brgyad-kyi dkyil-ḥkhor-du dbaṅ-bskur-ba dug-las rgyal-ba shes-bya-ba,* incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3781). The colophon cites the name Mar-me-mdsod (Dīpaṅkara) as that of the author.

The work contains injunctions for the rite of consecration in the magic circle (*maṇḍala*) of the eight great serpents. The maṇḍala to be drawn by the worshipper is described at the beginning of the text. It should have an eight-petalled lotus in the centre, a red court-yard, four gate-ways and an outer rim with a serpent coiled round it. Eight water-vessels for the serpent deities and a ninth for the principal deity are required to be adorned with their respective symbols and placed in the maṇḍala.

While invoking the serpent deities with different magic formulas, the worshipper is enjoined to pose his hands to form the shape of the hood of a serpent. The eight serpent deities of the maṇḍala and the information given of them in this text are as follows: (1) Ananta is a yellow-complexioned deity, single-faced and two-armed, with a jewel on the head and seven hoods. Adorned with ornaments, he has a snake coiling around the lower part of his body. The noose and the bow that he carries in his right and left hands, respectively, are his symbols. The mantra for invoking him is *oṃ pluḥ svāhā.* The direction associated with him, though not mentioned in the text, should be the east. (2) Takṣaka of the south is to be invoked with the mantra *oṃ ba svāhā.* This deity also is white in colour. Like Ananta, he carries a noose in his right hand and a lotus in the left. (3) The red-complexioned Karkoṭa of the west is to be invoked with the mantra *oṃ bhūṃ svāhā.* (4) Ulika (? for Kulika) is the deity of the north. His colour is pale red and the mantra *oṃ pha svāhā.* (5) Vāsukī of the south-east, brown in colour, is to be invoked with the mantra *oṃ phi svāhā.* (6) Śaṅkhapāla of the south-west, pale green in colour, is to be invoked with the mantra *oṃ phe svāhā.* (7) The deity of the north-west is Padma. His colour is green and the mantra is *oṃ phaṇi svāhā.* (8) The colour of the deity of the north-east is reddish green and the mantra is *oṃ phehu svāhā.* The name of this god is not mentioned.

The serpent gods are enumerated in the descriptions of the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta, (ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949, text p. 63, Introd. p. 65) and the *Kālacakra maṇḍala* (ibid. text p. 90, Introd. p. 83). Mahāpadma of the lists in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* appears to be the missing name of the eighth deity in the present text.

The names of the nāgas are also cited in the *Aṣṭaśmaśāna-nāma* (q.v.) and the *Aṣṭaśmaśānākhyāna-nāma* (q.v.).

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀPADAMŪLA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan work, *Gnas brgyad chen-poḥi rtsa-ba,* occurring in the No-mtshar bstan-bcos (Āścarya-śāstra) section of the Tengyur. Khyi-ḥbrug (Śvanada) is the author of the text (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 144, No. 5836).

The text, a grammatical work, deals with the classification of words into eight sections. These eight sections, as cited in the text, are (1) byed-paḥi gnas, (2) bsdu-baḥi gnas, (3) bsgyur-baḥi gnas, (4) draṅ-baḥi gnas, (5) ḥjug-paḥi gnas, (6) rnam-par dbye-baḥi gnas, (7) phyogs-kyi gnas and (8) dṅos-poḥi gnas. The sub-divisions of each of the sections are enumerated and discussed, with examples quoted in particular instances.

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀSIDDHI, the eight great magical powers taught by Asaṅga (circa 500 A.C.) on the basis of the Yoga system of Patañjali (circa 150 B.C.) and introduced into China by Hsüan-tsang in the seventh century A.C.

Patañjali's Yoga system of the ecstatic union of the individual with the Supreme Self, Īśvara, taught spiritual advancement by deep concentration, amounting to self-hypnosis. The meditator was expected to consecrate himself morally to Īśvara and concentrate upon one point with a view to annihilate thought. With the developments brought about mainly by Asaṅga, there were further additions to this teaching. Hence, this meditation has to be accompanied by appropriate mystic formulas and spells (*dhāraṇī* and *mantra*) and also by music and the correct manipulation of hands

(*mudrā*). It is from this that the meditator obtains the power to work miracles and consequently the eight great powers of *siddhi* are developed. These eight are ability to make one's body lighter (*laghiman*), heavier (*gariman*), smaller (*aṇiman*), larger (*mahiman*) than anything else in the world, to reach any place (*prāpti*), assume any shape (*prākāmya*), control all natural laws (*īśitva*) and make everything depend upon oneself (*vaśitva*), all at pleasure of will, by magic power.

These mystic doctrines, as developed and improved by Asaṅga, are found in his treatise *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, which is available only in its Chinese version. It was Hsüang-tsang who translated the work into Chinese and thereby introduced the doctrine into China. On the basis of this text Amoghavajra established the Chinese branch of the school in the eighth century A.C., and this system was a combination of Brāhmanism, Śaivism and the doctrine of the Dhyāni-buddhas with the Mahāyāna philosophy. This was further popularised by Vajrabodhi in the eighth century.

A. G. S. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. E. Soothhill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 89. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, p. 141.

AṢṬAMAHĀSTHĀNACAITYA-STOTRA, the title in Sanskrit of two different Tibetan texts occurring in the Bstod-tshogs (stotra-gaṇa) section of the Tengyur; under the title *Gnas chen-po brgyad-kyi mchod-rten-la bstod-pa*. Both works contain stanzas for the adoration of the eight great shrines. Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna) is said to be the author of the two works. Tilaka and Pa-tshab Ñi-ma-grags were the translators according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. Nos. 1133, 1134).

The eight great shrines listed in the first of the Tibetan works (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 46, No. 2024) are : (1) the caitya at Lumbini in Kapilavastu, the Buddha's birth-place, (2) the caitya in the vicinity of the Bodhi-tree on the bank of the river Nairañjana in Magadha, sitting under which the Buddha attained enlightenment,(3) the caitya at Kāśī in Bārāṇasī where the Buddha turned the wheel of the Law, (4) the caitya at the Jeta Grove in Śrāvastī, where the Buddha showed great supernatural power, (5) the caitya in Kāśī (Tib. *gsal-ldan*) at the spot where the Buddha descended from the abode of the gods, when Indra and Brahma fell at his feet (The corresponding Chinese text *Pa-ta-ling-t'a-ming-hao-ching* names tho place as Kānyakubja, i.e., Kanauj. See *Nanjio*, No. 898), (6) the caitya in the Bamboo Grove (Veḷuvana) in the city of Rājagṛha, where the Buddha preached the doctrine to his disciples, (7) the caitya at Vaiśālī, where the Buddha abandoned the conditionings of long life (*āyu-saṃskāra*) and (8) the caitya in Kuśinagarī where the Buddha passed away.

The second Tibetan text (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 46, No. 2025) lists the eight great shrines as follows : (1) the caitya at the place of enlightenment, (2) the caitya at Kapilavastu where the bodhisattva was born to Māyā, the queen of Śuddhodana of the Śākya family, (3) the caitya at the spot where the Buddha, on his way for alms, met an intoxicated elephant and tamed it with his hands showing the strength of a lion, (4) the caitya at the spot where the Buddha received an offering of honey, (5) the caitya at the place where the Buddha turned a wheel given by Brahmā, disciplined the six heretical teachers and performed other supernatural feats, (6) the caitya at the spot where nāgas, Nanda and the like, paid homage to the Buddha and a maiden gave an offering of milk, (7) the caitya at the spot where the Buddha frequently preached to the bodhisattvas, paccekabuddhas and the arhats and (8) the place where the Buddha passed away after the partaking of Cunda's meal.

R. H.

AṢṬAMAHĀSTHĀNACAITYA-VANDANĀ-STAVA, the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Bstod-tshogs (stotra-gaṇa) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Gnas chen-po brgyad-kyi mchod-rten-la phyag-ḥtshal-baḥi bstod-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 46, No. 2057; *TM*. No. 1168). According to the colophon of this version of the text, the author of the work is Śrī Harṣadeva of Kaśmīra. His period of reign from 1089–1101 A.C. (J. Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p. 382) is posterior to Fa-hsien, who is credited with a transliteration of the text in Chinese, the *Pa-ta-lin-t'a fan-tsan* 八大靈塔梵讚 (*Nanjio*, No. 1071). Fa-hsien attributes the authorship of the work to king Śīlāditya, i.e., Harṣavardhana of Kanauj who ruled in the seventh century A.C.

The work contains stanzas in veneration of the eight great shrines (caityas) firstly, and many other shrines. Among the caityas specified are those associated with the following events in the life of the Buddha: the birth, the enlightenment, the first sermon, the display of miracles, the descent

from heaven and the passing away. The other two caityas, which would bring the number to eight are not clearly stated in the Tibetan text.

In the remaining stanzas, the writer pays obeisance to all caityas on earth or below it: the caityas in Vaiśālī, Bārāṇasī, Śrāvastī, Kuśinagarī, Kapilavastu and Kauśambī; those in Kaśmīr, China, the country of snow (Tibet), Sinhala (Ceylon), Nepāl, Kāmarūpa (in Assam) and Kāñcī; and those in the mountains Kailāsa and Meru, in the abodes of the nāgas, the vidyādharas, the siddhas and of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Paśupati, Kubera, Sūrya and Candra.

R. H.

AṢṬAMAKA (1), a great seer (*maharṣi*) mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

AṢṬAMAKA (2), also called Aṣṭaka (*Mhvu.* III, 365.7) and, in Pali, Aṭṭhaka (s.v. AṬṬHAKA, 3), a king of Hastināpura. As a consequence of the cruel deeds of the king Daṇḍakin, who killed the innocent seer Vatsa, the whole of his kingdom and the city of Govardhana were reduced to ashes. Aṣṭamaka who heard of this calamity was greatly terrified and perturbed. He immediately set out to visit the seers who were there performing a sacrifice between the Ganges and the Yamunā. The two kings, Udgata of Kāliṅga and Bhīmaratha of Sañjayanti, who were similarly perturbed, and Śakra also came to visit the seers. The kings put a number of questions to the seer Śarabhaṅga regarding the rebirth of Daṇḍakin and that of the kings Nālikera, Arjuna and Kalābha who were also destroyed as a result of similar misdeeds (*Mhvu.* III, 364 ff.). Aṣṭamaka, here, is identified as a former birth of Śāriputra (ibid. 375).

C. W.

AṢṬAMAKA (3), a nāga king mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

AṢṬAMAKA-BHŪMI, the stage wherein the disciple has become a candidate for the first result of saintliness (i.e., *śrotāpattiphalapratipannaka*), the third of the seven (sometimes 8 or 10) stages of spiritual development of a Buddha's disciple (*śrāvakabhūmi : Mahāvyutpatti, BB.* XIII, p. 18). The other six as given in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, are *śuklavidarśanā, gotra, darśana, tanū, vītarāga* and *kṛtāvī*. As they refer to the spiritual progress of a disciple (*śrāvaka*) and not of a bodhisattva, they are the stages (*bhūmi*) according to Hīnayāna, although they are not mentioned in the Pali texts. The list (of 7) occurs at *ŚsP.* pp. 1562–3, where in a negative description of Mahāyāna, which is compared to the open space (*ākāśa*), it is said that just as these bhūmis are not found in the *ākāśa*, so are they not found in Mahāyāna either.

The *Aṣṭamaka-bhūmi* is so called because it is the first stage relating to the eight degrees of saintliness which are the four *mārgas* (paths) of *srotāpatti, sakṛdāgāmi, anāgāmi* and *arhatva* and their corresponding *phalas* (results). The śrāvaka who is in the *aṣṭamaka-bhūmi* is a sure candidate for the attainment of *śrotāpatti-phala* and consequently this bhūmi corresponds to the *śrotāpattimārga* stage of this eightfold division of *mārga* and *phala* (E. Obermiller, *The Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā*, pp. 49 and 105; N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna*, p. 241).

However, it is of interest that at *ŚsP.* pp. 1472–3 and 1520, these seven *śrāvakabhūmis*, with the addition of *partyekabuddha-bhūmi, bodhisattva-bhūmi* and *buddha-bhūmi*, are given as the ten bhūmis of a bodhisattva, whereas the usual list of ten *bodhisattvabhūmis* is quite different from this one. This grouping may be due to the fact that all the four Hīnayānic stages of development (i.e., *śrotāpatti* etc.) are regarded (by the Mahāyānists) as covering only some of the Mahāyānic stages, whereas the Mahāyānists, aspiring for Buddhahood, go much further for their emancipation than the last stage (*arhattva*) of the Hīnayānists. On this basis it is not strange that these seven Hīnayānic stages are expanded into ten by the addition of these other bhūmis and are called *bodhisattva-bhūmi* in the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, loc. cit).

A. G. S. K.

AṢṬAMAṆḌALAKA-(NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-)SŪTRA (1), (*Ārya-aṣṭa*°), the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud (*tantra*) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *dkyil-ḥkhor brgyad-pa shes-bya-baḥi theg-pa chenpoḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 6, No. 158; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 507). See also *TM.* Nos. 644, 882 (37). The names of the translators are Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde. Fragments of this text occur among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang (See No. 317 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang* published by the Commonwealth Relations Office, Oxford University Press, 1962).

The Buddha was residing at Mt. Potala, states the preamble to this sūtra, in the palace of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, surrounded by innumerable

bodhisattvas, when a bodhisattva Rin-chen sñin-po zla-ba snaṅ-ba (? Ratnagarbha-candrābha) by name, rose from his seat at that assembly, adjusted his robes, knelt down on the right knee, paid obeisance to the Buddha and begged his permission to ask a question. On the Buddha's assent being readily given, the bodhisattva asked him about the mode of worship of the eight maṇḍalas. The Buddha expressed his approval of the question and preached the mantras of the maṇḍalas of the eight bodhisattvas, Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin and Kṣitigarbha. Each mantra is called the quintessence (Skt. *hṛdaya*, Tib. *sñiṅ-po*) of each of the bodhisattvas.

The formula for propitiating the Buddha, who occupies the centre of the maṇḍalas is *oṃ mahā hūṃ mahāvīra svāhā*. The mantras of the bodhisattvas are as follows :

Ārya-Avalokiteśvara-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ hrīḥ hūṃ padma-priya svāhā*
Maitreya-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ mahārāṇa svāhā*
Ākāśagarbha-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ ākāśagarbhāya svāhā*
Samantabhadra-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ svādrī rājaya svāhā*
Vajrapāṇi-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ kuru ba na ra ha svāhā*
Mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ śrī āṃ rāṃ ga svāhā*
Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkam-bhī-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ ni ......raṃ bha svāhā*
Kṣitigarbha-hṛdaya :	*Oṃ kṣiti-rāja svāhā*

The Buddha is said to have concluded the sermon by stating that the recitation of the sūtra a single time would result in the fulfilment of all one's desires and the quick attainment of the highest wisdom, whereupon the assembly applauded his teaching.

There are two Chinese translations : *Ta-ch' êng-pa-ta-man-na-lo-ching* (大乘八大曼拏羅經. *Nanjio*, No. 880 ; *Taishō*, No. 1168), translated by Fa-hsien of the Sung dynasty (960–1127 A. C.) and *Pa-ta-p'u-sa-man-t'u-lo-ching* (八大菩薩曼荼羅經 *Nanjio*, No. 981 ; *Taishō*, No. 1167) translated by Amoghavajra (705–74 A. C.).

R.H.

AṢṬA-MAṆḌALAKA-(NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-) SŪTRA (2) (*Ārya-aṣṭa*), th etitle of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 37, No. 943). This edition does not quote the name of the author or translator of the text. The possibly corresponding text in the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 277) cites the names Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde as those of the translators.

The work, which is in prose except for a set of stanzas at the end, contains the names of eight Buddhas and their Buddha-fields (buddha-kṣetra). The Buddha was residing in Śrāvastī, says the text, in Jetavana, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada, in the company of a large community of monks and many bodhisattvas, Rod-rje Sgra-dbyaṅs (? Vajranirghoṣa), Mi-pham-pa (? Aparājita), Nag mchog (? Vāṇīvara), Blo-gros mthaḥ-yas (? Anantabuddhi), Dri-med sñiṅ-po (? Vimalagarbha), Ye-śes rgyal-po (? Jñānarāja), Mthaḥ-yas sde (? Ananta-senā), Ye-śes snaṅ-ba (? Jñānābha), Ye-śes sgron-ma (? Jñānadīpa), Śes-rab snaṅ-ba (? Prajñābha), Tshaṅs-pas byin (? Brahmadatta), Lhaḥi cod-pan (? Devamukuṭa) and others. At this assembly, the Buddha addressed Śāriputra and spoke to him of the eight Buddhas and their Buddha-fields. To the east of the present Buddha-field, beyond as many worlds as the grains of sand of the river Ganges is the first of these. The second is stated to be to the east of this, beyond worlds numbering twice as many grains of sand as there are in the river Ganges, the third to the east of this, beyond worlds numbering three times as many grains of sand as there are in the Ganges and so on. In each of the Buddha-fields lives a Buddha, expounding the doctrine. The names of the Buddha-fields and the Buddhas are as follows :

Buddha-fields	*Buddhas*
(1) Gshan-gyis mi thub-paḥi rgyal mtshan	Mtshan śin-tu yoṅs bsgrags dpal.
(2) Mthoṅ-dgaḥ	Kun-tu-snaṅ-ba (Samantābha)
(3) Mṅon-par dgaḥ-ba med-pa (? Anabhirati)	Gyul-las rnam-par rgyal-baḥi dpal (? Saṅgrāmavijayaśrī)
(4) Śin-tu rnam-par dag paḥi tshogs (? Ativiśuddhagaṇa)	Dbaṅ-poḥi tog-gi rgyal-mtshan-gyi rgyal-po (Indraketudhvajarāja)

Buddha-fields	*Buddhas*
(5) Rdul bral tshogs (? Virajagaṇa)	Yon-tan mthaḥ-yas-pa snaṅ-baḥi dbaṅ-phyug rgyal-po (? Anantaguṇābheś-vara-rāja)
(6) Slu-ba med-pa (? Nirvañcana)	Thogs-pa med-par ston paḥi dpal (? Asaṅgapraṇetṛśrī)
(7) Gser-gyi tshogs (? Kāñcanagaṇa)	Rin-po-cheḥi pad-ma-la rnam-par gnon-pas bshud-pa (? Ratnapadmavikr-ārmin)
(8) Sgra-dbyaṅs sñan-pa (? Mañjunirghoṣa)	Rin-po-cheḥi pad-ma-la rab-tu gnas-paḥi ri-dbaṅ rgyal-po (Ratnapadmasuprat-iṣṭhita-śailendrarāja)

Continuing his address to Śāriputra, the Buddha said that these Buddha-fields were most sacred, uninhabited by women and free from impurities. If any householder, man or woman, were to enter the path of the Mahāyāna and hear the names of the eight Buddhas listed above, remember them, listen to them, impress them in their minds, walk in their paths and speak of them to others, they will not be born in hells (*niraya*), the world of animals (*tiracchāna-loka*), the world of pretas, the world of the asuras or other unfavourable places ; they will not be born as women ; they will know no fear from gods, nāgas, rākṣasas, evil spirits, kings, robbers and thieves, fire, water, poison or weapons ; when they retire at the close of the day, they will fall asleep peacefully, untroubled by dreams and watched over by the gods ; they will wake with ease and comfort at break of day ; they will succeed in their endeavours and suffer no decline ; they will not be bereft of knowledge, strength and intellectual power, until the attainment of enlightenment, perfect and supreme.

The text ends with a set of stanzas attributed to the Buddha in which he expounds the beneficial effects of knowing the names of the eight Tathāgatas. These benefits are similar to those mentioned above. The statement that the assembly rejoiced in the teaching of the Buddha constitutes the formal conclusion of the sūtra.

The work may be compared with similar Chinese translations dealing with the eight Buddhas and their domains in the east. See AṢṬA-BUDDHAKA-(NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-) SŪTRA.

R. H.

AṢṬAMAṄGALA (Tib. : bkra-śi rtags-brgyad), the eight auspicious symbols in Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhism. According to Nepalese Buddhism, in which the belief in the Ādi-Buddha and his emanations is found, there are eight bodhisattvas who reveal an aspect of themselves under non-human forms. These aspects of the eight bodhisattvas are styled *vītarāgas* and the eight symbols allocated to them are collectively called *aṣṭamaṅgala* or the eight auspicious symbols. The bodhisattvas, their *vītarāga* manifestations and their symbols as given by B. H. Hodgson (*Naipālya Devatā Kalyāna, JASB.* 1843, Vol. 12, pt.I, pp. 400 ff.) are :

Bodhisattva	*Vītarāga*	*Symbol*
1. Samantabhadra	1. Gatteśa	1. Wheel (chowry)[1]
2. Sarvanīvaraṇa Viṣkambhī	2. Vakrameśvara	2. Conch-shell
3. Khagarbha	3. Gandeśa	3. Umbrella
4. Vajrapāṇi	4. Kileśvara	4. Flag
5. Kṣitigarbha	5. Phanideśvara	5. Fish
6. Maitreya	6. Ratnasṛṅgeśvara	6. Śrivatsa (Lucky Diagram)
7. Gaganagañja	7. Gokarṇeśvara	7. Lotus
8. Mañjanātha	8. Sarveśvara	8. Vase

Originated in Nepal, these beliefs came over to Tibet, where too, they were regarded as auspicious symbols and are figured in models of the Buddha's foot-prints and other articles, both religious and secular. (See L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, p.392, for illustrations.)

A. G. S. K.

AṢṬAMĪVRATA-VIDHĀNA, a tantric work belonging to the Kriyā tantra class, containing the rules for the ceremonies to be performed on every 8th day of every half-month. In the performance of these rituals, mystical diagrams (*maṇḍala*) and gestures (*mudrā*) are made use of, while the *mantras* are addressed not only to the Buddhas and bodhisattvas but also to Śaivite deities (Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 390).

A. G. S. K.

1 According to the diagram, the wheel in Waddell's list seems to be more correct than the chowry in the Hodgson's list.

The order of the list as given by Hodgson is changed here to be in keeping with the set of diagrams given by Waddell.

AṢṬĀṄGA-HṚDAYA-NĀMA-VAIḌŪRYAKA-BHĀṢYA, a commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṃhitā-nāma*, both by Vāgbhaṭa. It was translated into Tibetan by Dharmaśrīvarman and Śākyamati (Śākya blo-gros) under the title *Yan-lag brgyad-paḥi sñiṅ-po shes-bya-baḥi sman-dpyad-kyi bśad-pa* and incorporated in the Gso-rig-pa (Bhaiṣajya-vidyā) section of the Tengyur. The work was revised by Vidyākumāra (Rig-pa gshon-nu) and Vasuratna (Dbyig-gi rin-chen) (*TM*. No. 4311 ; *Cordier*, III, p 470, No. 5). A German translation in the form of a paraphrase has been interblended with the translation of the text by Luise Hilgenberg and Willibald Kirfel in *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya saṃhitā* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1941).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṢṬĀṄGA-HṚDAYA-SAMHITĀ-NĀMA, frequently shortened to *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, a work on medicine, various types of disease and the treatment thereof, as known in ancient India. The compiler is named Vāgbhaṭa and the work is thought to have been composed not later than the 8th century A.C. A large number of manuscript copies are extant according to the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Theodor Aufrecht. As one of the most outstanding works of this type it was translated into Tibetan by the monks Jarandhara and Ratnabhadra (Rin-chen bzaṅ-po) and incorporated in the Gso-rig-pa (Bhaiṣajya vidyā) section of the Tengyur under the title *Yan-lag brgyad-paḥi sñiṅ-po bsdus-pa shes-bya-ba* (*TM*. No. 4310 ; *Cordier*, III, p. 470, No. 4).

A proof of its popularity even in later times is found in the liberal use made of it by Parameśvara of south India in 1864 in his edition of *Hṛdayapriya*, a summary thereof.

The *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṃhitā* has been translated also into German by L. Hilgenberg and W. Kirfel (publ. E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1941), using an earlier revised edition by Aṇṇā Moreshvar Kunte (Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1891).

The work is entirely composed in metre. Its teaching is based on the theory of *tri-doṣa*, connected with the three morbid elements of the body, viz., bile, wind and phlegm, which can adversely influence the chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bones, marrow and semen. The text is divided into six sections of which the first section gives the basic theories (*sūtrasthāna*) regarding food, diet, digestion, purging, inhalation, surgery, cauterisation, etc. The second section (*śārīrasthāna*) deals with conception and childbirth, the 107 vulnerable points (*marman*) of the body, the omens (*riṣṭa*) of death, etc. The third section on pathology (*nidānasthāna*) deals with the causes of diseases, which is followed by the fourth section on methods of cure (*cikitsāsthāna*), i.e., therapeutics. Section five deals with the methods of preparation of medicine (*kalpasthāna*). And the work ends with the final section (*uttarasthāna*) on methods of preventing various diseases.

The Sanskrit text of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with a commentary by Aruṇadatta was revised and collated by Aṇṇā Moreshvar Kunte and published in two volumes at Gaṇapati Krishnaji's press in Bombay in 1880. Another publication of the text with the ṭīkā of Aruṇadatta specified as *Sarvāṅga-sundarākhyā* was issued by Devendranātha Sena Gupta and Upendranātha Sena Gupta in Calcutta in 1832 of the Śaka era. The first five of the thirty chapters (*adhyāya*) of the Sūtrasthāna section of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* have been printed in Sinhala script, with an explanation in Sinhala by Kīrtiśrī Upasīha of Beruwala, in Colombo in 1938.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṢṬĀṄGAKRAMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Yan-lag brgyad-paḥi rim-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 57, No.2473). The author of the work, Dpal Śes-rab Gsaṅ-ba (Śrī Prajñāgupta), is also the translator.

The work describes the procedure of performing a rite under eight headings: (1) the drawing of the magic circle (maṇḍala), (2) the arrangement or preparation (Tib. *sta-gon*, Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*), (3) the ceremonial ablutions, (4) the installation of the image, (5) the consecration, (6) the donation of religious gifts, (7) the giving of burnt offerings (*homa*) and (8) the rite of making sacrificial offerings arranged in a circle as an oblation (Tib. *tshogs-kyi ḥkhor-lo*, Skt. *gaṇacakra*).

Mantras to be chanted in the course of performance of the rites are cited in the text.

R. H.

AṢṬĀṄGIKA-MĀRGA, Eightfold Path. See AṬṬHAṄGIKA-MAGGA.

AṢṬĀPADĪKṚTA-DHŪPA-YOGA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan work occurring in the Gso-ba rig-pa (cikitsā-vidyā) section of the Tengyur under the title *Spos-kyi sbyor-ba reḥu char-byas-pa*

(Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 143, No. 5809). Another title given in the colophon of the work is *Dri sbyar-baḥi mig-maṅs ris-kyi sbyor-ba tshig-leḥur byas-pa*, which has been rendered into Sanskrit as *Gandhayuktyaṣṭāpada-nibaddha-yogakārikā* (*Cordier*, III, p. 475, No. 10). The authorship of the work is credited to Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna). The Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka attributes the translation to Snar-thaṅ Puṇyaraśmi (*TM*. No. 4319).

The text describes the method of preparing a kind of incense. Among the ingredients to be used in the preparation are aloewood (Skt. *agaru*), musk (Skt. *kastūrī*), cinnamon (Tib. *śiṅ-tsha*), sandalwood, camphor, the mango, the tamāla, the nāgakesara and the marigold (Tib. *gur-gum*) flowers, a kind of spicy root (Tib. *ru-rta*), honey and sesame oil.

R. H.

AṢṬĀPADĪKṚTA-DHŪPA-YOGA-VIDHĀNA-BHĀṢYA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text of unknown authorship occurring in the Gso-ba rig-pa (cikitsā-vidyā) section of the Tengyur under the title *Spos-kyi sbyor-ba reḥu char-byas-paḥi thabs-bśad-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib.Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 143, No. 5810). The Sde-dge edition gives the translator's name as Snar-thaṅ Puṇyaraśmi (*TM*. No. 4320). The work is a commentary on the *Aṣṭāpadīkṛta-dhūpa-yoga* (q.v.).

R. H.

AṢṬARATNA (*brgyad-rin-chen*), the eight precious offerings in Tibetan Buddhism. According to L. A. Waddell (*The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, p. 393) these were regarded as sacred as they were blessed by the Buddha on various occasions. These eight, as given by him, are: (i) *Li-khri* (Skt. *sindūra*, red lead). The brāhman "King-star" offered the Buddha *li-khri* and he blessed it as the over-powering knowledge. (ii) The *bilva* (wood-apple) fruit which was offered to him by Brahmā and he blessed it as the best of fruits. (iii) *Darwa* (*darbha*) grass (*saccharum cylindricum*), used for sacrificial purposes. This was offered to the Buddha by Maṅgalam, the grass-seller, and he blessed it. It may be noted that the story of this variety of grass having been offered to the Buddha by a brāhman is found also in Theravāda Buddhist literature, where it is said to have been offered just before his enlightenment. (iv) Curd (*zo*) which was similarly blessed by him when offered by a farmer's daughter (*legs-skyes-ma*). This, too, can be compared with the story of the offering of milk-rice to the Buddha by Sujātā. (v) The white turnip (*yaṅ-dkar*). Vajrapāṇi, the "Sacred Lord", offered him this and the Buddha blessed it as the demon-defeating turnip. (vi) The intestinal concretion (*gi-ham* or *gi-'vaṇ*) found in the entrails of certain animals and on the neck of an elephant. The land-guarding elephant offered this to the Buddha, who blessed it. (vii) Mirror, which was offered to him by the light-holding goddess-form, when the Buddha was turning the wheel of religion and he made it holy by blessing it. (viii) Conch-shell, which he blessed when it was offered to him by Indra.

These eight offerings, as it is the case with many other items, may be symbolic of a particular religious idea.

A. G. S. K.

AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ-MAÑJUŚRĪ-ŚABDAVYĀKARAṆA-VṚTTI, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation known by the title *Ḥjam-dpal-gyi sgra-brda-sprod-paḥi ḥgrel-pa stoṅ-phrag brgyad-pa* in the Sgra-mdo (Skt. śabdavidyā) section of the Tengyur (*Cordier*, III, p. 516, No. 2 ; *TM*. No. 4280). The work is known also by the title Pañcamakāṇḍadvitīyapādāvadhivṛtti (Skabs-lṅa-paḥi rkaṅ-pa gñis-pa Yan-gyi ḥgrel-pa). To Śrī Kaliṅgeśvara Bodhisattvadeśācārya Rājadeva (Rgyal-poḥi lha) the authorship of the work is attributed ; and it is stated that Dharmapālabhadra (Chos-skyoṅ bzaṅ-po) translated the work into Tibetan.

E. H. P.

AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-PAÑJIKĀSĀROTTAMĀ-NĀMA (*Ārya-aṣṭa°*), a commentarial text, one among twelve works commenting on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in connection with the prajñāpāramitās (E. Obermiller, *The Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya*, Leyden, 1932, p. 10). The author of the work is said to be Ratnākaraśānti (Tib. Rin-chen ḥbyuṅ gnas shi-ba). A Tibetan translation attributed to Subhūtiśānti and Śākyamati (Śākya blo-gros) is found in the Śer-phyin (prajñāpāramitā) section of the mdo-ḥgrel (sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa brgyad-stoṅ-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel sñiṅ-po mchog ces-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 92, No. 5200). This version has thirty-two chapters, the last of which is called *Yoṅs-su gtad-paḥi leḥu* in the text. The other chapters are not named.

R. H.

AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ SŪTRA. This treatise comprising eight thousand syllabic units, in prose form, having as its essential subject-matter the discourses on the perfection of wisdom, forms one of the nine basic texts or dharmas of the Mahāyāna canon. Nepalese tradition regards the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* as the final redaction of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra,* in which the essence of Mahāyāna religious philosophy is presented most succinctly. Tibetan tradition, however, suggests a theory pointing to the priority of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* in the chronological arrangement of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* literature and modern scholarly opinion generally concurs with this view. The antiquity of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* is also attested by internal evidence, e.g., the concept of *sambhoga-kāya* and the ten stages of a bodhisattva (*daśa-bodhisattva-bhūmi*).

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā,* which is held in the highest appreciation by Mahāyāna Buddhists, comprises thirty-two chapters, denoted by the term *parivarta,* in point of arrangement. A peculiar feature of its composition is the salutatory verses found at the commencement of the text. Instead of the usual formula of salutation to the triple-gem (Buddha,Dharma and the Saṅgha), or to the Buddha, or to the bodhisattva, the author of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* pays adoration to the subject of the work, viz., Prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, as the source of knowledge of the Tathāgata. Conforming to the grammatical gender of the title, *Prajñāpāramitā,* the text is addressed throughout as a female. In this exordium the author has made a point to emphasise the importance of the prajñāpāramitā and to give the gist of the teachings of the text, namely: The perfection of wisdom is the sole path to liberation (*mārgastvamekā mokṣasya : AsP.* 1, *v.* 16).

The scene is set on the Gṛdhrakūṭa, 'Vulture Peak' in the vicinity of Rājagṛha. When the Śākyamuni was once sojourning there in the company of a large number of disciples and followers, Śāriputra opened a discourse by asking Subhūti for information on the principles of the *prajñāpāramitā,* and the replies and discussions which followed form the principal subject-matter of the text. The main content of the compilation may be summarised as follows: practice of the knowledge of all modes or archetypes (1); the conversion of Śakra, the king of the gods by the bodhisattva through instruction in the *prajñāpāramitā* (2); the merits of the *prajñāpāramitā* as the means of salvation and how the same should be appreciated (3–4); the advantages of reciting, hearing, writing, wearing on one's person, or giving away the text to suitable persons (5); on the modifications of jubilation, or the advantages of virtuous actions as means of *bodhi*-knowledge, or the modifications of those actions ultimately resulting in knowledge (6); retribution for worldly actions and salvation therefrom through the *prajñāpāramitā* (7); on the gradation of modifications, or progressive changes for the better, leading ultimately to perfection (8); praises of the *prajñāpāramitā* and hearing it advantageously with right attitude, etc., as in chapter six but with more detail (9–10); the works of Māra which obstruct the light of the *prajñāpāramitā* in bodhisattvas (11); on creation and welfare of created beings, due to *prajñāpāramitā* (12); on the inconceivable, showing that all qualities are inconceivable (13); those who have faith in *sambodhi,* perfect knowledge, can acquire the *prajñāpāramitā,* proved by examples (14); instruction in the *prajñāpāramitā* (15); on the origin and purport of the doctrines of *tathatā* (suchness) and *anuttara-samyak-sambodhimabhisambhuti* (realisation of the supreme knowledge) (16); on the immutability of the form of the bodhisattva (17); *śūnyatā* (relativity) defined (18); prediction of the goddess of the Ganges on the field of Buddhism (19); on the accessibility of the *prajñāpāramitā* by skilful means (20); on the mischievous work of Māra, obstructing progress of bodhi-knowledge and leading devout persons astray (21); for the attainment of *samyak-sambodhi* virtuous actions are indispensable, and they are best attained through the *prajñāpāramitā* (22); on the merit of hearing the *prajñāpāramitā* and the invincibility acquired thereby against enemies, etc. (23); on vanity or conceit (24); on instruction in bodhi-knowledge (25); the Buddha's instructions to Subhūti as to how the illusive, unsteady mind can acquire bodhi-knowledge (26); the bodhisattva's courage in difficulties, etc. (27); on the merits of the ritualistic aspect of religious ethics (28); on the approaches to the doctrine of the *prajñāpāramitā* (29); questions and answers on following the bodhisattva and his instructions (30–31); and finally on the merits of instruction in the *prajñāpāramitā* and the entrusting of the sūtra to Ānanda (32).

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* corresponds to Lokarakṣa's *Tao-hsing,* Kumārajīva's shorter *Prajñāpāramitā* known as *Hsiao P'in,* Hsüan-tsang's, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā,* and Shih-hu's *Fu-mu-prajñāpāramitā.* Of all these the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* is of the utmost importance in that it contains all the essential ideas of Mahāyāna, when philosophically and religiously considered. It is both a philosophy and a religion at the same time and hence

its teaching always presents a mixture of ontology and psychology. It is not concerned with the mere being, but with its human implications. Seeing things in their true nature (*yathābhūta*), means in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* to see them through the veil of multiplicity which obscures human sight, and to grasp them with *prajñā* in their state of such-ness (*tathatā*).

For the correct apprehension of the characteristic teaching of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, one has to make clear to oneself the central position taken by the concept of thought (*citta*) and its object (*dharma*) in the Mahāyāna system. The development on the path of the consciousness-theory has reached a point, where all reality is subordinated to consciousness, when all properties of reality have lost their significance for the mind. All characteristics, marks, forms, properties, which may belong to the actual and which serve the purpose of distinguishing one thing from another, are included and reduced to an indefinable absolute. The only thing which remains, to distinguish thought from its object, is also something negative: objectivity (*dharmatā*) which is incomparable, unaccountable, immeasurable, and about which nothing can be predicated. This is to be placed on the same plane with empty space (*ākāśa*) which also is not touched by the multiplicity of things, which also is completely incomparable and which does not allow of any definition. Similarly, consciousness, thought, has nothing but its absolute existence, whereby it becomes incomparable with anything else, and its ' such-ness ' (*tathatā*) best corresponds to this concept without content.

This concept of *tathatā*, which is so important for the world-concept of Mahāyāna, cannot be understood properly, unless taken as the simplest expression of the absolute void, which has remained as the single predicate of the thinking process.

The view of thought, defined as such, deprived of all actual concepts, is also transposed to everything connected with thought, either as content or object. When the properties of unity and multiplicity, of time or space, are considered foreign to and incompatible with consciousness this passes on without hindrance to the objects which are the properties of consciousness. And, in the same way, as only a colourless scheme remains from the thought-process which defies all description and comparison, so the object retains only one property, namely, its objectivity (*dharmatā*), which naturally is submerged in the same sphere of complete colourlessness. Whatever distinguishes one fact from another, its specific notions and marks lose all their significance. This aspect of the standpoint of the *Prajñāpāramitā* appears to suppress real distinctions as something unreal and views things, objects or dharmas (equal among themselves) as incapable of further comparison, as in the absolute sense they do not possess real existence. From this void (*śūnya*) and lack of characteristics (*animitta*) of the dharmas arises a third sign of recognition, namely, their complete unaffectedness (passive as well as active) for which the expression *apraṇihita* is used in Mahāyāna terminology; and under these circumstances the concept of *dharmatā* assumes a very special significance for the understanding of the thought-process of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

The teaching of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* consists in defining the essence of bodhisattvahood, which is known in the Mahāyāna works as *bodhisattvacaryā*. The term *caryā*, derived from the radical element √ *car* (to go, to move) means, from the point of its secondary semasiological application, ' life ' and the *bodhisattvacaryā* is what distinguishes the bodhisattva from the *śrāvaka* and the *pratyekabuddha*. According to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* this stage can be realised only by the understanding of *prajñā* with all its implications, moral, intellectual and spiritual. Of the six perfections designed for the Mahāyāna Buddhist or bodhisattva, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* attributes pre-eminence to *prajñā*, in that it is regarded as the directing principle of the other five virtues. By way of simile, *prajñā* is compared to the eye that surveys with perfect clearness the entire field of Buddhist life and determines where and how the bodhisattva's steps are to be guided (cp. *AsP.* p. 172). *Prajñā*, the directing principle of other *pāramitās*, which is conceived by Mahāyāna as constituting omniscience (*sarvajñatā*), is most graphically described in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* as the mother and progenitor of all Buddhas and bodhisattvas (pp. 120-1, 253, 272, 396). In consonance with the rest of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* has its most absorbing topic in relation to the life of a bodhisattva, the question as to the correct practice of *prajñā*, whereby one may come to the realisation of supreme enlightenment. *Prajñā* is often equated to *sambodhi* (perfect knowledge) and to *sarvajñatā* (omniscience), and in fact, the triple concept *prajñā-sambodhi-sarvajñatā* links the various chains of the teachings in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*. However, a close analysis of this triple concept would show that *prajñā* is an epistemological instrument with which *sarvajñatā* is attained, while *sambodhi* is more or less psychological in the sense that it connotes a state of spiritual awakening. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* says that *prajñā* is latent in all beings without distinction,

although it may not be found in them functioning in its absolute purity. In the Buddha *prajñā* is *sarvajñatā*, because he is in the state of perfect enlightenment, which according to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* is such-ness (*tathatā*), reality-limit (*bhūta-koṭi*), spiritual realm (*dharma-dhātu*) and objectivity (*dharmatā*). To gain enlightenment (*sambodhi*) is to realise the world as empty (*śūnyataḥ*, compare with *suññato lokamavekkhassu attānudiṭṭhim ūhacca*), hence to cease, to view the world as void, abjuring 'personality' (*Sn.* ed. *HOS.* XXXVII, *v.* 1119), and this is the main thesis of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, whereby the true spirit of Mahāyāna constituting the life of the bodhisattva (*bodhisattvacaryā*) is completely comprehended.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* enumerates eighteen aspects of *śūnyatā* (ch. xviii), which in subsequent texts are explained in detail by Nāgārjuna and Haribhadra. *Śūnyatā*, which is synonymous with *tathatā*, according to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°*, is the unattainable (*anupalabdha*), or the unthinkable (*acintya*), and hence it is not to be apprehended by any of the canons of logic. In order to elucidate and exemplify the depth of the meaning and philosophical impact of the term *śūnyatā*, the *Prajñāpāramitā* philosophers often use the term *māyā* (illusion) by way of analogy, for the treatment of which the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* devotes a whole chapter (xxvi).

A mystic significance is often ascribed to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* by Tibetan Buddhists, and at times this aspect is over-emphasised even to the detriment of the religio-philosophical importance of the treatise. Numerous stories to this effect are to be found in Tibetan tradition (cp. *Blue Annals* II, pp. 899, 902, 903 ff.).

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* had a great influence over contemporary scholars of Buddhist thought and over later systems of Buddhist philosophy. Of the several systems of Buddhist thought it is the Mādhyamika that has drawn most from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. This text presents to the reader the germination of the philosophical concepts of the Mādhyamika system, the formulation of which forms a turning point of Buddhist thought, as observed by Mūrti: "In metaphysics, it was a revolution from a radical pluralism (theory of elements, *dharmavāda*) to an as radical absolutism (*advayavāda*). The change was from a plurality of discrete ultimate entities (*dharmāḥ*) to the essential unity underlying them (*dharmatā*). Epistemologically, the revolution was from empiricism and dogmatism (*dṛṣṭivāda*) to dialectical criticism (*śūnyatā* or *madhyamā pratipad*). Ethically, the revolution was from the ideal of a private egoistic salvation to that of a universal unconditional deliverance of all beings. Not mere freedom from rebirth and pain (*kleśāvaraṇa-nibutiḥ*) but the attainment of perfect Buddhahood by the removal of ignorance covering the real (*jñeyāvaraṇa*) is now the goal. The change was from the ideal of the Arhat to that of the Bodhisattva" (T. R. V. Mūrti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, p. 5). It is the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* which forms the period of transition to this stage of ethical philosophy (cp. *AsP.* pp. 255 ff.). The Mādhyamika philosophy is, in fact, only a systematisation of the doctrines of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, among which those of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* stand most prominent.

As to the language and style of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°*, it may be said that the work discloses the familiarity of its author with the style and technicalities typical of Hindu philosophical writings. But the author has most studiously avoided the style of the Hindu models, and instead of the terse and precise language of the brāhmanical writers, he has adopted a loose, periphrastic style, loaded with repetitions, tedious and verbose throughout.

The tremendous importance attached to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* by later writers of Buddhist-Sanskrit literature is best evidenced by the subsequent literature based on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* of which the *Ratnaguṇasamuccaya Gāthā* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vyākhyābhisamayālaṅkārāloka* stand most significant, the former being a summary or nucleus of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* consisting of about 300 Sanskrit verses, while the latter is a commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°*, composed by Haribhadra, in the light of Maitreyanātha's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra*, ascribed to Nāgārjuna, is also primarily based on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°*. The *Ārya-aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikā-sārottamānāma*, translated into Tibetan as the *Ḥphags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-ral-tu-phyin-pa brgyad-stoṅ-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel sñiṅ-po mchog ces-bya-ba* by Rin-chen ḥbyuṅ-gnos shi-bo (*TM.* No. 3803), and the *Ārya-aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛtti-marma-kaumudī-nāma*, translated into Tibetan as the *Ḥphags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-ral-tu-phyiṅ-pa brgyad-stoṅ-paḥi ḥgrel-pa gnad-kyi zla-baḥi ḥod ces-bya-ba* by Ḥjigs-med ḥbyuṅ gnas sbas-pa (*TM.* No. 3805), are also among the commentarial texts on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°*.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā°* was translated into Tibetan by Śākyasena, Jñānasiddhi and Dharmatāśīla, under the title *Ḥphags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyiṅ-pa brgyad-stoṅ-pa*, which was revised six times by (1) Subhāṣita, Rin-chen byaṅ-po; (2) Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, Rin-chen byaṅ-po; (3) Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna.

Ḥbrom rgyal-baḥi ḥbyuṅ-gns ; (4) Ḥbram rgyal-baḥi ḥbyuṅ-gnas ; (5) Ḥbrom and (6) Blo-ldan śes-rab, in successive order (*TM*. No. 12). The Chinese translation of the text was done by Lokarakṣa as early as 172 A.C.; hence the importance of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* in the history of Sanskrit literature.

W. S. KT.

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AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-VṚTTI-MARMAKAUMUDĪ-NĀMA, a commentary in Sanskrit on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, connected with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, attributed to Abhayākaragupta (E. Obermiller, *The Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya*, Leyden, 1932, p. 10).

A Tibetan translation of the work occurs in the Śer-phyin (prajñāpāramitā) division of the Mdo-ḥgrel (sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 92, No. 5202). The author Ḥjigs-med ḥbuṅ-gnas sbas-pa (Abhayākaragupta) and Śes-rab-dpal (Prajñāśrī) are credited with the translation. The work contains thirty-two chapters : (1) Rnam-pa thams-cad· mkhyen-pa-ñid-kyi spyod-pa (2) Brgya-byin (3) No chapter-title (4) No chapter-title (5) Bsod-nams-kyi rnam-graṅs (6) Rjes-su yi-raṅ-ba daṅ yoṅs-su bsṅo-ba (7) Dmyal-ba (8) Rnam-par dag-pa (9) Bstod-pa (10) No chapter-title (11) Bdud-ky las (12) Ḥjig-rten bstan-pa (13) Bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa (14) Dpe (15) Lha (16) De-bshin-ñid (17) Phyir-mi-ldog-pa ni rnam-pa daṅ rtags daṅ mtshan-ma (18) Stoṅ-pa-ñid (19) Sriṅ-mo gaṅ-gaḥi lha-mo (20) Thabs mkhas-pa (21) Bdud-kyi las (22) Dge-baḥi bśes-gñen (23) Brgya-byin (24) Mṅon-paḥi ṅa-rgyal (25) Bslab-pa (26) Sgyu-ma lta-bu (27) Sñiṅ-po (28) Me-tog bkram-pa (29) Rjes-su rig-pa (30) Rtag-par rab-tu-ṅu-ba (31) Chos-ḥphags and (32) Yoṅs-su gtaṅ-pa.

R. H.

AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-VYĀKHYĀBHISAMAYĀLAṄKĀRĀLOKA, the great commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, composed by Haribhadra, which is commonly known by the title *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, is a systematised exegetical exposition of the recondite and abstruse doctrines of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, in the light of Maitreya's *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*. According to tradition, Haribhadra wrote it on the instruction of Maitreya and at the request of king Mahīpāla. Haribhadra was greatly influenced by the commentary of Āryavimuktasena, the summary of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (*Le gbrgyad-ma*), the commentary called *Sphuṭārthā* (*Dan-gsal-ḥgrel-pa*), the commentary on the *Sañcaya* called *Subodhinī*(*Rtogs-par-sla-ba*), the *Prajñāpāramitā-bhāvanā*, etc. The author mentions in the colophon, that it was written at the monastery of Trikuṭuka (Tsha-ba gsum) under the patronage of Śrīmat Dharmapāla : *Tasmin sarvaguṇākare Trikuṭuka-śrīmadvihāre śubhe Dānāllabdha-mahodayasya karuṇādevasya dharmātmanaḥ . . . . . Śrī Dharmapālasya vai.*

(G. Tucci, *Prajñāpāramitās*, Vol. I, *GOS*. LXII, p. 564).

The teacher Prajñākaramati says : " The master Haribhadra pursuing the weal of living beings saw that in the elucidation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* there were many different opinions expressed in the different works, and that the commentaries in the explanations were contradicting each other. He, accordingly, became deeply grieved by this. But whilst he was abiding in solitude, the most merciful lord Maitreya, in order to appease his grief, exposed the *Prajñāpāramitā* in connection with the teaching of the process of illumination (*mṅon-rtogs : abhisamaya*)." According to a tradition preserved by Dharmakīrti, Haribhadra is said to have served his teacher for seventeen years, and thus satisfied him, as a result of which he was favoured by Maitreya who expounded the doctrine to him in a dream. However, the author himself says that he borrowed the material for his work from the four great commentaries, and especially the treatises of Asaṅga and Vimuktasena. Among other sūtras and śāstras from which Haribhadra has drawn material are to be mentioned the *Ajātaśatru-śokavinodana Sūtra* (26), *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (184), *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā* (71, 73, 173), *Avaivartika-cakra Sūtra* (43), *Gaṇḍavyūha* (28), *Daśabhūmaka* (26, 559), *Mādhyamika* (550, 554), *Moghapāśa Sūtra* (225), *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (120, 271, 339), *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (57, 110), *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra* (314), *Samantabhadracaryā-nirdeśa Sūtra* (26), *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (550, 553) and *Saundarananda* (61, 162).

The *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* was held in great esteem by Tibetan tradition and is considered to contain the most clear, thorough and full analysis of the subjects contained in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the full title of which is given as *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra* (Tib. *Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi-man-ṅag-gi-bstan-bcos-mṅon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyam*). This work is regarded by Tibetan tradition to be the most important as (1) a summary of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* and (2) the text containing the special theory of the *mārga* or the path to the attainment of Nirvāṇa, from the standpoint of the doctors of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* investigates the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in relation to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, whereas the *Sphuṭārthā*, a commentary of the same author, elucidates the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* without referring to any of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*. In the Tibetan tradition the text in question is known by its abridged title *Brgyad-stoṅ ḥgrel-chen*, i.e., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-mahāṭīkā* or simply *Ḥgrel-chen*, i.e., the Great Commentary and *Rgyan-snaṅ* (for *Mṅon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyam-gyi-snaṅ-ba*), i.e., *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*. The original text of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* was translated into Tibetan by Subhāṣita and Rin-chen byaṅ-po, under the title *Ḥphags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa brgyad-stoṅ-paḥi bśad-pa mṅon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan-gyi snaṅ-ba shes-bya-ba*, i.e., *Ārya-aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vyākhyābhisamayālaṅkārāloka-nāma*. Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and Rin-chen byaṅ-po and also Dhanapāla and Blo ldan ses-rab, are referred to as the persons who undertook the two revisions of the Tibetan translation *TM*. No. 3791).

Of the several commentatorial treatises, composed by a diversity of authorship, to the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* in general, and to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* in particular, the one by Haribhadra here dealt with is the most valuable from the point of originality in the exposition of the abstruse philosophical traits underlying the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Haribhadra commences his exegesis with a pentad of exordial verses, which are of much significance, as throwing light on the historicity and authenticity of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, and as providing the student of Sanskrit Buddhism with a comprehensive account of the vast commentarial literature connected with the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. Thus, it is said in the exordium that Āryāsaṅga composed a commentary elucidating the meaning of the sūtras : *Bhāṣyaṃ tattvaviniścaye racitavān prajñāvatāmagraṇīḥ Āryāsaṅga iti* (*BST*. IV, 267, v. 2 ; Āryāsaṅga, the foremost of the erudite, composed a commentary for the ascertainment of truth); that Vasubandhu has followed him in his *Paddhati* (Tib. *Gzum-ḥgrel*), a manual on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*. Āryavimuktasena is referred to as the next exegetist who wrote his commentary from the Mādhyamika standpoint. Next comes the *Vārtika* (Tib. *Rnam-ḥgrel*) or critical annotation of Bhadanta Vimuktasena (Btsum-pa-rnam-grol-sde), a pupil of Āryavimuktasena. Haribhadra says that the explanations of Āryāsaṅga and Vasubandhu were incomplete, since they did not comment on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* in accordance with the teaching of the Path (*mārga*), or the process of the illumination of the truth (*abhisamaya*) and are, moreover, guilty of the commission of errors by explaining in conformity with exclusively Yogācāra principles. Āryavimuktasena and his pupil Bhadanta Vimuktasena, in their turn, have not given a complete and clear critical exposition of the subject. This is the reason why Haribhadra found it necessary to compose new commentaries, among which the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* stands most important.

In contradistinction to former teachers, Haribhadra composed his critico-glossarial treatise in consonance with the principles of Buddhist philosophy, advocated by the Mādhyamika school of thought. In his work Haribhadra has critically investigated the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* from the standpoint of the teachings of the Path (*mārga*) and has established a full concordance between the contents of the sūtras and the subject of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* of Maitreya.

In the formulation of the principal doctrine explained in the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, the author was undoubtedly influenced by the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools of Buddhist thought, which were the two progressive Buddhist schools in mediaeval India. In order to give authority to all their important assertions which originated from the teachings of Śākyamuni, they have taken the same *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* as their theoretical foundation. Although Haribhadra has based his arguments primarily on the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra thought, he is neither arrested by the absolute nihilistic (*śūnyatā*) theory of the Mādhyamikas, nor by the point of view of the *ālayavijñāna* evolution, nor by the dogma of the five fundamental distinctive natures of sentient beings (*pañca-gotra-pratiniyamatā*), a theory advocated by the Yogācāra teachers. As his theoretical foundation the author has sought the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* like the teachers of the aforesaid schools.

The *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* comprises thirty-two chapters, entitled *Parivartas* which accord with the corresponding sections of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*. Since the text is meant to elucidate the doctrines of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, in the light of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, in dealing with the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* correlatively with those of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, one may classify the subject-matter of the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* under the eight *abhisamayas*, or spiritual realisations (Tib. *mṅon-par rtogs pa*, i.e., clear comprehension ; Skt. *aṣṭābhisamayāvasthābhedena*) dealt with in the text.

I. Under the first *abhisamaya*, called the *sarvākārajñatā* = *sarvakālajñatā* : *BHS*. 583 b,), i.e., the quality of knowing all times, the author discusses (1) *cittotpāda* (resolution) with its 22 concomitants ; (2) *avavāda* (admonition) in its twenty aspects ; (3) *nirvedhabhāgīya* (Tib. : *ṅes-par-ḥbyed pa*, i.e., sharing the quality of penetration, under which the *caturvikalpasaṃyoga* or attachment to the four false discriminations is discussed ; (4) *pratipatterādhāra* (*trayodaśavidha*) *dharmadhātusvabhāva* or the nature of the thirteen spheres of religion which are helpful for religious practice ; (5) *ālambana*, i.e., the basis under which the topics *kuśala* (merit), *akuśala* (evil), *avyākṛta* (neuter), *laukika* (material), *lokottara* (super-worldly), *sāśrava* (defiled), *anāśrava* (undefiled), *saṃskṛta* (conditioned), *asaṃskṛta* (unconditioned), *sādhāraṇa* (universal) and *asādhāraṇa* (particular) are explained ; (6) *samuddeśa* (theory) and (7) *pratipatti* (righteous conduct) under which are discussed *sannāhapratipatti* (equipment), *prasthānapratipatti* (religious mendicancy) and *sambhārapratipatti* (accomplishment) with its seventeen subdivisions, viz., *karuṇā* (great compassion), *dāna* (generosity), *śīla* (morality), *kṣānti* (intellectual receptivity), *vīrya* (valour), *dhyāna* (contemplation), *prajñā* (wisdom), *śamatha* (tranquillisation), *vidarśanā* (insight), *yugavaddha* (subjugation), *upāyakauśala* (diplomacy), *jñāna* (knowledge) in relation to which the twenty *śūnyatās* are dealt with, *puṇya* (merit), *mārga* (path), *dhāraṇī* (magic formula), *bhūmi* (stages), the ten stages of bodhisattva (*bodhisattvabhūmi*), with the *parikarma* (preparation) pertinent to each stage.

II. The second *abhisamaya* has as its topics of discussion, the knowledge (realisation) of the path (*mārgajñāna*), the path of the disciple (*śrāvakamārga*), the path of the aspirant to Buddhahood (*bodhisattvamārga*) and the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*) which is either connected with (*sāśrava*) or free from mental intoxicants (*anāśrava*).

III. Under the third *abhisamaya*, which has omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) as its main subject, is discussed the path of insight (*darśanamārga*) in which the exegetist classifies the sixteen conditions (*kṣaṇa*) of *sarvajñatā* in relation to the original doctrines expounded in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*.

IV. The fourth *abhisamaya* discusses the realisation of the true nature of all (*sarvākārābhisambodha*), having as its characteristics the twenty-seven *sarvajñatākāras* based on *duḥkhasatya*, *samudayasatya*, *nirodhasatya*, *mārga*, *sāśravabhāvanāmārga* and *anāśravabhāvanāmārga*, which are classified under marks (*lakṣaṇa*) and disposition (*ākāra*).

V. The fifth *abhisamaya* has as its subject-matter discussions on *nirvedhabhāgīya* together with the sixteen marks (*liṅga*), the *darśanamārga* in its four aspects and the *bhāvanāmārga*.

VI. The sixth *abhisamaya* deals with the mediate cognition (*anupūrvābhisamaya*).

VII. The seventh discourses on the immediate cognition (*ekakṣaṇābhisambodha*) in its four stages.

VIII. The eighth *abhisamaya* is entitled the *Dharmakāyābhisambodha* because it deals with the realisation of the Catuṣkāya-doctrine, i.e., the fourfold physical manifestation of the Śākyamuni, under which are discussed the natural body (*svabhāvakāya*), the body of the law (*dharmakāya*), the body of enjoyment (*sambhogakāya*) with the thirty-two signs (*lakṣaṇa*) and the eighty-four minor characteristics (*anuvyañjana*), and the body of transformation (*nairmāṇikakāya*) with the twenty-seven kinds of action, process of investigation, negation of the soul in all things and presentation.

Of the multifarious contents incorporated into the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, what attracts the attention of the reader most is the discussion on *śūnyatā*. Inadequately translated by ' emptiness ', *śūnyatā* is one of the principal concepts of the Mādhyamika system of Mahāyāna thought, and is discussed elaborately in the *Mādhyamikaśāstra* by Nāgārjuna. The idea of *śūnyatā* is only pointed to in the *Kārikā* (by a single word), and for a detailed study thereof one has to turn to Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*. Haribhadra makes a systematic classification of *śūnyatā* into twenty aspects in accordance with the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*. Since the earlier works, such as the *Madhyāntavibhāga* of Maitreya and Asaṅga and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha* of Diṅnāga, list only sixteen or eighteen aspects of *śūnyatā* as the number usually admitted (a fact corroborated by the *Mahāvyutpatti*), the last four forms which appear in the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā* are evidently

later additions. Following the Mādhyamika standpoint, Haribhadra understands *śūnyatā* as *pratītya-samutpāda*, i.e., relativity, as suggested by Stcherbatsky (Obermiller, *IHQ*. IX, 1, pp. 170 ff.). In the Tibetan commentaries it is especially pointed out that the term *śūnyatā* has the same semantic import as *pratītyasamutpāda*, which latter term has the meaning of relativity in the Mādhyamika interpretation as expressed by Nāgārjuna: *yaḥ pratītya-samautpādaḥ śūnyatā saiva te matā*. "*Śūnyatā* means for thee, O Buddhas, the principle of dependent origination (i.e., functional interdependence or relativity)." For details see ŚŪNYATĀ.

Haribhadra's method of explanation is based upon the exclusively Mahayānistic theory that all beings have the potentiality to become Buddhas, without exception, and it is in concordance with this that he discusses the eight *abhisamayas*, correlating them with the corresponding aspects of the ten *bodhisattvabhūmi*, which culminate in the stage of Buddhahood. The author excels his predecessors in showing, with great skill, the procedure of the stages of the religious practice from the first intention to become a Buddha, up to the attainment of Buddhahood, and the gradual acquisition of the necessary qualifications through all the stages.

Without in the least intending it, the author has also preserved in his work considerable material for the history of social customs, commercial values, folklore and mystical poetry.

The language of the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* does not show many peculiarities. It generally conforms to the classical Sanskrit in lexicology, phono-morphology and syntax, although a random word like *vaineya* (8·8) or *parīndanā* (22·3) may be found. These are most probably hybridisations of Middle Indic words which ultimately go back to standard Sanskrit. Another peculiarity in Haribhadra's language is the influence of rhotacism, which is discernible in such cases as *sarvākārajñatā* for *sarvakālajñatā*, etc. The literary style adopted by the author has all the technicalities required in philosophical exposition as may be found in Śaṅkara's commentarial literature. Influenced as he was by the typical brāhmanical method of verbal analysis, Haribhadra often interposes pseudo-etymologies, which are facetiously referred to as ethical etymologies, such as the etymologising of *bhagavān* as *kleśādikaṃ bhagnavān iti* (7·26 etc.) which is an etymological aberration, when judged from the modern standards of linguistic science. But, Haribhadra is not alone in this; other commentators have shown similar tendencies.

A *bhāṣya* being the elucidation and elaboration of a sūtra-work, discussion and argumentation, i.e., the dialectic method, seemed to be the most proper method for achieving its purpose. Either for the correct interpretation of the sūtras or for the search of higher philosophical truths contained in them, recourse to reasoning seemed to be the most convenient means. This method in which the *bhāṣyas* set forth their tenets is called the *vādapaddhati*, and to this Haribhadra amply conforms. The spirit of inquiry, the spirit of affording constant scope for examining and re-examining postulates in the light of newer propositions, the spirit of constant questioning for the attainment of truth, which is a principle in which philosophising prides itself, are clearly perceivable in the methodology adopted by Haribhadra in commenting on the sūtra-text. The author, though not prepared to ascribe pride of place to reasoning alone, gives great importance to the spirit of inquiry. He affords due scope for all means of knowledge in their proper spheres. The great point about his style and method of exposition is the way in which it reflects the quality of his mind, its force, its logic, its feelings and its sense of humour. Haribhadra's commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* is a work of great originality, vigour and philosophic insight. The subtlety and depth of ideas, the perspicuity and accuracy of thought are beautifully welded to the style of exposition, on account of which the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* has attained great celebrity among the students of Sanskrit Buddhism. The influence of the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* on the development of the philosophico-literary faculty among the adherents of Mahāyāna has been very considerable. As a systematic exegetical work, exhibiting the great erudition and acute philosophical insight of its author, the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* finds a high place in the philosophico-literary history of Sanskrit Buddhism.

W. S. KT.

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AṢṬAŚATA-SĀDHANA, the title in Sanskrit as appearing in the indices of the Tibetan text, *Sgrub-thabs brgya daṅ brgyad-pa*, incorporated in

the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4488). The Sanskrit title occurring in the Peking edition of the text is *Śatam-aṣṭa-sādhana*, which also appears to be what occurs in the Sde-dge edition (see n. 4 in *TM*. No. 3665). Other known titles of the work are *Tārādevyaṣṭaśata-sādhana* and *Tārāṣṭaśata-sādhana* (*Cordier*, III, p. 70, No. 362). The author of the work is stated to have been Candragomin. The translation is credited to Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) while Dānaśrī (Dānaśīla according to the Sde-dge edition) and Blo-gros grags-pa (Matikīrti) are said to have revised the work.

The work deals with the procedure of worship of the one hundred and eight forms of Tārā. The worshipping priest is enjoined to sit on a comfortable seat at a chosen spot, set about with trees bearing fragrant flowers and many fruits, resonant with the melodious songs of the birds, where saintly beings (*siddha*) live conferring blessings on others, and then commence the rites. He is required to meditate on the four immeasurable virtues (Tib. *tshad-med bshi*, viz., *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*), adopt the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), contemplate on the voidness (*śūnyatā*) of all phenomena, and meditate on the formula: *Oṃ svabhāvaviśuddhāh sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaviśuddho 'haṃ* before invoking the goddesses with the mantra, *oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*, and reflecting on them.

The goddesses named in the text of whom short descriptions are given are as follows:

(1) Ḥjig-rten gsum gyo-baḥi sgrol-ma (? Trilokacalana Tārā): She has four faces—yellow, green, red and white—and eight arms. She displays the pose of granting a boon (*varada-mudrā*) and carries the sun, a parasol and a conch-shell with her right hands, while a blue lotus (*utpala*), a noose, a garland and a shield are the symbols she has in her left hands. She is amply decked with ornaments. (2) Dge-ba can (? Kalyāṇī) originates from the syllable *oṃ*, adorned with every possible ornament. Single-faced and two-armed, she shows the pose of granting protection (Tib. *skyabs sbyin-pa*) with her right hand and carries a blue lotus with her left. Her complexion is that of the sun. (3) Ḥjig-rten thams-cad gyo-bar byed-pa (? Sarvaloka-calanā), whose origin is the syllable *hūṃ*, sits cross-legged, white as the *padma* and *kunda* flowers, possessing the splendour of the moon, resplendent with many ornaments including a diadem. She has a single face and four arms. She carries the moon and the thunderbolt (*vajra*) with her right hands, and a blue lotus and a fire-wheel (Tib. *meḥi ḥkhor-lo*) with her left. (4) Sñan-pa mo (? Yaśomatī) originates from the syllable *hriḥ*. She is yellow in colour, single-faced, two-armed and adorned with ornaments. She carries a garland with her right hand and a book placed on a blue lotus with her left. (5) Dbyaṅs-can-ma (Sarasvatī), whose origin is the syllable *a*, is white-complexioned, single-faced, three-eyed and two-armed. A *padma* and an *utpala* which she carries in her right and left hands, respectively, are her symbols. She sits cross-legged, adorned with many ornaments. (6) Śes-rab-ma (Prajñā) originates from the syllable *ma*. She is yellow in colour, has one face and two hands with which she carries the *vajra* and the blue lotus, wears a diadem and sits in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude. (7) Dpal-mo (Śrī or Kamalā), who originates from the syllable *būṃ*, has a single face and two arms. She carries a jewel and a flower with her right hand and shows the *varada mudrā* with her left. (8) Blo-ḥphel-ma (Prajñā-vardhanī), a single-faced, four-armed goddess, originates from the syllable *taṃ*. A bow, an arrow, a blue lotus and a sword are her symbols. (9) Gsod-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma originates from the syllable *hūṃ* and has two arms, a dark complexion, an expression of fury, three eyes, a gaping mouth, a face distorted with anger and a moving tongue. Clad in a tiger-skin, she carries a short, crooked sword and a skull filled with blood. A necklace of fifty human heads hangs from her shoulders. (10) Rgyas-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (? Vardhinī Tārā), who originates from the word *vajraṃ*, sits in the *vajraparyaṅka* posture, adorned with many ornaments. Yellow is the colour and a fruit and a leaf of the aśoka tree are the symbols of this single-faced, two-armed goddess. (11) Ḥdod-gzugs-can-gyi sgrol-ma (? Kāmarūpī Tārā) is one-faced, two-armed and greenish-yellow in colour. Adorned with many ornaments, she carries the *vajra* and the *ghaṇṭā* (bell). (12) Phan-par brtson-pa is reddish white (Tib. *dkar dmar mdog*) in complexion. She has one face and four hands. She shows the pose of granting protection with the first of her right hands while displaying the *varada-mudrā* with the first of her left hands. With the remaining two hands she carries a blue lotus and a garland. *Hūṃ* is the syllable of her origin. (13) Gyul-las sgrol-bar byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (? Saṅgrāma-trāṇa Tārā) originates from the syllable *i*. She has three faces and six arms. She carries the bow and arrow with her first two hands, an elephant and a flag with the middle pair of hands, and a sword and a noose with the last. (14) Rgyal-ba-mo (? Jayā), a white-complexioned, one-faced and two-armed goddess, originates from the syllable *oṃ*. Adorned with many

ornaments, she carries an eight-spoked wheel and a flag. (15) Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol phyin-ma (Prajñāpāramitā) of the colour of gold, and decked with ornaments, originates from the syllable *a*. She has one face and four arms. She shows the pose of granting protection with the first of her right hands and carries a *vajra* with the other, while displaying the *varada-mudrā* with the first of her left hands and carrying the blue lotus and the book with the other. (16) Ḥphags-ma sgrol-ma (Ārya-Tārā) is a green-complexioned, single-faced and two-armed goddess who originates from the syllable *taṃ*. She displays the *varada-mudrā* with her right, and carries a blue lotus with her left hand, besides posing the gesture of granting protection. (17) Yid ḥoṅ-ba (? Manoharā) originates from the syllable *traṃ*. She is one-faced, two-armed and white in colour. She carries a flower of the *nāgavṛkṣa* (lit. nāga tree) in her right hand and a flag with the picture of a jewel in her left. She is decked with garments and various ornaments. (18) Rdsa-rṅa-can-gyi sgrol-ma (? Mṛdaṅgī Tārā) is yellow in colour, one-faced and four-armed. She carries a jewel and a sword with the hands in front, while gesturing the beating of a drum with the other two hands. Decked with ornaments, this goddess, who originates from the syllable *a*, sits in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude. (19) Duṅ sgrol-ma (Śaṅkha Tārā), whose syllable of origin is *paṃ*, is bluish green in colour. A conch-shell and a banner which she carries with her hands in the front, and a sword and the blue lotus held in the hands behind, are her symbols. (20) Rgyas-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma, a yellow-complexioned, four-faced goddess, originates from the syllable *hriḥ*. The symbols she carries and the poses she shows with the first, second, third and fourth hands in respective order are as follows. Right: a water-vessel, a rosary, a parasol and a gaṇḍī (a gong); left: a mango, a blue lotus, a begging bowl and the threatening (*tarjanī*) *mudrā*. Adorned with ornaments, this goddess sits in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude. (21) Tshig sñan-ma (? Mañjusvarā) originates from the syllable *hūṃ*, is blue in colour and has one face and two hands, with which she carries a sword and a wheel. She is adorned with ornaments. (22) Zla-baḥi mdog can (? Candravarṇā) originates from the syllable *oṃ*. Her body is as white as the rays of the moon. She has five faces, radiantly white like the *kumuda* flowers. With the first pair of her ten hands, she carries a mirror and a conch-shell. She holds a *vajra* and a blue lotus with the second and third hands on the right, while showing the grace bestowing (*varada*) *mudrā* with the fourth. The symbol in the fifth hand is an arrow. With the remaining four hands in the left, she carries a lance, a wheel, a bell and a bow. She is decked with many ornaments. (23) Dkar-mo chen-mo (Mahāśvetā), whose syllable of origin is *a*, is white in colour. Single-faced and two-armed, she carries a water-vessel with one hand and shows the *varada-mudrā* with the other. She is adorned with garments and ornaments. (24) Mi ḥpham (Aparājitā) originates from the syllable *so*, is yellow in colour and has one face and two hands. She carries a *vajra* and a blue lotus and shows the gesture of granting protection and the *varada mudrā* with her hands. Ornaments adorn her body. (25) Sgyū-ma chen-mo (Mahāmāyā) originates from the syllable *gaṃ*. Red in complexion and adorned with ornaments, she emanates a radiance around her. She has four faces and eight hands. With her right hands she carries a lion, a circular drum, a staff and an iron hook, while the symbols in her left hands are a blue lotus, a trident, a banner and a jackal. (26) Stobs-mo che (Mahābalā), a single-faced, two-armed, three-eyed goddess, who originates from the syllable *aḥ*, is blue (Tib. *sṅon-mo*) in colour and adorned with many ornaments. She bears a slightly wrathful expression. (27) Gtum-mo chen-mo (Mahācaṇḍā) is a blue-complexioned deity emanating from the syllable *hūṃ*. Single-faced and two-armed she carries a sword with her right hand and shows the attitude of threatening (*tarjanī-mudrā*) with her left. She is adorned with many ornaments. (28) Sdaṅ-ba thams-cad brlag-par byed-pa (lit. she who overpowers all hostilities), dark-grey in colour and adorned with ornaments, originates from the syllable *yaṃ*. Carrying a trident in her right hand and a razor in her left, she sits cross-legged. (29) Rab-tu shi-ba (? Prasanna Tārā), who originates from the syllable *oṃ*, is white-complexioned, single-faced and four-armed. Resplendent with many ornaments she sits cross-legged on a peacock throne. With the first of her right hands she shows the pose of granting protection while holding a cup with the first of the left hands. A staff and an iron hook are the symbols she carries with the other two hands. (30) Rnam-par rgyal-ba (? Vijayā) originates from the syllable *bhūṃ*. Yellow and adorned with ornaments, she is single-faced and two-armed. She carries the sun and Indra in her right hand, and the moon and the lord of asuras (Tib. *thag bzaṅ-ris*) in her left hand. (31) Ḥbar-baḥi ḥod mṅaḥ-baḥi sgrol-ma springs from the syllable *hūṃ* and radiates light from her body. She has three faces and four hands. She displays the *varada-mudrā* with her two hands in front which have the signs of a blue lotus and a water vessel on them. With her remaining hands she carries drum-sticks and little bells swaying with the wind. (32) Glog-phren-ma

(? Vidyunmālā), arising out of the syllable *a*, is red in colour and adorned with ornaments. This single-faced and two-armed deity carries a string of pearls holding it to her chest with her right hand, while holding a blue lotus with its stalk and showing the *varada-mudrā* with her left. (33) Rgyal-mtshan-can (? Ketumatī), who emanates from the syllable *hūṃ*, is reddish yellow in colour, one-faced and two-armed. This goddess, resplendent with all her ornaments, shows the *varada-mudrā* with her right hand. A banner bearing the sign of a *vajra* is the symbol she has in her left hand. (34) Ye-śes-can (? Jñānavatī), who derives from the syllable *a*, is a red-complexioned goddess, single-faced, two-armed and adorned with many ornaments. She carries a sword with the right hand and a wheel with the left. (35) Śes-rab can (? Prajñāvatī), a one-faced, four-armed goddess, who emanates from the syllable *taṃ*, is green in colour and adorned with ornaments. She sits cross-legged showing the *varada-mudrā* with the first of her right hands and holding a blue lotus with the first of her left. She carries a bow and arrow with the remaining hands. (36) Myos-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (? Madana Tārā) is green in colour, one-faced, two-armed and well adorned with ornaments. She shows the *varada-mudrā* with her right hand and carries a vessel full of wine with her left. The syllable of her origin is *yaṃ*. (37) Reṅ-bar byed-paḥi sgrol-ma arises from the syllable *raṃ*, is white in colour and has one face and two arms. She carries a *vajra* with her right hand and shows an attitude of threatening (*tarjanī-mudrā*) with her left. The costume of this wrathful deity is adorned with serpents. (38) Nag-po chen-mo (? Mahākālī), who takes her origin from the syllable *hūṃ*, is black in colour, swine-faced, two-armed and three-eyed. Wrathful in expression, she is adorned with serpents. She carries a *vajra* and a short, crooked sword with her right hand, a skull filled with blood and an elephant's hide with her left. (39) Mtshan-mo nag-mo (? Kālalakṣaṇā) originates from the syllable *hūṃ* and is red in colour. Single-faced and four-armed, she is clad in black garments and adorned with ornaments. She carries a wheel and a sword with her right hands, a *bhavacakra* (lit. the cycle of existence) with one of her left hands, while showing the gesture of threatening (*tarjanī-mudrā*) with her remaining hand. (40) Sruṅ-bar byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (? Rakṣā Tārā), who springs from the syllable *oṃ*, is green in colour, single-faced and two-armed. Adorned with ornaments, she carries a wheel with her right hand and shows the attitude of threatening with her left hand, the fist of which is clenched. (41) Rmoṅs byed-ma (? Mohanā) who derives from the syllable *oṃ*, is pale blue in colour, has three faces and six hands, and is adorned with many ornaments. (42) Shi-ba-mo (Śānti or Śamā), who derives from the syllable *traṃ*, is single-faced and two-armed. She carries an *utpala* flower with her right hand that bears the sign of a jewel and shows the gesture of granting protection with her left which has the sign of a book on a blue lotus. Yellow in complexion, she is adorned with many ornaments. (43) Mdzes-ma chen-mo originates from the syllable *a*. Bluish green in complexion, she has one face and two hands. The symbols in her right hand are a blue lotus and a *vajra*. She shows the pose of explaining the dharma with her left hand. She is adorned with many ornaments. (44) Tshaṅs-paḥi bu-mo (? Brahmakanyā), a yellow-complexioned goddess, who takes her origin from the syllable *oṃ*, has one face and two arms. A blue lotus, the sun and the moon, and a jewel are the symbols in her right hand with which she displays the *varada-mudrā*. She shows the pose of granting protection with her left hand. Adorned with many ornaments, she has a goose as her throne. (45) Rigs-byed-ma, a goddess originating from the syllable *oṃ*, has four faces and eight arms. She is clad in garments of various sorts and adorned with ornaments. With the front pair of her hands she carries a blue lotus and a book. A parasol, an arrow and a conch-shell are the symbols she holds in her remaining hands while those on the left are a banner, a bow and a round vessel. (46) Gsaṅ-ba-mo who arises out of the syllable *taṃ*, is green-complexioned, one-faced and two-armed. Adorned with ornaments of bone, she shows the *varada mudrā* with her right hand and holds a red lotus to her heart with the left. Her nether garments are of deer-skin. (47) Bkra-śis don grub-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (? Maṅgalārthasiddhikarā), a four-faced goddess of the colour of gold, adorned with many ornaments, arises out of the syllable *maṃ*. With the first of her right hands she holds a banner having the sign of a jewel on it, while the symbols she carries in her three remaining right hands are a wheel, an eight-petalled red lotus and a conch-shell. The symbols in her left hands are a water-vessel, the *śrīvatsa* symbol, a fish and a parasol. (48) Shi-ba chen-mo (? Mahāśamā), a white-complexioned, single-faced, two-armed goddess, taking her origin from the syllable *oṃ*, sits cross-legged, resplendent with many ornaments. She holds a garland to her chest with her right hand, while displaying the *varada-mudrā* and carrying a lotus with her left. (49) Rigs-byed-ma, originating from the syllable *so*, reddish yellow in colour, is decked with many ornaments. She has four faces and ten arms. The

symbols in her right hands are a lance, trident, drum-sticks, a mirror and a *vajra*, while those in her left hands are a bell, a blue lotus, a pestle, a water-vessel and a wheel. (50) Yid mgyogs-ma (? Manojavā), who sits cross-legged on a water-vessel and takes her origin from the syllable *hūṃ*, is yellow in colour, single-faced and two-armed. Decked with ornaments, she has her hands pressed against her chest. (51) Ḥod-pa-can (? Prabhāvatī) originates from the syllable *hūṃ*. Red in colour, she has one face and two arms. She carries a knife in her right hand and a skull in her left. She has her right leg stretched out. (52) Śugs-can-ma (? Vegavatī), who arises out of the syllable *taṃ*, is blue, one-faced and two-armed. Clad in white garments and adorned with bejewelled ornaments, she sits cross-legged, carrying a water-vessel in her right hand and a jackal in her left. (53) Tshaṅs-pa-mo (? Brahmāṇī), who emanates from the syllable *a*, is white-complexioned, four-faced and eight-armed. Adorned with many ornaments, she sits cross-legged. A garland, a vessel full of ambrosia, an outstretched hand and an aśoka branch with a vessel are the symbols and the gestures of her right hands. She holds the sun and the moon with the first of her left hands, mount Meru with the second, a being arising out of a lotus with the third and shows the pose of preaching the doctrine with the fourth. (54) Bden-pa smra-ba-mo (? Satyaṃvadā or Satyavāṇī) sits on a lion adorned with ornaments. Her syllable of origin is *sa*. She is yellow in colour, one-faced and two-armed. The blue lotus and a sword are her symbols. Her right hand is stretched, touching the knee, and so is her left. (55) Pha-rol-las rgyal-bar byed originates from the syllable *oṃ*, is yellow in colour and adorned with ornaments. Single-faced and two-armed, she carries a trident in her right hand and holds a blue lotus and a water-vessel in her left. (56) Ded-dpon chen-mo, who takes her origin from the syllable *haṃ*, is reddish white in complexion. This goddess, who is adorned with many ornaments, has one face and two arms. She carries a blue lotus and a lion with her right hand and an iron hook with her left. (57) Sñiṅ-rje gnas-par byed-pa, a yellow-complexioned, single-faced and two-armed deity, emanating from the syllable *maṃ*, carries an iron hook and a noose with her right hand. An iron shackle and a bell are the symbols in her left hand. Resplendent with ornaments, she sits on a blue lotus. (58) Chud mi za-bar byed-paḥi sgrol-ma sits cross-legged, adorned with many ornaments, arisen out of the syllable *a*. She is green in colour and has one face and two arms. The symbols in her right hand are a blue lotus and a splendid horse. She carries a jewel and a basket with her left hand. (59) Lam rab-tu ston-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma, who derives from the syllable *paṃ* is reddish-white in complexion. This single-faced, two-armed goddess carries a sword in her right hand and a blue lotus along with a lamp in her left. (60) Mchog-ster-ba byed-pa (? Varada-tārā), a three-faced and four-armed goddess, shows the *varada-mudrā* with the first of her right hands in which she holds a jewel as well. While holding a vessel to her chest with the first of her left hands, she carries a bow and an arrow with her two remaining hands. The syllable of her origin is *bruṃ* and her colour yellow. (61) Dṅos-grub ster-bar byed-pa (? Siddhida-Tārā), a white, single-faced, two-armed goddess, takes her origin from the syllable *a*. A water-vessel in her right hand and a key are her symbols. (62) Dṅos-grub ston-pa byed-pa, originating from the syllable *a*, is red in colour and adorned with ornaments of all kinds. She has one face and two arms. A water-vessel in her right hand and a house bearing the sign of a jewel (Tib. *rin-po-ches mtshan-paḥi khaṅ-pa*) in her left form her symbols. (63) Bud-med-gzugs-can so sor ḥbraṅ ma is a youthful goddess, who sits cross-legged, decked with garments and ornaments. This goddess, who originates from the syllable *traṃ*, is reddish yellow in colour. She has one face and two arms. A *vajra* which she holds in her right hand and an aśoka twig in her left are her symbols. (64) Dpag med gnod-par byed-paḥi ḥod-zer can, a single-faced, two-armed goddess, who originates from the syllable *baṃ*, is reddish yellow in colour. Decked with ornaments, she holds an aśoka twig in her right hand and an elephant inside a lotus in bloom in her left. This goddess stands in a carriage. (65) Ri-khrod-ma who emanates from the syllable *hūṃ* is one-faced, two-armed and yellow in colour. She carries a battle-axe in her right hand and a noose in her left. Decked with ornaments, she is clad in garments of leaves and sits in the *ardha-paryaṅka* posture. (66) Rnal-ḥbyor-ma (Yoginī), who takes her origin from the syllable *hri*, is a red-complexioned goddess, single-faced and two-armed. She carries a knife in her right hand and a magic wand (*khaṭvāṅga*) in her left. She is decked with ornaments. (67) Grub-ma (Siddhā), who arises out of the syllable *hriḥ* and is reddish white in complexion, has one face and two arms. A noose in her right hand and an iron hook and a water-vessel in her left are her symbols. (68) Gshum-mo originates from the syllable *hūṃ*. Black in colour, single-faced, and two-armed, she carries a sword in her right hand, while holding a noose and showing the *tarjanī mudrā* with the left. Decked with ornaments, she sits in the *ardhaparyaṅka* posture. (69) Bdud-rtsi-mo (? Amṛtā), white in complexion, single-faced and

two-armed, takes her origin from the syllable *hri*. Adorned with various ornaments and garments, she carries a *kalpavṛkṣa* (the wish-fulfilling tree) in her right hand and a vessel full of ambrosia in her left. (70) Skal-pa sbyin-pa who derives from the syllable *muṃ* is red in colour. She has one face and two arms. An abode of the gods (Tib. *gshal yas khaṅ*) in her right hand and a blue lotus in her left are her symbols. (71) Skal bzaṅ-ma, whose syllable of origin is *oṃ*, is decked with ornaments. This single-faced goddess has two arms, the right carrying a jewel and the left, a blue lotus. (72) Mdzes-par byed-pa, who emanates from the syllable *sva*, is white in complexion, one-faced and two-armed. She carries a figure of a deer in her right hand and a blue lotus in her left. (73) Ḥdod-pa grub-par byed-pa, arisen out of the syllable *taṃ*, sits in the *ardhaparyaṅka* posture. Green in colour, she has one face and two arms. She shows the *varada-mudrā* with her right hand and carries a blue lotus in her left. (74) Dṅos grub thams-cad gter-bar byed-pa originates from the syllable *a*. Reddish yellow in colour, she has one face and two arms. A jewel in her right hand and an iron hook in her left are her symbols. She is adorned with many ornaments. (75) Mthar-byed-ma originates from the syllable *hūṃ*. Dark-grey in colour she has one face and two arms. Decked with many ornaments, she carries a bud in her right hand and wields a stick with the left. (76) Sgrag-par byed-pa, who takes her origin from the syllable *hūṃ*, is dark in colour, single-faced and two-armed. Adorned with ornaments, she carries a club (*gadā*) in her right hand and shows a pointing finger with her left. Her face appears frightful, overpowered by wrath. Her mount is an elephant. (77) Rab-tu sdud-par byed-pa, a single-faced, four-armed goddess, who arises out of the syllable *taṃ*, is green in colour and adorned with ornaments. She shows the *varada-mudrā* and carries a garland in her right hands. A book and a blue lotus are the symbols in her left hands. She sits cross-legged. (78) Dran-byed-ma (? Smṛti) originates from the syllable *hriḥ*. White in complexion, she has one face and four arms. The sun and a red lotus in bloom in her hands in front and a bow and arrow in her hands behind are her symbols. All kinds of ornaments adorn her body. (79) Brtul shugs chen-mo, a white-complexioned, single-faced, two-armed goddess, leans against an aśoka tree, carrying a trident in her right hand and a round object in her left. *A* is the syllable of her origin. (80) Phan-par brtson-pa, emanating from the syllable *oṃ*, is white-complexioned, one-faced, two-armed and adorned with ornaments. Carrying a jewel in her right hand and a water- vessel in her left, she leans against a bodhi-tree. (81) Skyob-par byed-pa (? Rakṣā) derives from the syllable *maṃ*. Green in colour, she has one face and four arms. She shows the pose of granting protection with the first of her right hands and holds an arrow in the other. She carries an *utpala* in the first of her left hands and a bow in the second. (82) Gus byed-ma, a single-faced and two-armed goddess, sits in the *paryaṅka* posture, carrying a book and a blue lotus in her right hand while showing the pose of granting protection besides holding a blue lotus with the left. The syllable of her origin is *taṃ* and her colour blue. (83) Bde-ba-mo (? Sukhā) who rises out of the syllable *ghaṃ*, is yellow in complexion, one-faced and two-armed. She shows the pose of granting protection with her right hand. On a blue lotus in her left hand is a sparrow (Tib. *ka-la-bi*), a bird with a sweet voice. (84) Ṅag-gi dbaṅ phyug-ma (? Vāgīśvarī) originates from the syllable *hriḥ*. She is red in colour, has one face and two arms, and is adorned with many ornaments. She carries a sword in her right hand and a lion in her left. (85) Shi-bar byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (? Śamana Tārā), who takes her origin from the syllable *taṃ*, is one-faced and two-armed. She embraces the trunk of an aśoka-tree in her right hand and carries a vessel in her left. She is adorned with many ornaments. (86) She-shiṅ phra-ba, who derives from the syllable *hūṃ*, is bluish green in colour, three-faced and six-armed. She carries a sword and a book in her first pair of hands, shows the pose of meditation with the second pair and holds a bow and an arrow in the third. (87) Rtag-pa-ma (? Nityā), a white-complexioned, single-faced, two-armed goddess, sits in the *vajra-paryaṅka* attitude, carrying a wheel in her right hand and showing a meditative pose with her left. *Oṃ* is the syllable of origin of this goddess who is adorned with many ornaments. (88) Kun ḥgro-ma is a yellow-complexioned goddess, arising out of the syllable *saṃ*. She has one face and two arms. She carries the *svastika* symbol in her right hand and a bag made (of the skin) of an ichneumon in her left. (89) Rjes-ḥgro-ma derives from the syllable *hriḥ*. Red in colour, she has one face and two arms. She carries a jewel in her right hand and two silk pieces in her left. Adorned with ornaments, she stands with her left leg outstretched. (90) Don kun grub-par byed-pa, who emanates from the syllable *taṃ*, is yellow-complexioned, single-faced and two-armed. She carries a cymbal in her right hand and a *svastika* on a lotus in her left. (91) Bzaṅ-po-ma (? Bhadrā), a single-faced, two-armed goddess, originates from the syllable *hūṃ*. White in colour and adorned with many ornaments, she carries a water-vessel in her

right hand and an iron hook in her left. (92) Gsaṅ-byed-ma, arisen out of the syllable *a*, sits in the *paryaṅka* posture. Decked with many ornaments, yellow-complexioned, single-faced and two-armed, she carries an aśoka tree in her right hand and shows the *varada-mudrā* with her left. (93) Gso-byed-ma, who takes her origin from the syllable *sva*, is green in colour, one-faced and two-armed. She carries a valuable jewel in her right hand, while showing the *varada-mudrā* and holding a blue lotus with her left. (94) Nor ster-ma (? Dhanada Tārā) emanates from the syllable *tsuṃ*. Yellow-complexioned, one-faced and two-armed, she shows the *varada-mudrā* besides carrying a jewel in her right hand. A leather bag full of jewels is the symbol in her left hand. (95) Mi ḥjigs-pa (? Abhaya Tārā), blue in colour, one-faced and two-armed, originates from the syllable *hūṃ*, resplendent with many ornaments. She shows the pose of granting protection with the right hand and that of explaining the doctrine with the left. (96) Bsod nams can (? Puṇyavatī) derives from the syllable *paṃ*, blue-complexioned, one-faced, two-armed and adorned with ornaments. A blue lotus in the right hand and a string of crystal or glass beads in the left are her symbols. (97) Geuta-ma, a goddess with a golden complexion has one face and four hands. She shows a specified mudrā (Tib. *spyi-bor rab-tu dgaḥ-baḥi phyag-rgya*) with the pair of hands in front, carries a sword with the right hand behind and an aśoka branch with the corresponding left hand. (98) Spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-las-skyes-pa (? Avalokiteśvarajātā), a goddess adorned with ornaments, springs from the syllable *hriḥ*. She is white-complexioned, one-faced, and two-armed. She shows the *varada-mudrā* with her right hand, while carrying a round vessel, too, and poses her left hand in the attitude of granting protection, besides holding a blue lotus with it. (99) Mi-ḥjigs-pa-srid-len-ma, a white goddess originating from the syllable *hūṃ*, appears on a water-vessel. Adorned with ornaments, single-faced and two-armed, she carries a garland and the *śrīvatsa* symbol in her right hand, while holding a lotus and a water-vessel with her left. (100) Dkaḥ-thub-chen-mo, green in colour, one-faced and two-armed, takes her origin from the syllable *hūṃ*. An ear of corn in her right hand, and a mirror in her left are her symbols. (101) Chom-rkun-las rgyal-ba (she who overpowers robbers and thieves) emanates from the syllable *taṃ*, is green-complexioned and resplendent with ornaments. This goddess shows the pose of granting protection with her right hand and carries a blue lotus in her left. (102) Sbrul-las skyob-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (? Ahitrāṇa Tārā) derives from the syllable *dzaṃ*. Green in colour, adorned with ornaments, single-faced and two-armed, she holds a peacock-feather in her right hand, while showing the pose of granting protection with the left, besides carrying a blue lotus. (103) Seṅ-geḥi ḥjigs-pa-las skyob-paḥi sgrol-ma (Siṃhabhayatrāṇa Tārā) is one-faced and two-armed. She shows the pose of granting protection with each hand, besides carrying a blue lotus in her left. Many ornaments adorn her. The syllable of her origin is *hūṃ* and her colour is green. (104) Me-las skyob-par byed-pa shes bya-baḥi sgrol-ma (Agnitrāṇa Tārā), who takes her origin from the syllable *a*, is green in colour and resplendent with ornaments. Single-faced and two-armed, she poses each hand in the attitude of granting protection. The moon in her right hand and a blue lotus in her left are her symbols. (105) Glaṅ-po-che-las skyob-pa shes-bya-baḥi sgrol-ma (? Hastitrāṇa Tārā), a green-complexioned, one-faced, two-armed goddess, resplendent with ornaments, treading on an elephant, shows the attitude of granting protection with each of her hands. She carries a blue lotus, too, in her left hand. *Oṃ* is the syllable of her origin. (106) Stag-las skyob-pa shes-bya-baḥi sgrol-ma (Vyāghratrāṇa Tārā) originates from the syllable *hūṃ*. Greenish white in colour she has one face and two arms. She shows the pose of granting protection with her right hand and also has the ring-finger pressed with her thumb. A blue lotus is the symbol in her left hand. (107) Chu-las skyob-par byed-paḥi sgrol-ma (Jalatrāṇa Tārā), a bluish-green goddess, originating from the syllable *laṃ*, is single-faced and two-armed. She is seen on water, showing the pose of granting protection with her right hand. She adopts the same pose with her left hand, besides holding a blue lotus to her heart. She is adorned with many ornaments. (108) Shi-mdsad-ma originates from the syllable *hri*, adorned with ornaments, red-complexioned, single-faced and

two-armed. She shows the pose of granting protection with her right hand, while carrying an iron hook on a blue lotus in her left.

Each of the goddesses listed above is said to originate from the specified syllables, either on the lotus and the moon (Tib. *padma daṅ zla-baḥi steṅ-du*, Skt. *padmacandropari*) or on the lotus and the sun (Tib. *padma daṅ ñima-ḥi steṅ-du*, Skt. *padmasūryopari*). Some of the goddesses bear the same name (See Nos. 10 and 20; 45 and 49; 12 and 80) but their forms are different.

R. H.

AṢṬAŚMAŚĀNĀKHYĀNA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur in the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 1216) and in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section in the Peking edition (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 56, No. 2345). Both editions give the same Tibetan title: *Dur-khrod brgyad-kyi bśad-pa*. The Sanskrit title as quoted in the Peking edition is *Aṣṭaśmaśāna-nāma* while the Sde-dge has *Aṣṭaśmaśānākhyāna-nāma*. The latter is a more accurate rendering of the Tibetan. The author of the work is Rnal-ḥbyor-pa (Yogin). The translation is attributed to Buddhākaravajra and a second person, Mgos, according to the Peking edition (Ḥogs Lhas-btsas according to the Sde-dge edition).

Information about the eight cemeteries, said to be placed at the four cardinal directions and the four intermediate corners, forms the content of the work. The names of each cemetery, the tree associated with it, the deity, the guardian of the direction, the nāga (serpent) and the cloud are cited.

1. The cemetery in the eastern quarter is called Gtum-drag (? Rudra). The tree is arura (*aru* is a name for the red-blossomed *khadira* tree according to Monier-Williams, *Dict.*). The deity, Gtum-drag, has the face of an elephant and is white in colour. The yellow-complexioned regent of the quarter carries a *vajra* in his right hand and shows the pose of threatening (*tarjanī-mudrā*) with his left. His vehicle (*vāhana*) is the white elephant, Sa-sruṅs (possibly the name of one of the eight *diggaja*, the mythological elephants who guard the "quarters" of the world. See S.C. Das, *Tib. Eng. Dict.* under *Phyogs-kyi glaṅ-po*). The nāga associated with the cemetery, Vāsukī, is yellow in colour and the cloud, Sgra-sgrogs, is blue.

2. The cemetery in the northern direction, Tshaṅ-tshiṅ by name, has the *bodhi* as its tree. The deity (?) Pagara has a human face and is yellow in colour. The guardian of the quarter, Lus-ṅan (epithet of Vaiśravaṇa), is also yellow. He shows the gesture of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*) with his right hand and carries a club (*gadā*) with the left. The nāga of this cemetery, Takṣaka (Tib. *ḥjog-po*) is red and the cloud Lcags-pa is white.

3. Ḥbar-bas ḥkhrigs-paḥi keṅ-rus is the name of the cemetery of the western quarter and also its deity, who, yellow in colour, has the head of a *makara* (Tib. *chu-srin*, a water-monster). The tree associated with this cemetery is the *aśoka*. Varuṇa, the guardian of this direction, is white. His vehicle is a *makara*. He shows the pose of threatening (*tarjanī-mudrā*) with his right hand and carries a noose (*pāśa*) in his left. The nāga of the cemetery, Stobs-kyi rgyu, is green, while the cloud, Drag-po (*? caṇḍa*), is white.

4. The cemetery in the south, Ḥjigs-sde, has the *badara* as its tree. The deity, Ḥjigs-sde, is black in complexion. The regent of the quarter, Yama, is also black. He carries a staff (*daṇḍa*) and a noose (*pāśa*) with his right and left hands, respectively. His vehicle is a buffalo (*mahiṣa*). A white nāga, called Padma, and the cloud Ḥkhrigs-pa (*? ghana*) are associated with this cemetery.

5. The cemetery in the south-eastern corner is called Dpal-gyi nags. The tree there is the *karañja*. The white-complexioned deity of the cemetery, Dpal-gyi nags, has a goat's face. The regent of the direction, Byin-zas, is red in colour. Carrying a string of beads in his right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* (water-vessel) in his left, he rides a goat. The nāga of this cemetery, Mahāpadma, is white. The cloud, Ḥkhyil-ba (*? āvartta*), is red.

6. The cemetery in the south-west is called Ḥjigs-paḥi mun-pa. The *udumbara* tree there is the residence of the deity Ḥjigs-pa, who is black in

colour. The regent of this corner is the demon Nairṛti (Tib. *srin-po bden-bral*). He displays the *tarjanī-mudrā* with his right hand and carries a human head with his left. His vehicle is a corpse. The nāga Ananta (Tib. *Mthaḥ yas*) of this cemetery is blue, while the cloud, Sgra-sgrogs, is yellow.

7. Kīlikila is the cemetery in the north-western corner. There, the tree *srid-sgrub* is the abode of the deity Kīlikila. His colour is that of smoke. The guardian of the corner is Vāyu. He carries a woollen cloth (Tib. *rluṅ-gi snam-bu*, Skt. *? vāyu-kambala*). His vehicle is a deer. The nāga associated with the cemetery, Khra-bo (*? citra*), and the cloud, Ḥbebs-pa, are green.

8. The cemetery in the north-eastern corner is called Ha-har rgod-pa. Its deity bears the same name. White in complexion, he has the face of a bull. The regent of this direction is Indra whose colour is pale-green. The symbols he carries are a trident in the right hand and a skull (*kapāla*) in his left. A bull is his vehicle. The tree of the cemetery is the *nyagrodha*. The nāga Duṅ-skyoṅ (Śaṅkhapāla) is yellow, while the cloud Gtum-mo (*? caṇḍa*) is of various colours.

All the guardians of the directions have human faces and they are two-armed. The nāgas of the directions have seven hoods each.

See AṢṬAŚMAŚĀNA-NĀMA.

R. H.

AṢṬAŚMAŚĀNA-NĀMA, the title of two different texts, the Tibetan translations of which occur in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tenygur under the title *Dur-khrod brgyad ces-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 56, Nos. 2342, 2343). Both translations are attributed to Ratnaśrīmitra and Śākya ye-śes.

The first of these, No. 2342, is a prose composition which cites the names of the trees, the deities, the guardians, the nāga kings and the clouds associated with the cemetery of each direction. The colour of the clouds is specified. The names of the cemeteries are not given. Presumably they bear the names of their respective deities as in the *Aṣṭaśmaśānākhyāna-nāma* (q.v.). The information given in the text may be tabulated as follows.

Direction	*Tree*	*Name of deity presiding over the maṇḍala (Tib. shiṅ-gi bdag-poḥi lha)*	*The guardians of the directions*	*The Nāga kings*	*Clouds*	*Colour of Clouds*
East	Nāgapuṣpa	Aṣṭahasa (? for Aṭṭahasa)	Indra	Mahāpadma	Lhor	?
South	Āmra (mango)	Caritra	Yama	Rigs-ldan (Kulika)	Caṇḍa	blue
West	Aśvattha	Kolagiri	Varuṇa	Stobs-kyi rgyu	Ghana	white
North	Punnāgara	Jayanti	Lus-ṅan-po (epithet of Vaiśravaṇa)	Duṅ-skyoṅ (Śaṅkhapāla)	Āvartta	yellow
North-east	Nyagrodha	Ujjayani	Drag-po (? Rudra)	Ḥjog-po (Takṣaka)	Garjita	black
South-east	Karañja	Prayāka	Agni	Padma	Gharmita	variegated in colour
South-west	? Latajāta	Rna-ḥchus	Yama	Ananta	Ḥbab-pa	black
North-west	Udumbara	Lha-moḥi mkhar	Vāyu	Nor-rgyas-kyi bu (? Vāsukeya)	? Būraṇa	greyish-black (Tib. dkar-nag)

No. 2343, the second text mentioned above, is a metrical composition, which cites the names of the eight cemeteries, the trees, the guardians of the directions, the nāgas and the clouds associated with each cemetery. The information given here is not always the same as in the previous text, as is clear from the following tabulation. The list of names of trees is not complete.

As the title indicates, the text claims to describe the procedure of making offerings to sixty-four deities forming eight groups of eight, who belong to the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (Tib. *dus-kyi ḥkhor-lo-las rnal-ḥbyor-ma*). But, in fact, seventy-two deities, who form eight groups of nine are enumerated and described in the text. These correspond to the

Direction	*Name of cemetery*	*Tree*	*Guardian of the direction*	*Nāga*	*Cloud*
East	Gtum-mo	Śrīṣa	Indra	Nor-rgyas-bu (? Vāsukeya)	Garjita (sic. Garji)
North	? Gahana	Aśvattha	Kuvera (Tib. nor sbyin)	Takṣaka	Gharmita
West	Ḥbar-ba ḥkhyil-ba thod-pa-can	Kaṅkeli	Klu-dbaṅ	Stobs-kyi rgyu	Ḥjigs
South	Rnam ḥjigs	Cūta (mango)	Yama	Padma	? Āvartta (sic. Abato)
North-east	Atrāhasa (? aṭṭahasa)	?	Dbaṅ ldan	Mahāpadma	Ghana
South-east	Nilakṣī or Lakṣi	Karañja	Byin bdag	Huluhulu (? for Hullura)	Parṣaṇa
South-west	Ḥjigs-paḥi mun-pa	—	Srin-poḥi dbaṅ-po	Rigs-ldan (Kulika)	Buraṇa
North-west	Kilikila	—	Rluṅ-bdag (Vāyu)	Duṅ-skyoṅ (Śaṅkhapāla)	Gtum-pa

See AṢṬAŚMAŚĀNĀKHYĀNA-NĀMA.

R. H.

AṢṬĀṢṬAKENA-CATUḤṢAṢṬI-YOGINĪ-BALI-VIDHI-NĀMA, the title of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Brgyad brgyad drug-cu rtsa bshiḥi rnal-ḥbyor-ma-rnams-kyi gtor-maḥi cho-ga shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 47, No. 2097). This translation is attributed to Kīrticandra and Grags-par rgyal-mtshan.

seventy-two deities who occupy the *Vārimaṇḍala* of the magic circle of *Kālacakra* described by Abhayākaragupta in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (ed. by B. Bhattacharyya, *GOS*. CIX, Boroda, 1949, Introd. pp. 78–81, text, pp. 87–8).

Like the deities in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, those described in the text under consideration occupy

eight-petalled lotuses in the four cardinal directions and the four intermediate corners. Each deity has four hands and three eyes. The number of faces varies. The principal deities occupy the centres of the lotuses. Their names and the information given of them may be tabulated as follows :

Vaiṣṇavī :

1 Śrī. 2 Māyā. 3 Kīrttī. 4 Lakṣmī. 5 ? Supamā (Tib. *śin-tu* . . . . The reading here is not clear. *Niṣpannayogāvalī* omits the name of a deity). 6 Vijayā. 7 Śrījayantī. 8 Śrīcakrī.

Name	*Direction*	*Colour*	*Symbols carried in the right hands*	*Symbols carried in the left hands*	*Vāhana or Vehicle*
Carcikā	East	black	(1) small knife (*karttari*) (2) trident (*triśūla*)	(1) skull (*kapāla*) (2) magic wand (*khaṭvāṅga*)	Preta
Vaiṣṇavī	South-east	black	(1) wheel (*cakra*) (2) mace (*gadā*)	(1) lotus (*padma*) (2) lance (Tib. *mduṅ* but a conch-shell, *saṅkha* according to *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī*)	Garuḍa
Vārāhī	South	red	(1) staff (*daṇḍa*) (2) sword (*khaḍga*)	(1) iron chain (*śṛṅkhalā*) (2) armour (Tib. *phub*, Skt. *kavaca*) (*? halaka* acc. to *Niṣpannayogāvalī*)	Buffalo
Kumārī (Kaumārī acc. to *Niṣpannayogāvalī*)	South-west	red	(1) spear (*śakti*) (2) goad (*aṅkuśa*)	(1) jewel (*ratna*) (2) noose (*pāśa*)	Peacock
Indrā (Aindrī in *Niṣpannayogāvalī*)	West	yellow	(1) thunderbolt (*vajra*) (2) arrow (*bāṇa*)	(1) bell (*ghaṇṭā*) (2) bow (*cāpa*)	Elephant (Airāvata acc. to *Niṣpannayogāvalī*)
Brahmāṇī	North-west	yellow	(1) lotus (*padma*) (2) Brahma's staff (*brahma-daṇḍa*)	(1) water-vessel (*kuṇḍa*) (2) bowl (*pātra*)	Swan
Raudrī	North	white	(1) trident (*triśūla*) (2) drum (*ḍamaru*)	(1) magic wand (*khaṭvāṅga*) (2) serpent (Tib. *sbrul*) but arrow acc. to *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī*.	Bull
Mahāmaṅgalā (Tib. *bkra-shis chen-mo*) or **Lakṣmī**	North-east	white	Not mentioned in the Tibetan text. According to *Niṣpannayogāvalī :* (1) lotus (*padma*) (2) string of beads (*akṣasūtra*)	(1) lotus (*padma*) (2) jewel (*ratna*)	Lion

Each of these principal deities has eight companions who occupy the eight petals of the lotus. These companion deities resemble their respective principal deities in form, colour and the symbols they carry. Their names, given in the Tibetan text as also in the mantras quoted therein (see below), are listed here against the name of the principal deity.

Carcikā :

1 Bhīmā. 2 Ugrā. 3 Kāladaṃṣṭrā (but Tib. *mche-ba gñis gtsigs-ma ?*, karaladaṃṣṭrā). 4 Jvaladanalamukhā (Tib. *kha-nas me ḥbar-ma*, lit. radiating fire from the mouth ; *Niṣpannayogāvalī* has *jvalanmukhā*). 5 Vāyuvegā. 6 Pracaṇḍā. 7 Raudrākṣī. 8 Sthūlanāsā.

Vārāhī :

1 Kaṅkālī. 2 Kālarātrī. 3 Prakupitavadanā. 4 Kālajihvā. 5 Karālā (Tib. *gtsigs-ma*). 6 Kālī (Tib. *nag-mo*; omitted in *Niṣpannayogāvaīl*). 7 Ghorā. 8 Virūpā.

Kumārī :

1 Padmā. 2 Anaṅgā. 3 Kumārī. 4 Mṛgapatigamanā. 5 Ratnamālā. 6 Sunetrā. 7 Klinnā (Tib. *rul-ba-ma ; Niṣpannayogāvalī* has Līnā). 8 Bhadrā (Tib.*bzaṅ-ma*; Subhadrā in *Niṣpannayogāvalī*).

Indrā :

1 Vajrābhā. 2 Vajragātrā. 3 Kanakavatī. 4 Ūrvaśī. 5 Citralekhā. 6 Rambhā. 7 Ahalyā. 8 Sutārā.

Brahmāṇī :

1 Sāvitrī. 2 Padmanetrā. 3 Jalajavatī (Tib. *chu-skyes-ldan-ma* ; Jaladavatī in *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, 4 Buddhi. 5 Vāk. 6 Īśvarī. 7 Gāyatrī. 8 Vidyutsmṛti.

Raudrī :

1 Gaurī. 2 Gaṅgā. 3 Nityā (Tib. *rtag-ma* ; Nītyā in *Niṣpannayogāvalī*). 4 ? Sutvaritā (Tib. *śin-tu mgyogs-ma* ; Tvaritā in *Niṣpannayogāvalī*). 5 Totalā. 6 Lakṣaṇā. 7 Piṅgalā. 8 Kṛṣṇā.

Lakṣmī :

1 Śrīśvetā (Tib. *dpal daṅ dkar-mo* ; Śrī in *Niṣpannayogāvalī*). 2 Candralekhā. 3 Śaśadhara-vadanā. 4 Haṃsavarṇā. 5 Dhṛtī. 6 Padmeśā. 7 Tāränetrā. 8. Vimalaśaśadharā.

The manner of making offerings to the deities listed above is outlined in the text. The initial rites like taking refuge in the Triple Gem being completed, the worshipper should invoke the deities, chanting the syllables *dsaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ*, when they would arrive, each mounting her vehicle. The offerings, food, drink and the like, should then be laid out to the accompaniment of mantras consisting of several mystical syllables, quoted in the text. Next, the purificatory rites should be performed, in the course of which the following mantra addressed to Vajracandra, Vajrasūrya, Vajrānala and Vajrāmṛtakāra is to be recited : *Oṃ Oṃ vajracandra sarvadharmā suviśuddhasvabhāva sarvadharmān viśodhaya svāhā. Oṃ āḥ Vajrasūrya sarvadharmā prabodhaka sarvadharmān prabodhaya prabodhaya svāhā. Oṃ hūṃ Vajrānala sarvadharmā pradīpaka sarvadharmān pradīpaya svāhā. Oṃ hoḥ Vajrāmṛtakāra sarvadharmā Vajrāmṛtaṃ kuru kuru svāhā.*

The Vajraḍākinīs are to be invited for the ceremony with the mantra, *Oṃ ha hā hi hī vajrabhairavā kaśaya kaśaya praveśaya . praveśaya bandhaya bandhaya toṣaya toṣaya dsaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ Vajraḍākinīnāṃ hṛdayaṃ h ṃ hūṃ phraṃ phraṃ phaṭ.*

The mantra to accompany the offerings to Carcikā and her companions is then cited, viz., *Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho vajracarcikā bhīmogrā kāladaṃṣṭrā jvaladanalamukhā vāyuvegā pracaṇḍā raudrākṣī sthūlanāsābhyaḥ saparivārebhyaḥ idaṃ baliṃ gandhaṃ puṣpaṃ dhūpaṃ dīpaṃ akṣataṃ dadāmahe te cāgatya saparivārāḥ śighram idaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇantu khādantu pibantu dsaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ saṃ.......... sarvasatvāni śāntiṃ puṣṭiṃ rakṣāvaraṇaguptiṃ kurvantu hūṃ phaṭ Vajradharājñāpayati svāhā.*

In making offerings to Vaiṣṇavī and her companions and so forth, their names should be called out as occurring in the formulas quoted below and the section from *saparivārebhyaḥ* to *svāhā* in the preceding mantra repeated. The formulas containing the names of these deities are as follows.

Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho vajravaiṣṇavī śrīḥ māyā kīrtti lakṣmī ?supamā vijayā śrījayantī śricakrībhyaḥ..........
Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho vajravārāhī kaṃkālī kālarātri prakupitavadanā kālajihvā kārālā kāli ghorā virūpābhyaḥ............................

Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho vajrakumārī padmā anaṅgā kumārīmṛgapatigamanā ratnamālā sunetrā klinnā' bhadrābhyaḥ................

Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho vajrendrā vajrābhā vajrapātrā varakanakavatī corvasī citralekhā rambhāhalyā sutārābhyaḥ...................

Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho mahābrahmāṇī sāvitrī padmanetrā jalajavatī buddhi vāgīśvarī gāyatrī vidyutsmṛtibhyaḥ...................

Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho vajramaheśvarī gaurī gaṅgā anityā ? suparaturitā totalā lakṣaṇā piṅgalā klinnābhyaḥ....
Oṃ āḥ hūṃ ho maṅgalalakṣmī śrīśvetā candralekhā śaśadhara-vadanā haṃsavarṇā dhṛti padmeśā tārānetrā vimalaśaśadharābhyaḥ..............

He who makes offerings to these deities, the text says, will have every wish fulfilled.

R. H.

AṢṬATATHĀGATA-STOTRA, the title of a work composed by Shi-ḥtsho (Śāntirakṣita), the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Bstod-tshogs (Stotragaṇa, collection of stotras) section of the Tengyur, under the title *De-bshin-gśegs-pa brgyad-pa-la bstod-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 46, No. 2055). The work contains stanzas in praise of the eight Tathāgatas, namely, Mtshan-kyi-rgyal-po (? Lakṣaṇarāja), Sgra-dbyaṅs-rgyal-po (? Nirghoṣarāja), Dri-med-snaṅ(? Vimalābha), Mya-ṅan-med-mchog-dpal (?Aśokavaraśrī), Chos-bsgrags-rgya-mtshoḥi-dbyaṅs (? Dharmakīrti-samudraghoṣa), Sman-paḥi rgyal-po (Bhaiṣajyarāja), Vaidū-rya-yi ḥod (? Vaiḍūryaprabha) and Śākyaḥi rgyal-po (Śākyarāja). In praising these Tathāgatas, the author refers to their omniscience, depth of intellect, majesty, wisdom and the compassion through which they deliver all beings from sorrow and help them destroy the three poisons (avarice, anger and ignorance).

R. H.

AṢṬA-VIMOKṢA, the eight stages of release. See VIMOKKHA.

AṢṬĀVIMŚATI-NAKṢATRĀBHIṢEKA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI-VAJRAVARMIṆĪ-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Rgyu-skar ñi-śu-rtsa brgyad-kyi dbaṅ-bskur-baḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi*

cho-ga rdo-rje go-cha-ma shes-bya-ba, attributed to Dpal Mar-me-mdsad bzaṅ-po (Śrī Dīpaṅkara-bhadra) incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3779).

The procedure to be adopted by those who wish to be consecrated in the magic circle (*maṇḍala*) of the twenty-eight lunar mansions forms the content of the work. The text commences with instructions for drawing the maṇḍala. An eight-petalled lotus with a white centre and a blue rim should be drawn in the centre. This should be surrounded by garlands of lotuses. Groups of seven houses (Tib. *khaṅ-bu*) should be drawn at the four gate-ways to the courtyard. The symbols of the deities of the asterisms to be drawn, beginning from the eastern quarter, are as follows : a lance, an iron club (Skt. *tomara*), a wheel, a pestle, a shield, a sword, a drum-stick, fire, water, earth, wind, a banner, bellows, ?(Tib. *rdo-ljoṅ*), a looking-glass, ? a closed leather box (Tib. *bse kha sbyar*), a silver cord, a noose, an arrow, an iron hook, the coal of the 'sindūra', a lion, a jackal, a bird, an elephant, a vulture, a water-hen and a peacock.

The goddesses of the lunar mansions associated with each direction are briefly described in the text. Some of the names, however, are omitted. The list, as cited in this text, is given below. For the Sanskrit equivalents given in parenthesis, see *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1902, s. v. *rgyu-skar*.

East : (1) a white, one-faced, thousand-armed goddess, carrying a lance and oozing ambrosia from her mouth, whose vehicle (*vāhana*) is a white dog ; (2) Snar-ma (*Rohiṇī*), greenish yellow, carrying an iron club (Skt. *tomara*), with a fish as her vehicle ; (3) Mgo (*Mṛgaśiras*), whitish gray in colour, whose symbol is the wheel and the vehicle a wild ass (Tib. *sreṅ-mo*) ; (4) Lag (*Ārdrā*), white-complexioned, carrying a pestle and riding an ox ; (5) Nabs-so (*Punarvasu*), yellowish white, shield in hand, and mounted on a garuḍa bird ; (6) Rgyal (*Puṣyā*), who carries a sword ; (7) Skag (*Āśleṣā*), whose symbol is the drum-stick and the vehicle a horse.

South : (8) Mchu (*Maghā*), yellow in colour, possessing a hundred thousand arms, adorned with jewelled ornaments, carrying fire in her hand and mounted on a bird ; (9) Gre (*Pūrvaphalguṇī*), pale blue in colour, carrying water in her hand and riding an elephant (Tib. *glaṅ*) ; (10) a deity, whose body-colour (Tib. *sku mdog*) is pale red, riding a tiger and having the earth as her symbol ; (11) Me-bshi (*Hastā*), white in colour, seated on a throne of the four kinds of jewels, with the wind as her symbol ; (12) Nag-pa (*Citrā*), black-complexioned, banner in hand and riding a yak ; (13) Sa-ri (*Svātī*), yellow in colour, carrying the bellows and seated on a gold throne ; (14) Sa-ga (*Viśākhā*), dark-grey, brandishing a ? *rdo-ljoṅ*, and mounted on a serpent.

West : (15) a deity, carrying a mirror, majestic and red-complexioned, of whom lightning is the vehicle ; (16) Snron (*Jyeṣṭhā*), brown in colour, carrying a ? closed leather box (Tib. *bse kha sbyar*), and riding a hyena ; (17) Khrums, reddish-yellow, silver cord in hand, and with Vāyu as her vehicle ; (18) Chu stod (*Pūrvāṣāḍhā*), blue, carrying a noose and riding a dragon ; (19) Chu smad (*Uttarāṣāḍhā*), green, arrow in hand and mounted on a jackal ; (20) Gro-bshin (*Abhijit*) of dark bay complexion, carrying an iron hook and riding a lion ; (21) Byi-bhsin (*Śravaṇā*), a pale red deity, whose symbol is the coal of the *sindūra* and the vehicle a jackal.

North : (22) Mon-gru (*Śatabhiṣā*), green in colour, carrying a lion and riding a brown bear ; (23) Mon-dre (*Dhaniṣṭhā*), whose colour in azure, the symbol (?) a cudgel (Tib. *beṅ-mo* ; the corresponding symbol in the list of symbols occurring earlier in the text and quoted above is that of a fox) and the vehicle a cloud ; (24) Khrums-stod (*Pūrvabhādrapadā*), greenish yellow, carrying a bird and riding a goose ; (25) Khrums-smad (*Uttarabhādrapadā*), greenish blue in colour, whose symbol is an elephant and the vehicle a goat ; (26) Nam-gru (*Revatī*), of azure colour, carrying a vulture in her hands and riding a yellow bee ; (27) Tha-skar (*Aśvinī*), greenish red in complexion, with a water-hen as a symbol and the tail of a falcon (Tib. *khra-mo rṅa-mo*) as the vehicle ; (28) Bra-ñe (*Bharaṇī*), a one-faced deity who, smoky-yellow in colour, is adorned with a variety of jewelled ornaments, possesses a hundred thousand arms, carries a peacock and rides a tortoise.[1]

The mantra for invoking the deities as quoted in the text follows : *Oṃ sa svāhā oṃ lāṃ svāhā oṃ*

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1 The lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*) are enumerated in the description of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara maṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where they are collectively described as being adorned with bejewelled jackets (*ratna-kañcukī*) and showing the *añjali-mudrā* (*Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949 : text pp. 64-5; Introd. p. 66). The distinctive colours attributed to the goddesses of the lunar mansions in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* differ in some instances from those cited in the present text.

rta svāhā oṃ pha svāhā oṃ ke svāhā oṃ mi svāhā oṃ ghu svāhā oṃ khaṃ svāhā oṃ ñe svāhā oṃ si svāhā oṃ ye svāhā oṃ hu svāhā oṃ i svāhā oṃ gi svāhā oṃ ra svāhā oṃ ru svāhā oṃ bha svāhā oṃ te svāhā oṃ raṃ svāhā oṃ ri svāhā oṃ daṅ svāhā oṃ khri svāhā oṃ sma svāhā oṃ laṃ svāhā oṃ śaṃ svāhā oṃ dha svāhā oṃ na svāhā oṃ ña svāhā.

Subsequent to chanting the mantra, making offerings and praising the deities, the pupil student (Tib. *slob-ma*) is enjoined to enter the maṇḍala and be consecrated with the water in the vessels.

R. H.

ASTHISENA (Pali *Aṭṭhisena*), a previous incarnation of Gautama Buddha, as a son of a purohita (a household priest), referred to in the *Asthisena Jātaka* of the *Mahāvastu* (III, 418 ff.). The *Jātaka* recounts that Asthisena became a recluse on perceiving the manifold disadvantages of sensual enjoyments and worldly life. He practised celibacy, following the path of the ten moralities, and became an adept in the diverse branches of religious knowledge as given in the *Dharmaśāstras*. Being a bosomfriend of the king of Kāśi (Benares), he resided in the royal grove at the king's request. The Pali *Aṭṭhisena Jātaka* says that Aṭṭhisena studied at Takkasilā. Asthisena is also alluded to as Vaṇīpaka, i.e., the mendicant.

The term Asthisena is apparently an express Sanskritisation of the Pali Aṭṭhisena, and goes back to Sanskrit Ārṣṭiṣena (the derived form of Ṛṣṭiṣena), which is the correct form from the philological point of view. See AṬṬHISENA JĀTAKA.

W. S. Kt.

ĀṢṬHIYANA, name of a brāhmanical *gotra* (clan) mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* (635.11), in a narrative woven round the character of an arrogant brāhman preceptor, Puskarasārin (compare Pali Pokkharasāti) by name, to whom Triśaṅku, a caṇḍāla king, declared the correct path to heaven. The king told him also about the sevenfold division of the brāhman class, viz., Gautamas, Vātsyas, Kautsyas, Kauṣikas, Kāśyapas, Vāsiṣṭhas and Māṇḍavyas. Each of these classes is futher ramified into seven, thus making forty-nine brāhmaṇa gotras altogether, among which Āṣṭhiyana occurs as one of the subdivisions of the Gautama class : *atra ye Gautamās te Kauthumās, te Gārgās, te Bharadvājās, te Āṣṭhiyanās, te Vaikhānasās, te Vajrapādāḥ* (635.11).

W. S. Kt.

ASTON, WILLIAM GEORGE (1841–1911), an investigator on Japan.

He was born in Ireland. After graduating he went to Japan in 1864 as a diplomat. Till 1889, the year he left Japan, he studied the literature, language, history, religion, etc., of Japan. After going back to his country, too, he continued his studies and published many works on Japan.

He translated *Nihongi* (the chronicle of Japan from the earliest time to 697 A.C., during which period Buddhism was introduced and established in Japan) into English. This was published in 1896 by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., then reprinted and published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., in 1956.

K. Tmr.

AṢṬOTTARAŚATA-ĀRYĀVALOKITEŚVARA-SĀDHANA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Ḥphags-pa spyan-ras gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-gi sgrub-thabs brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3562. The Sanskrit title that Suzuki quotes in the index is *Āryāvalokiteśvarasṭottara-śataka-sādhana*). The Peking edition does not contain the names of the author or the translators. But according to the Sde-dge edition Ajitamitragupta composed the work, Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna translated it into Tibetan, and Gnubs Byams-pa revised it (*TM*. No. 2741).

The work, as it occurs in the Peking edition, begins with a formula of salutation addressed to Avalokiteśvara and contains five stanzas, the first of which is an adoratory stanza in praise of Trilokeśvara (Tib. *ḥjig-rten gsum mgon*). The other four stanzas form the sādhana of Khasarpaṇa, as is specifically stated in the concluding sentence of the text.

Khasarpaṇa, as described here, sits in the *ardhaparyaṅka* posture, on a lotus in the moon. He shows the pose of granting a boon (*varada-mudrā*) with his right hand, while carrying a lotus in his left. The crown adorned with jewels, which he wears on his head, bears the image of Amitābha. This description of Khasarpaṇa is similar to that given in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, pp. 39–41), quoted and translated in the *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (B. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 128–9).

The title, *Aṣṭottaraśata-āryāvalokiteśvara-sādhana*, prompts us to expect the sādhanas of the one hundred and eight forms of Avalokiteśvara (For an enumeration of these 108 forms see the appendix of B. Bhattacharyya's work). But the text occurring

under the title in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka contains, as we have seen, the sādhana of only one of these forms, that of Khasarpaṇa. It may, therefore, be conjectured that this, being an extract from a work called *Aṣṭottaraśata-āryāvalokiteśvara-sādhana* which described all the 108 forms, has been included under that same title.

R. H.

AṢṬOTTARAŚATA-BHUJA-VAJRA-DHARA, Chinese: Chin-kang-tsang-wang-p'u-sa 金剛藏王菩薩, 'he who bears thunderbolts (*vajra*) in one hundred and eight hands,' the name of the bodhisattva who figures on the extreme right in the section of Ākāśagarbha-bodhisattva of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

His mystic name (*guhyanāma*) is Pi-mi-chin-kang (祕密金剛 secret thunderbolt), and his seed-syllable (*bīja*) is *huṃ*. His symbol (*samaya*) is the five-tipped thunderbolt.

He is blue-black in colour. He has sixteen (or twenty-two) faces and one hundred and eight hands. One of the faces is that of the Buddha. He sits on a lotus flower, keeping many things in his hands such as thunderbolts, wheels, strings, spears, swords, hooks, gems, boxes, bars. His dhāraṇī is *An-po-chê-lu-po-p'o-yeh-so-ho.*

Of the two virtues of Ākāśagarbha-bodhisattva, viz., blessedness and wisdom, Aṣṭottaraśatabhuja-vajra-dhara manifests the virtue of wisdom, against which the Avalokiteśvara-sahasrabhuja-locana bodhisattva manifests bliss. The one hundred and eight hands appear to cut off the one hundred and eight fetters. Among twenty-two faces, twenty faces symbolise the twenty kinds of karma, namely, the two forms of karma, i.e., resultant birth and dependent conditions, in the ten spheres. And the other faces, one of which is the face of the Buddha, show that these resultant births and dependent conditions are not different but the same from the essential point of view.

According to another interpretation, the section of Ākāśagarbha is the maṇḍala which shows the aspects of the three parts, i.e., the parts of the Buddha, of the Lotus and of the Vajra, which represent the compassion, wisdom and meditation of the Buddha, respectively. This bodhisattva resembles the virtue of the part of Vajra. The activity of the knowledge of the carrying out of duty (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*) is represented by the sixteen faces and one hundred and eight hands.

This bodhisattva is not mentioned in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* and its commentary by I-tsing (683–727 A.C.), but is referred to in the *Hsüang-fa-szŭ-i-kuei* and in the *Ch'ing-lung-szŭ-i-kuei.*

Sometimes this bodhisattva is identified with Ākāśagarbha bodhisattva.

K. Tmr.

AṢṬOTTARAŚATA-CAITYA-KRIYĀ, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the *Mchod-rten brgya-rtsa-brgyad bya-ba* of the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3893). The text, said to have been handed down through a series of teachers, Dharmakīrti, Vajrakīrti, Vajrabodhi and the like, describes the rites connected with the offering of a caitya. This includes detailed instructions for the drawing of a maṇḍala. On a water vessel placed in this maṇḍala, a mantra is to be wirtten with saffron powder. This, called the *Vimala-uṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī*, is as follows: *Oṃ namas teyaddhvikānāṃ sarvatathāgata hṛdayagarbhe jvala jvala dharmadhātugarbhe che-ge-mo saṃhāra āyuḥ saṃśodhya sarvapāpaṃ sarvatathāgata uṣṇīṣa vimale viśuddhe hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ aṃ baṃ saṃ jaḥ svāhā.*

Another formula of the same name is to be inscribed on the drum (Tib. *ḥphaṅ-lo*) of the caitya, viz., *Namaḥ sarvatathāgatānāṃ mahācinadhamani jvalana sāgara gambhīre ākarśaya ākarśaya āyundhara āyundhara sandhara sandhara kṣaṇa kṣaṇa kṣīṇi kṣīṇi kṣuṇu kṣuṇu sarvatathāgatamahāsamaye tiṣṭha tiṣṭha mahābhuvanasāgare saṃśodhayamāna sarvapāpaṃ vimale jaya jaya jayalabddhe sphuṭa sphuṭa sphoṭaya sphoṭaya vigate ābaraṇe bhayahariṇe hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ mṛtyudaṇḍadhare abhayavrate uṣṇīṣavyavalokite samantamukhe samantavyavalokite mahāmāye mahāpāśadhare amoghavimale ākaraśya akāraśya akaḍadhyaya ākaḍadhyaya bhāra bhāra saṃbhara saṃbhara indriyaviśodhani bhūṣitabhiye mahāmudrāvilokite jaya jaya siddhe siddhe śuddhe śuddhe buddha bodhani bodhani saṃbodhani saṃbodhanī śodhani śodhani saṃśodhani viśodhani hara hara mana sarvapāpaṃ sarvatathāgatakulabhiye samayatiṣṭha prasarantu mama puṇyaṃ vinaśyantu pāpaṃ sarvakala viṣahare maṇiviśuddhe śodhaya vimale vikasitapadme vikasitabhuvane kavacitabhiye śatapāramitāparipūraṇi sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣavilokite svāhā sarvatathāgata guhya adhiṣṭhāna adhiṣṭhite svāhā oṃ āyur dade svāhā puṇyadadhe svāhā puṇyavilokite svāhā puṇye abalote svāhā mṛtyuddaṇḍadhare svāhā yamadaṇḍe svāhā yamadūte svāhā saṃharaṇi svāhā saṃbhāraṇi svāhā sandharaṇi svāhā pratisaraṇi svāhā ojovati svāhā tejovati svāhā oṃ jayavati svāhā oṃ sarvatathāgatamudre adhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite svāhā.*

In the course of the ceremony, the worshipper is enjoined to chant these two mantras one hundred and eight (Skt. *aṣṭottaraśata*) times, and to circumambulate the caitya an equal number of times.

R. H.

AṢṬOTTARAŚATAKĀRYĀVALOKITEŚVARA-SĀDHANA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation,(*Hphags-pa*) *spyan-ras gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-gi sgrub-thabs brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra-vṛtti, tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TM*. No. 2741). The work is attributed to Ajitamitragupta. Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna translated the work into Tibetan. The work was later revised by Gnubs Byams-pa.

In the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3562) this work appears to be recorded as *Āryāvalokiteśvarāṣṭottaraśataka-sādhana.*

E. H. P.

ASUBHA (Skt. *aśubha*) means 'impure' or 'impurity'. Especially in Buddhist meditation, the word has been used to signify a kind of meditation in which one should comprehend a corpse as impure and foul in order to eliminate one's evil desires. Theravāda Buddhism says that the tenfold perception of impurity (*dasa asubha-saññā*) of the body is to be obtained by observing ten characteristics of the corpse, and in order to realise its impurity completely, the ten comprehensions of impurity[1] (*aśubhasmṛti, asubhānupassanā*) are needed for the attainment of concentration. Asubha as a meditation takes ten subjects out of the forty topics of meditation (*cattālīsā kammaṭṭhānā*), detailed explanations of which are given in the *Visuddhimagga.*

Among the various stages which should be gradually attained by śrāvakas, the first stage belongs to the stage of preliminary training, and is divided into three degrees : (1) the five kinds of mindfulness, i.e., *aśubhabhāvanā, maitrī, idampratyayatā-pratītya-samutpāda, dhātuprabheda,*[2] and *ānāpāna-smṛti,* (2) the respective contemplation on the four *smṛti-upasthāna* from both their particular and common aspects and (3) the comprehensive contemplation of the four *smṛti-upasthāna* from their common aspects. The first stage of the five kinds of mindfulness aims at suppressing desire, anger, ignorance, attachments and vagueness. This stage is practised for the accomplishment of *śamatha*. Next, the four *smṛti-upasthāna* (*satipaṭṭhāna*), i.e., contemplation of body, feelings, mind and mental objects, should be comprehended as impure, sorrowful, impermanent and without soul, respectively, from the point of view of their own aspects. The meditation on them taken together should be developed by understanding their common characteristics, i.e., impermanence, suffering, emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and non-self. Accordingly, the fact that *asubha* has been given its due position at the preliminary stages which lead to the ultimate path of arahantship and has to be repeatedly practised, indicates the practical character in Buddhism. Defining *asubha*-meditation as a necessary and fundamental way of meditation, Buddhaghosa says: " Subjects for meditation are of two kinds, i.e., generally useful subjects (*sabbatthaka-kammaṭṭhāna*) and special subjects (*pārihāriya-kammaṭṭhāna*). Thus, subjects like loving-kindness (*mettā*), mindfulness of death (*maraṇa-sati*) and perception of foulness (*asubha-saññā*) are called generally useful, and they are called meditation-subjects since they are needed generally and are desirable owing to their great helpfulness and since they are subjects for the meditation-work intended" (*Vism*. pp. 97–8). The *Abhidharmakośa* (Chinese, Part 22) and *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā* (Chinese, part 74) regard the two meditations of *aśubha* and *ānāpāna* out of the five kinds of mindfulness[3] as 'the two gates of *amṛta* (immortality) leading into the Buddhist practice'. The reason why the five kinds of mindfulness should be meditated upon at the first stage is stated as follows : " Since the pratyekabuddha is required to practise the *pratītyasamutpāda-smṛti* to begin with, the bodhisattva, the *maitrī-smṛti* and the śrāvaka who is about to abandon his bondage of *saṃsāra*, the *aśubha-smṛti*, these smṛtis are respectively comprehended by the followers of the three vehicles to fulfill the first preliminary step" (*Ta-chêng-i-chang*, part 12).

The contemplation of the body (*kāyānupassanā*) is the first of the four kinds of mindfulness and is also the first of the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment. It aims at regarding the body as full of impurity and is expected to lead to the abandonment

1 *Vism*. p. 179. Northern Buddhism offers nine comprehensions of impurity of the body.

2 The *Buddha-anusmṛti* replaces the *dhātuprabheda-smṛti* in *Ta-ch'êng-i-chang*, *Fa-hua-hsüan-i* and *Szŭ-chiao-i*. Observing the Buddha's countenance and posture enables a man to get rid of his inherent evil.

3 The *T'sa-a -p'i-t'an-hsin-lun* 雜阿毘曇心論 (Part 5 and 8) mentions three, i.e., *aśubha, ānāpāna* and *dnātuprabheda.* In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (part 36) the four *smṛtis* are mentioned without *pratītya-samutpāda-smṛti.*

of perverted notions caused by not understanding things as they are. Moreover, the following are also connected with *asubha*, directly or indirectly: the recollection of death (*maraṇānussati*), mindfulness regarding the body (*kāyagatāsati*) and mindfulness in breathing (*ānāpāna-sati*) which are dealt with in the ten concentrations; the repulsiveness regarding nutriment (*āhāre paṭikūla-saññā*), the definition of the four elements (*catudhātu-vavatthāna*) and the charnel-ground-dweller's practice (*sosānikaṅga*) and so on. Among them, mindfulness regarding the body, by which the thirty-two components of the body should be comprehended as wholly repulsive, from hair to urine, and the cemetery meditation (*sīvathika*) which is a part of *asubha*, on which the ten signs of impurity should be meditated through observing a corpse in a grave-yard, all give a concrete and detailed explanation in regard to *asubha*. As the *Visuddhimagga* mentions, *asubha*, which mainly takes a corpse as its object of meditation, will cause more difficulties than any other meditation. It is because the condition of a corpse changes in the course of a short period of time such as the swollen state, the bluish state, etc. And not only a corpse, but a grave-yard where the, corpse is laid down, would be regarded as dangerous, as grave-yards are spots which strike terror into a meditator's heart. It is but natural to the human mind that a man becomes attached to the living body, embraces perverted thoughts, and finally, as soon as the body has changed into a corpse, he feels hatred toward it without even touching it and looking at it. ***Asubha*** bears, then, this important significance in Buddhism.

By means of ***asubhasaññā***[4], the perception of impurity and ***asubhānupassanā***, the comprehension of impurity, human bodies are recognised to be impure, and through subsequent meditations, the abandonment of the meditator's desire of any sort for the body should be realised. Therefore, it is possible that not only one's own body but also that of others, as well as of all living beings who are composed of the four elements, should be taken as objects of the *asubha*, because the eliminating of all attachments has been taught by the Buddha as an essential practice. At the same time it must be noticed that the principal theory that there is nothing in all existence except impermanence, suffering and non-self is related intimately with *asubha*, whenever we refer to the Buddhist texts.

4 Perception (*saññā*) is a state of knowing, and it is only the mere perceiving of an object as, say, 'blue' or 'yellow'; it cannot bring about the penetration of its characteristics as those of impermanence, pain, and soullessness. (*Vism.* p. 437). Both (insight and path knowledge) are called contemplation (*anupassanā*) because of their re-seeing successively (*anu-passanā*) each preceding kind of knowledge (*Vism.* p. 290).

Various modes of perception including Asubha.

1. The Four Perceptions:

(*a*) *asubha, mettā, ānāpānasati, aniccasaññā* (*A.* IV, p. 353).

(*b*) *buddhānussati, mettā, asubha, maraṇānussati* (*caturārakkhā*).

2. The Five Perceptions.

(*a*) *asubhānupassī, āhāre paṭikkūlasaññā, sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā, sabbasaṅkhāresu aniccānupassī, maraṇasaññā* (*A.* II, pp. 150–1, pp. 155–6; III, p. 83, pp. 142–3). *Adīnavasaññā* replaces *Sabbasaṅkhāresu aniccānupassī* in *A.* III, pp. 79–80, p. 277.

(*b*) *aniccasaññā, anattasaññā, maraṇasaññā, āhāre paṭikkūlasaññā, sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā* (*A.* III, pp. 79–80, p. 277). *Asubhasaññā* is omitted by introducing *anattasaññā*.

3. The Seven Perceptions.

(*a*) *aniccasaññā, anattasaññā, asubhasaññā, ādīnavasaññā, pahānasaññā, virāgasaññā, nirodhasaññā* (*D.* II, p. 79; III, p. 253; *A.* IV, p. 24, p. 148).

(*b*) *asubhasaññā, maraṇasaññā, āhāre paṭikkūlasaññā, sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā, aniccasaññā, anicce dukkhasaññā, dukkhe anattasaññā.* (*A.* IV, p. 46, p. 148).

4. The Nine Perceptions.

(*a*) *asubhasaññā, maraṇasaññā, āhāre paṭikkūlasaññā, sabbaloke anabhiratisaññā, aniccasaññā, anicce dukkhasaññā, dukkhe anattasaññā, pahānasaññā, virāgasaññā* (*D.* III, pp. 289–90; *A.* IV, p. 387, p. 465). This equals (3b) by adding the *pahānasaññā* and *virāgasaññā*.

(*b*) This omits *pahānasaññā* out of (3a) and adds three kinds of *loke saññā* (*A.* V, p. 107).

5. The Ten Perceptions.

(*a*) This is composed of (4a) plus *nirodhasaññā* (*D.* III, p. 291; *S.* V, p. 132; *A.* V. p. 105, pp. 309–10) (*Pañcaviṃśatiprajñāpāramitā*, Chap. I. Introductory-Chinese).

(*b*) *aniccasaññā, anattasaññā, asubhasaññā, ādīnavasaññā, pahānasaññā, virāgasaññā, nirodhasaññā, sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā, sabbasaṅkhāresu aniccasaññā, ānāpānasati* (*A.* V, p. 109).

(*c*) *aniccasaññā, anattasaññā, āhāre paṭikkūlasaññā, sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā, aṭṭhikasaññā, puḷuvakasaññā, vinīlakasaññā, vipubbakasaññā, vicchiddasaññā, uddhumātakasaññā*

Among the ten in 5(*c*) the *aṭṭhikasaññā* and the five subsequent perceptions are derived from the ten perceptions of impurity. In two places (*A.* I, p. 36 and V, p. 310), 5 (*a*) and 5(*c*) are mentioned together, though *A.* I replaces *vipubbakasaññā* by *ālokasaññā*. And *vipubbakasaññā* is also replaced by *maraṇasaññā* in *A.* V, p. 106.

These modes of perception are frequently mentioned in the Buddhist practices and regarded as typical of the items of Buddhist doctrines which should be recited by the followers. That is why these perceptions are most important to be comprehended and meditated upon, since none of the doctrines or terms could be dealt with literally or conceptually but has to be considered from the standpoint of Buddhist practice.

Purpose of Asubha.

1. *The composition of the body and mindfulness regarding the body.*

'The body is composed of the four elements and one recognises it wrongfully to be one's own nature (*svabhāva*)' (*Yüan-chiao-ching*). To eliminate such an opinion is one of the purposes of Buddhism. For this, the meditator is expected to comprehend the body truly, as it is, and mindfulness regarding the body (*kāyagatā-sati*) should be practised to direct attention to repulsiveness (*paṭikkūlasaññā*) in regard to the thirty-two parts of the body. This is the first step taken by a meditator to conquer boredom, delight and fear, and to endure physical pain. The observation of the thirty-two parts of the body and comprehension of their impurities have been repeatedly emphasised in the teaching of Buddhist concentration. 'One should observe this impure body, constructed out of the four elements, as being full of many kinds of filth, up from the soles of the feet, down from the top of the hair and to the end of the skin' (*M.* III, p. 89 ; *S.* IV, p. 111, etc.).

Pali sources mention thirty-two parts of the body (*M.* I, p. 57 ; IV, 90 ; *D.* II, p. 293 etc.).

On the other hand, in Sanskrit sources mention is made of thirty-six things as impurities of the body. In Sanskrit texts and Chinese translations there are differences in number and in designation. The following texts deal with the thirty-six : *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Chinese Part 53), *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Chinese Part 5), *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (Chinese Part 48), *Tsa-a-hua-ching* (sūtra No. 43), *Tsêng-i-a-hua-ching* (sūtra No. 2), *Tso-shan-san-mei-ching* (Vol. I), *Shan-yao-ching*, *Shan-fa-yao-chieh* (Vol. I) and *Wu-mên-shan-ching-yao-yung-fa*. The *Yogācārabhūmi Sūtra*, *Ta-mo-t'o-lo-ch'an-ching* or *Hsiu-hsing-tao-ti ching* or *Pu-ching-kuan-ching* (達摩多羅禪經 or 修行道地經 or 不淨觀經) and *Ta-ch'êng pên-shêng-hsin-ti-kuan-ching* mention thirty-seven.

With more detailed explanations the *Visuddhimagga* expounds, from the standpoint of the four elements, the meditation on the forty-two aspects of the bodily components (pp. 353 ff.). 'Following a brief interpretation, there are only thirty-six parts such as hair, brain, membrane and so on. In case an inclusive interpretation about the body is given, there might be innumerable parts to be shown' (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, Chinese Part 48).

Meditators ought 'to be cautious of comprehending what the thirty-six are, if they want to get rid of their desires' (*Wu-mên-shan-ching-yao-yung-fa*). Buddhaghosa describes the body as being impure by itself and says : 'This is the body's nature : it is a collection of over three hundred bones, joined by one hundred and eighty joints, bound together by nine hundred sinews, plastered over with nine hundred pieces of flesh, enveloped in the moist, inner skin, enclosed in the outer cuticle, with orifices here and there, constantly dribbling and trickling like a grease pot, inhabited by a community of worms, the home of disease, the basis of painful states, perpetually oozing from the nine orifices (*nava-vaṇa-mukhāni*)[5] like a chronic, open carbuncle, from whose eyes, eye-filth trickles ; from whose ears, ear-filth ; from whose nostrils, snot ; from whose mouth, food, bile, phlegm and blood ; from whose lower outlets, excrement and urine, and from whose ninety-nine thousand pores the broth of stale sweat seeps, with bluebottle flies and their like buzzing round it' (*Vism.* vi, § 89, p. 195).

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the above mentioned observation about human bodies, irrespective of being alive or dead, should be applied to other living beings as well. Buddhaghosa's definition of 'the ten kinds of foulness (as corpses), without consciousness' (ibid.. p. 178) means the ten characteristics of impurity represented by the dead person. But, he mentions also carcases in regard to *asubha*-meditation : 'There is a worm-infested corpse...., whether the body is that of a dog, a jackal, a human being, an ox, a buffalo, an elephant, a horse, a python, or what you will (ibid. p. 191). The sign of impurity arose for the elder Cūḷa-Piṇḍapātika-Tissa in an elephant's carcase in the Kāḷadīghavāpi reservoir.' (loc. cit.).

2. *The ninefold and tenfold perception of impurity.*

According to the Theravāda sources, there are two types of perception regarding an impure corpse.

(A) The ninefold perception at a cemetery.

(1) A corpse thrown in the cemetery, swollen, blue and festering ; (2) eaten by crows, hawks, vultures, dogs, jackals or by different kinds of worms ; (3) reduced to a skeleton with some flesh and blood attached to it, held together by the tendons ; (4) reduced to a skeleton, blood-besmeared and without flesh, held together by the tendons ; (5) reduced to a

5 The nine openings are the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth and two outlets.

skeleton without flesh and blood, held together by the tendons; (6) reduced to disconnected bones scattered in all directions—here a bone of the hand, there a bone of the foot, a shin bone, a thigh bone, the pelvis, spine, and skull; (7) reduced to bleached bones of conch-like colour; (8) reduced to bones, more than a year old, lying in a heap; (9) reduced to bones, gone rotten and become dust (*Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta : M.* I, p. 58). This ninefold perception corresponds to a classification of various states of the corpse which after it has been discarded in the cemetery or elsewhere, changes gradually by disintegration and is finally reduced to dust. The classification seems to have been made chiefly from the standpoint of meditating on the bones.

(B) The tenfold perception.

Following are the ten states of a corpse [6]: (1) the bloated (*uddhumātaka*), (2) the livid (*vinīlaka*) (3) the festering (*vipubbaka*), (4) the cut up (*vicchiddaka*), (5) the gnawed (*vikkhāyitaka*), (6) the scattered (*vikkhittaka*), (7) the hacked and scattered (*hatavikkhittaka*), (8) the bleeding (*lohitaka*), (9) the worm-infested (*puḷavaka*), (10) the skeleton (*aṭṭhi : Vism.* p. 178).

As to why this tenfold foulness has been set forth, Buddhghosa lays down: 'This classification of foulness should be understood as stated in accordance with the particular individual essences successively reached by the (dead) body and also in accordance with the particular subdivision of the greedy temperament' (*Vism.* p. 193). Then, referring to individuals of greedy temperament, he says: "(1) The bloated suits one who is greedy about *shape*, since it makes evident the disfigurement of the body's shape. (2) The livid suits one who is greedy about *the body's colour*, since it makes evident the disfigurement of the skin's colour. (3) The festering suits one who is greedy about *the smell of the body* aroused by scents, perfumes, etc., since it makes evident the evil smells connected with this sore, the body. (4) The cut-up suits one who is greedy about *compactness in the body*, since it makes evident the hollowness inside it. (5) The gnawed suits one who is greedy about *accumulation of flesh* in such parts of the body as the breasts, since it makes it evident how a fine accumulation of flesh comes to nothing. (6) The scattered suits one who is greedy about *the grace of the limbs*, since it makes it evident how limbs can be scattered. (7) The hacked and scattered suits one who is greedy about *a fine body as a whole*, since it makes evident the disintegration and alteration of the body as a whole. (8) The bleeding suits one who is greedy about *elegance produced by ornaments*, since it makes evident its repulsiveness when smeared with blood. (9) The worm-infested suits one who is greedy about *ownership of the body*, since it makes evident how the body is shared by many families of worms. (10) The skeleton suits one who is greedy about *fine teeth*, since it makes evident the repulsiveness of the bones in the body" (*Vism.* pp. 193–4). However, 'this impurity, though of ten kinds, has only one characteristic. Nevertheless, its characteristic is only its impure, stinking, disgusting and repulsive state' (op. cit. p. 194).

Since one-pointedness of mind (*cittekaggatā*) is called the concentration of equanimity (*avikkhepa-samādhi*) as a result of practising the tenfold perception of impurity, the latter is called the tenfold concentration (*dasa samādhi : Ps.* I, p. 49).

Mahāyāna sources, without any exception, mention the ninefold perception of impurity, although they do not always agree as regards the tenfold perception mentioned above. These are the nine conceptions mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti*: (1) the livid (*vinīlaka-saṃjñā*), (2) the festering *vipūyaka-s°*), (3) the worm-infested (*vipaḍumaka-s°*), (4) the bloated (*vyādhmātaka-s°*), (5) the bleeding (*vilohitaka-s°*), (6) the gnawed (*vikkhāditaka-s°*), (7) the scattered (*vikṣiptaka-s°*), (8) the burnt (*vidagdhaka-s°*), (9) the skeleton (*asthi-s°*). When compared with the tenfold perception, the 'burnt' is newly added here, while the 'cut-up' and the 'hacked and scattered' are omitted. The order of these nine is different among the texts, apart from terms translated into Chinese, which constitute another difference. The 'perception of the dead' (*maraṇa-saṃjñā*) is replaced by the 'burnt' in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* and the *Ta-chêng-i-chang* (Part 13). The *Fa-hua-hsüan-i* (Part 4) takes the 'perception of the dead' for the 'scattered'.

3. *Abandoning of greed.*

Both in Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism meditation on *asubha* is considered the primary means for accomplishing calmness of body and

6 The *Chieh-t'o-tao-lun* (*Vimutti-magga*, not extant in Pali scripture) which the *Vism.* might have referred to as an authentic text, seems to have been somewhat influenced by the views of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, from the time that the *Vism.* was compiled. Concerning these ten perceptions, there is hardly any difference between them.

mind, through practices which lead to the abandoning of desires that originate in reference to the human body. One sees all formations, including one's own body, 'as impure (foul)—the ancillary characteristic to that of pain—for the following reasons: because they are objectionable, stinking, disgusting, repulsive, unaffected by disguise, hideous, loathsome, and so on' (*Vism.* p. 652). Further, *asubha* should be also meditated upon in connection with the danger and misery associated with the body, especially disease, etc. It is repeatedly said that the reflection on the foul should be developed for the purpose of abandoning greed (*A.* IV, p. 385 ; *Ud.* p. 37 ; *Vism.* p. 114, etc.). 'If there is a man who is full of greed, he is then in a position to be taught by the teaching of the *asubha* meditation.' (*Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, Part 36).

'Practise, Rāhula, the concentration of impurity. For, from practising this concentration of impurity, Rāhula, whatever greed there is, will be abandoned.' (*M.* I, pp. 424–5). Here, according to Buddhaghosa's comment, the word *rāga* (greed) means 'the greed composed of the five strands of sensual pleasure' (*MA.* III, p. 141). Judging from the objects and content of these five pleasures[7], namely, form, voice, smell, taste and touch, the so-called sexual desire is the most powerful of all desires. Therefore, it is stated that 'one who is full of sexual desire ought to practise the meditation on the impurity of the body, because from toes to hair the body is filled with impurities (*Tso-shan-san-mei-ching*, Vol. I). *Rāga* (greed) is one of three original defilements, the others being *dosa* (hatred) and *moha* (stupidity) ; and the abandonment of these should be obtained by their respective meditations. That is to say, 'For the abandonment of greed, the concentration on impurity should be developed. For the abandonment of hatred, the concentration on sympathy should be developed. For the abandonment of stupidity, the concentration on wisdom should be developed' (*A.* III, p. 446 ; *Ud.* 37).

Therefore, it is important for meditators that the aspects (signs) of impurity should be comprehended, attentively and properly, because no greed will occur thereafter, and greed that has already arisen is removed thereby (cp. *A.* I, p.200). There are two kinds of greed to be abandoned, namely, greed for one's own body and greed for another's body. The *Ta-ch'êng-i-chang* (Part 12) says that greed for one's own body should be abandoned by the fivefold perception of impurity and greed for another's body should be abandoned by the ninefold perception of impurity.

The reason why another's body is often taken as an object for satisfying one's own desires is that it evokes the four kinds of greed, i.e., greed for shape, colour, honour and touch (*Ta-ch'êng-i-chang*, Part 12). And only by the ninefold perception could these four greeds be removed (ibid. Part 13). The *Abhidharmakośa* (chapter vi ; Chinese Part 22) also refers to it as follows ; 'when the livid state and so forth of a corpse are meditated on, the greed for colour (*varṇa-rāga*) will be got rid of. When the gnawed state of a corpse, eaten by birds and animals and so forth is meditated on, the greed for shape (*saṃsthāna-rāga*) will be got rid of. When the worm-infested state and so forth are meditated on, the greed for touch (*sparśa-rāga*) will be got rid of. When the unmoved and so forth are meditated on, the greed for honour (*kīrti-rāga*) will be got rid of. When the bones are meditated on, all four greeds simultaneously will be got rid of, because there cannot be any greed in regard to bones'. 'The ninefold perception aims at the abandonment of the six greeds'[8], says the *Fa-hua-hsüan-i* (Part 4), 'that is to say, the dead (-perception) is applied for the abandonment of 'dignity-greed' and 'voice-greed'; the bloated, the worm-infested and the gnawed are applied for 'figure-greed'; the bleeding, the livid and the festering are applied for 'colour-greed'; touch is applied for 'bone-greed' and 'burnt-greed'; through comprehending the ninefold perception, the greed for a human being will be abandoned.'

With respect to the relation between the ninefold perception of impurity and the ten perceptions, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* cites various opinions about it, e.g., (1) The ninefold perception should be attempted by a man who is unable to reach any state in meditation and thereby is constantly oppressed by carnal desires. The ten perceptions conduce to the abandoning of the three poisons of defilement, such as carnal desires, etc. The ninefold perception may be compared to the arresting of a thief, while the ten perceptions may be compared to that of killing him. Hence, the former should be taught to beginners and the latter should be recommended for the accomplishment of their goal. (2) The ninefold perception is included in

7 The *Ta-ming-san-ts'ang-fa-shu* (part 24) mentions it in a different classification ; pleasures for property, figure, food and drink, honour and sleeping.

8 Meditating on a corpse that has not decayed and festered is recommended for abandoning the greed of dignity and voice, and when a corpse starts festering, the six types of greed are to be abandoned (*Shan-fa-yao-chieh*, Vol. II).

the perception of impurity out of the ten perceptions. (3) A certain person says : The ninefold perception is included in three perceptions, namely, the impurity of body, the repulsiveness of food, and discontent with the world which are listed in the ten perceptions. (4) Next, someone says : Both the ten perceptions and the ninefold perception are equally intended to remove desires, and to lead one to Nirvāṇa. Why ? In the first place, man has the seal of death on his face and failing to speak, he suddenly dies. The body becomes swollen, festered and scattered. These changes are due to its impermanence. If one adheres to worldly things without recognising their impermanence, then suffering will attend him, whenever impermanence shows its own nature of destruction. Since the body has the qualities of impermanence, suffering and non-freedom, it is also soulless. If the body consists of impurity, impermanence, suffering and non-self, it is also devoid of pleasure. The body, in this manner, should be meditated on. Food, chewed in the mouth, is seasoned with spittle and then swallowed. This is the perception of repulsiveness of food. If by the ninefold perception, worldly pleasures are enough to evoke revulsion, and then defilement of any sort could be abandoned, there will be the calmness of Nirvāṇa. To understand this is the perception of abandonment. Various kinds of desire should be suppressed by the ninefold perception. This is called the fading away of greed. It is recognised that since the world is repulsive and the five aggregates could not arise after they are destroyed, everything has the quality of cessation. This is the perception of cessation. (5) Next, the ninefold perception is regarded as the cause, and the ten perceptions as the effect. Therefore, the former is placed in front and the latter in the rear. (6) Next, the ninefold perception is regarded as the external gate, and the ten perceptions as the internal gate.

The classification of the fivefold perception corresponds to the five physical changes in the lifetime of a human being, from the time of birth to the time of death and thereafter. Man enjoys an existence of impurity and even after his death he still remains in his own impurity. In this connection, the fivefold perception is to be developed in order to abandon the greed for one's living body. The five impurities are : (1) The seed (*bīja*) of impurity. The seed of which the body is originally composed is regarded as impure. This consists of two kinds ; one is called the inherent seed which means the kamma of the past and the other is called the acquired seed which is the semen and blood handed down by one's present parents. (2) The abode of impurity. During ten months, the foetal life is spent in a loathsome womb. (3) The essential impurity of the body. The body is itself impure, because it is formed of the four elements of impurity and is also endowed with the thirty-six impurities, and it cannot rid itself of this impurity, even if the body is cleaned by the water of the four great seas. (4) The external impurity. Looking at the external appearance, the body constantly emits saliva, mucus, urine and faeces from its nine orifices. (5) The ultimate impurity. As soon as the body enters upon death, it will be thrown into a graveyard, and there it festers and is reduced to dust. If the dead body is eaten by insects and birds, it will change into their faeces. Or, if it is burnt by fire, it will be reduced to ashes. There is not to be found a single thing of purity, even if the body is thoroughly searched (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, Part 19; *Abhidharmakośa*, Chinese, Part 22; *Ta-ch'êng-i-chang*, Part 12).

The above (3) and (4) are mainly dealt with in the practice of mindfulness connected with the body (*kāyagatā-sati : Vism.* pp. 239–66), and revulsion from the living body is regarded as their chief purpose. From the viewpoint of the general practice on impurity, these are divided into two: one is to realise the impurity of a festering corpse, and the other is to comprehend the thirty-six impurities of full loathsomeness in one's own body after receiving suitable instruction from one's preceptor. In this connection, according to the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 114), the ten kinds of impurity must be apprehended by sight and, in the case of mindfulness concerning the body, the five parts, including hair of the head, hair of the body, nails, teeth and skin, must be apprehended by sight and hearsay. Above all, *asubha*-meditation lays much more stress on a corpse than on mindfulness concerning the body. Both have, however, the same purpose of realising the impurity of body by taking the body as a meditative subject. It is thus said that the ten kinds of impurity and mindfulness concerning the body are eleven topics of meditation suitable for one of greedy temperament (*Vism.* p. 114).

Developing of Asubha.[9]

A. *Corpse as the subject of meditation.*

To begin with, a preceptor should explain to the meditator the directions and the preparations for

9 cp. *Vism.* pp. 178–96; Ñāṇamoli's translation 'The Path of Purification', Colombo, 1956.

going to a cemetery where there is a corpse, for the sake of acquiring the concept of foulness.

He should not go at once to the place where a bloated corpse is lying, even if he has heard people saying that there was such a one. Why is that so ? Wild beasts and non-human beings might be there and he might risk his life by going there. Or, perhaps, on the way he might meet a member of the opposite sex. Or, perhaps, the body may be of the opposite sex. A female body is not appropriate for a man nor a male one for a woman. The repulsive aspect does not arise in a body of the opposite sex, which merely becomes a condition for the wrong kind of excitement. To quote the *Majjhima* commentary: 'Even when decaying, a woman invades a man's mind and stays there'. But, if he judges himself thus 'This is not difficult for one like me', then he can go there.

When he does go, he should do so only after he has spoken to the senior elder of the Saṅgha or some well-known bhikkhu. Why ? Because if his limbs start to shudder in the charnel ground, or if he feels nausea, when he is confronted with disagreeable objects such as the visible forms and sounds of non-human beings, lions, tigers, etc., or something else afflicts him, then the elders whom he had informed would have his bowl and robe well looked after in the monastery, or they will care for him by sending young bhikkhus or novices to him. Moreover, it could happen that he would be bullied or accused by men who come in chase of robbers. He does not know that the robbers, thinking a charnel ground a safe place for them, had dropped their goods near him and run away. In that case, the senior elder will explain to the public what had happened.

When he leaves for a cemetery, if he goes there to test his control of mind, let him do so after striking the gong or summoning a chapter. If he goes there mainly for developing that topic of meditation, let him go alone, with no companion, without renouncing his basic topic of meditation and keeping it always in mind, taking a walking stick or a staff to keep off attacks by dogs, etc. As he goes out of the monastery, he should note: 'I have gone out in such a direction, by such a gate'. After that, the path and its direction and visible things on his way should be confirmed altogether. Instead of approaching a corpse up-wind, he should go down-wind. For if he does not do so, the smell of the corpse will assail his nose, his brain might get upset, or he might throw up his food, or he might repent that he came. If he cannot go by a down-wind path, then he should go, shutting his nose with the corner of his robe.

He should not at once look at the sign of foulness ; he should make sure of the direction. For, if he stands in a certain direction, the object may not appear clearly to him and his mind may be confused. He should avoid standing to its leeward or windward side, because he may be bothered by the smell of the corpse, or non-human beings dwelling to windward may do him some harm. He should stand not too far off nor too near, nor too close to the feet or the head, because of the frightfulness of the corpse and the too clear manifestation of the foulness.

If there is a rock or an ant-hill or a banyan tree within sight near the sign of impurity, he should note whether it is high or low, small or large, brown or black, long or round and so on. After this, he should observe its position relative to the sign. Having done this, he should continue to observe the bloated corpse as being bloated and having a character unlike anything else. Thus he will be freed from delusions. He could establish his mindfulness well and remove his fears : 'No dead bôdy will get up and pursue me. If that stone or that creeper close to the corpse were to come, the corpse might come, too ; but neither stone nor corpse will come. Its appearance to me in this way is born of my perception only, created by my own perception.'

When a meditator has mature knowledge and little defilement, then the counter-sign (*paṭibhāga-nimitta*) appears to him while he keeps on observing. If it does not appear, then he should take the advanced observation. This consists of the eleven kinds of apprehension of the sign which should be applied to each one of ten signs of the loathsome body. This observation is divided into two, one by the six kinds of apprehension and the other by the five apprehensions.

The six kinds of apprehension are :

(i) by colour : defining the body as black or white or yellow-skinned.

(ii) by sign : whether the body is that of a male or a female.

(iii) by shape : defining the shape of the head, neck or foot, etc.

(iv) by direction : defining the two directions of the body, one is down from the navel in the lower direction and the other up from it as the upper direction.

(v) by location : defining the location of head, neck or foot, etc. Or define the relative location between the corpse and the meditator.

(vi) by delimitation : the body is limited below by the soles of the feet, above by the tips of hair, all round by the skin ; the space so limited is filled up with the thirty-two parts of the corpse.

After developing the six kinds of apprehension, if the counter-sign (*paṭibhāga-nimitta*) does not appear, he should apprehend the sign again in five more ways,

(i) by its joints : defining the fourteen major joints, viz., three joints in the right arm, three in the left arm, three in the right leg, three in the left leg, one neck joint and one waist joint. The hundred and eighty joints should be defined by the meditator originally.

(ii) by its openings : defining the hollows such as the hollow between the arm and the side, the hollow between the legs, the hollow of the ear. Or alternatively, the opened or closed state of eyes and the opened or closed state of the mouth can be defined.

(iii) by its concavities : defining the eye sockets or the inside of the mouth or the base of the neck. Or defining the meditator's place in a concave place, and the corpse located in a convex place.

(iv) by its convexities : defining the knee or the chest or the fore-head. Or any other place, which is low or high.

(v) by the entirety of the body : the whole body should be defined. Then, working over the whole body with knowledge, he should fix his mind thus, 'The bloated, the bloated', upon any part that appears clearly to him.

Among the ten signs of loathsomeness, given earlier, the sign of the skeleton is apprehended in eleven ways :

(i) by its colour : he should not observe the skeleton as white, but look at it as 'a skeleton' itself in its repulsive aspect. Otherwise, his meditation will be developed as a variant of the white *kasiṇa*.

(ii) by its mark : marks on hand, foot and waist etc.

(iii) by its shape : according as it is long, short, square, round, small or large.

(iv) by its direction and

(v) by its location : as already described above.

(vi) by its delimitation : according to the periphery of each bone.

(vii) by its concavities and

(viii) by its convexities : according to the concave and convex places in each bone.

(ix) by its joints : according as any two bones are joined together.

(x) by its openings : according to the gaps separating the bones.

(xi) by the entirety of the skeleton : comprehensively observing the entire skeleton.

Repeated development for establishing the counter-sign.

The meditator should apprehend the sign thoroughly in that body by way of apprehending the sign already described. Standing in a place not too far from and not too near to the body, he should open his eyes, look a hundred times, a thousand times, thinking, 'Repulsiveness of the bloated, repulsiveness of the bloated,' and he should close his eyes and advert to it. When it comes into focus alike, whether with his eyes open or closed, then it is called properly apprehended.

If he is unable to conclude his development on the spot, that is to say, to obtain the counter-sign and the absorption thereof, he can go back to his own lodging, alone, in the same way as he had come. On his way back or at his monastery, if he is questioned by someone, the question must be answered. If he does not know, the greeting must be suitably returned. And he must carry out his duties in the monastery as described in the *Vattakkhandhaka* of the *Vinaya*.

Meanwhile, he should walk up and down with constant mindfulness on a piece of ground that faces in the direction of the sign of foulness. Besides, he should prepare a seat oriented towards it when he sits for his concentration (*jhāna*). But if there is a ravine or a fence or a swamp which makes him unable to prepare his seat, then he can walk up and down and sit in a place where there is room, even though it does not face that way.

Absorption in the first jhāna.

As mentioned above, the meditator continues to attain the acquired sign which should be realised by himself when the image kept in his mind, his eyes closed, appears to coincide with the real sign seen with his eyes open. When he exercises his mind repeatedly on the acquired sign, the counter-sign also arises. The counter-sign is a hundred times, a thousand times, brighter than the acquired sign, like a mother-of-pearl dish well washed. Going a step further, when he exercises his mind on the counter-sign, he reaches absorption (*appanā-samādhi*) in the first jhāna which means the final goal of the *asubha*-meditation and he is expected to realise arahantship by working up insight.

Simultaneously with his acquiring of the counter-sign, his greed (*kāmacchanda*) is abandoned by suppression, ill-will (*vyāpāda*) by approval, sloth (*thīna*) and torpor (*middha*) through exertion, agitation (*uddhacca*) and worry (*kukkucca*) through devotion, and uncertainty (*vicikicchā*) through actual experience attained so far. Thus, the five hindrances are abandoned on the plane of access (*upacāra-bhūmi*).

Moreover, the five jhāna-factors are present to him on the plane of obtainment (*paṭilābha-bhūmi*). These are as follows: applied thought (*vitakka*) with the characteristic of directing the mind onto that same sign, sustained thought (*vicāra*) accomplishing the function of pressing on the sign, rapture (*pīti*) due to the acquisition of distinction, joy (*sukha*) due to the tranquillity, produced by the rapture, and mental one-pointedness (*cittekaggatā*) due to joy.

Thus, access-concentration (*upacāra-samādhi*), which is the obverse (*paṭibimba*) of the first jhāna is produced in him, too, at that same moment. In access-concentration the factors of jhāna are not strong, because they cannot produce their own powers, and thereby the mind now makes the sign its object and then lapses into subconsciousness. Further, entering the concentration of the first jhāna, the factors are strong. Now, as regards the tenfold foulness, only the first jhāna is attainable, because of the lack of applied thought in the second and the rest. That is why, owing to the weak hold on the subjects of foulness the mind keeps steady and concentrated only by virtue of applied thought (*vitakka*) and it cannot be steadied without that.

B. *The living body as a subject of meditation.*

As already stated, the living body, too, can be treated as a subject for *asubha*-meditation. As in the case of a corpse, the living body also manifests the same characteristics of impurity, stench, nausea and repulsiveness, because the body is filled with impurities, irrespective of whether it is alive or dead.

The idea that a living body is as impure as a corpse (*Vism.* p. 194) is quite significant for living beings. Generally speaking, we are apt to take a different attitude towards a human body, whenever the body is suddenly changed such as by death or as a result of injury. A man who is alive has inherently his sense of beauty, purity and so on towards the living body. Even a Buddhist, leading a religious life, would prefer to have contact with a living body than to follow the *asubha*-meditation. The only way to change such a view would be to cultivate apprehension of the body by physical analysis. All ornaments and belongings should be completely taken away in order to observe his body as though it were a corpse thrown in a graveyard. The *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 195–6, following the translation of Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, pp. 201–2) says: 'Only the characteristic of foulness is not evident in a living body, being hidden by adventitious embellishments'. Speaking of the visible parts of a living body, 'from the nine orifices the impurities are constantly oozing out and when any such bits of the body as head hairs, body hairs, nails, teeth, spittle, snot, excrement or urine have dropped off the body, people will not touch them; they are ashamed, humiliated and disgusted.' Despite the real observation of the body as such, 'by rubbing out the stains on its teeth with tooth sticks and mouth-washing and all that, by concealing its private parts under several cloths, by daubing it with various scents and salves, by pranking it with nosegays and such things, it is worked out into a state that permits of its being taken as 'I' and 'mine'. Every person possesses the instinct of self-adoration, irrespective of his position, sex, age and so on. But it should be borne in mind that, 'without any preparations such as head-anointing, bathing, underclothing and dressing, if one wandered

from village to village with hair in its natural and wild disorder, he would not be differentiated from a flower-scavenger or an outcaste or what he will. So there is no distinction between a king's body and an outcaste's in so far as its impure, stinking, nauseating repulsiveness is concerned.' Further, regarding the inside organs which are invisible to one's eyes ;

' If perchance it should come about
That what is inside has come out,
Surely a man would need a knout
With which to put the crows and dogs to rout'.

And then, ' men delight in women and women in men without perceiving the true nature of the characteristic foulness of the body, now masked by this adventitious adornment.'

' Fools cannot in their folly tell ;
They take the body to be fair,
And soon get caught in Evil's snare
Nor can escape its painful spell.
But since the wise have thus laid bare
This filthy body's nature, so,
Be it alive or dead, they know
There is no beauty lurking there.'

Then, Buddhaghosa concludes by saying that, ' So a capable bhikkhu should apprehend the sign wherever the aspect of foulness is manifest, whether in a living body or in a dead one, and he should make the meditation-subject (of the *asubha*) reach absorption.'

C. *Methods of development in the Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā*, etc.

Mention is also made of *aśubha* in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* (Chinese, Part 40) with its method of development which is somewhat different from that of the *Visuddhimagga* stated above. There are three kinds of method, i.e., the brief, the detailed and the combination of the two. Furthermore, three stages are allotted to each of the three methods according to the progressive grades of development.

According to the brief method, a meditator, first, goes to a graveyard to observe the livid state of a corpse and the subsequent signs and, having apprehended the sign, he returns to a suitable place where he could sit to meditate on the sign again. If the sign does not become manifest to his mind, because of his mind not being concentrated thereon, then he should go again to the graveyard in order to observe the sign so as to enable him to apprehend it completely. Thus, whenever he obtains such mindfulness as is sufficient to apprehend the sign, he should return to his residence and, having washed his feet, sit with his legs crossed. Controlling both his body and mind, he should strive to get rid of the hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*). Then, he should bring into his mind the sign which has been apprehended by him and make it his own mental concomitant by virtue of the function of resolving (*adhimokkhakicca*). Next, he observes the sign beginning with the livid state and leading to the skeleton.

The observation of a skeleton should be apprehended in due order as follows : foot bone, foot-ankle bone, shin bone, knee bone, splint bone, hip bone, thigh bone, spine bone, rib bone, upper-arm bone, fore-arm bone, elbow, arm-ankle bone, hand (figure) bone, shoulder bone, collar bone jaw bone, dentine and skull.

After having observed the sign of foulness by virtue of the function of resolving, he sits while the comprehension of the sign is still kept in his mind. Then, applying it to mindfulness of the body (*kāyānupassanā*) and the others that follow subsequently, he enters the stage of mindfulnes of mental objects (*dhammānupassanā*).

According to the detailed method, a meditator, to begin with, goes to a graveyard to observe the livid state, etc., of a corpse as mentioned above. Thus, continuing his meditation, he still keeps the comprehension of the sign in his mind.

After having stopped his breathing for a moment, he converts this comprehension into the meditation of a skeleton. He begins to observe the skull, dentine and so on, and ends with the observation of the foot-bone. Thus, having observed his own bones by virtue of the function of resolving, he further observes the bones of others as if they were close to his own bones. His mindfulness gradually embraces places outside, such as a bed-room, living quarters, temple, garden, village, field, river, country, the great sea and all round the world, which, as far as his mind's eye could see, are all filled with bones. Next, he turns back to his own skeleton-meditation omitting one by one the above observations. Entering the skeleton-meditation, from foot bone to skull, his observation ends with the skull.

The method of development of meditation on the *aśubha* in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* is characterised by the following four points.

The ninefold perception of impurity is observed in the order of the signs, from the livid state to the

skeleton; and in the observation of the skeleton the gradual observation, starting from the foot-bone to the skull, is also to be practised. This is different from the *Visuddhimagga* in that the latter mentions the development achieved by any one of the ten perceptions of impurity.

Repeated development of the *aśubha* is done in two ways ; one is the observation in due order, the other is the observation in reverse. Further, the development is deepened by omitting or by gradual reductive observation.

In the *Visuddhimagga*, the development of the *asubha* is persistently concerned with the impurity of a corpse, while a living body (including one's own body) is not given any systematical treatment, at least as far as chapter vi is concerned. On the other hand, the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* seems to regard one's living body as the main object of the *aśubha*. The repeated development of *aśubha* on a skeleton includes not only the skeleton of a corpse but also the meditator's, and meditation on that should be practised so as to enable the meditator to observe the whole universe, by placing himself in its centre and all round him is filled with skeletons, to the extent of his mind's eye.

This *asubha* belongs to mindfulness of the body and is the same as in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā*.

Northern Buddhism defines the characteristics of the *aśubha* as follows [10]. *Aśubha* meditation has as its basic nature the function of non-greed. Of the three world-spheres the sensuous world (*kāma-loka*) and the subtle-material world (*rūpa-loka*) are regarded as its meditative objects. It has ten grounds on which its meditation is based ; they are the sensuous world, the intermediate concentration (*dhyānāntara*) [11], the fourfold concentration (*catvāri dhyānāni*) and the fourfold neighbouring concentration (*catvāri sāmantaka-dhyānāni*). It is practised by someone who dwells in the sensuous world, and because it is connected with resolve (*adhimukti*) and volition (*manasikāra*), it is regarded as one of the meditations based upon the understanding of influxes (*āśrava*). It is a meditation practised in the stage of mindfulness of the body. It is also practised for obtaining the first and second concentration in the eightfold emancipation (*aṭṭha vimokkhā*) and the eightfold eminent sphere. [12]

In Southern Buddhism, *asubha* is regarded as a meditation belonging to the first concentration, as it is said that perception of impurity means perception of the first concentration on impurity (*asubha-saññā' ti, asubha-paṭhamajjhāna-saññā* : *SA*. III, p. 176).

Practical Application.

It is fairly interesting to know how *asubha* has been advocated and put into practice by the members of the Saṅgha from the time of the Buddha. The developing of *asubha* taught by the Buddha had a purpose, i.e., that the arising of desires which was regarded as a hindrance to the meditation should be suppressed by the comprehension of the impurity of the body.

He taught that in order to abandon greed (*rāga*) one must dwell on *asubha*, in order to forsake malice (*byāpāda*) one must dwell on comprehension of sympathy, in order to overcome applied thought (*vitakka*) one must dwell on the comprehension of breathing, and in order to remove self-pride (*asmimāna*) one must dwell on the comprehension of impermanence. By the comprehension of impermanence, the comprehension of non-self is established, and he who is conscious of non-self by the removal of the notion 'I am', in this very existence, attains to Nibbāna (*Ud*. chap. iv). Among the various modes of perception, practice of the *asubha* and the comprehension of breathing are among the most important methods of meditation. The former is meditation on the body which aims at abandoning the attachment of any sort concerning the body. The latter is practised to control the meditator's mind and body so that equanimity in meditation may be acquired.

Even today, in Asian Buddhist lands, especially in Ceylon and Burma, the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M*. I, pp. 55–6) is very popular both in its recitation and practice not only among those who are members of the clergy but also among lay-followers.[13] The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* discourses on the fourfold mindfulness

10. *Moc*. V, p. 4419 b.

11 The intermediate concentration is placed between the first concentration and the second neighbouring concentration. The neighbouring concentration is observed prior to each concentration as the preliminary. This is equivalent to *upacāra-samādhi* (access concentration).

12 The *Fa-hua-hsüan-i* (part 4) mentions that the first concentration of the fourfold supramundane concentration (*lokottara-dhyāna*) consists of the four meditations, i.e., the ninefold impurity, the eightfold emancipation, the eightfold eminent sphere and the ten kasiṇas (universal).

13 cp. Nyānaponika, *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation*, Colombo, 1956. He introduces here a chapter of instruction on the methodical practice of Satipaṭṭhāna as taught in Burma.

as a primary but fundamental meditation, and particularly the comprehension of the body (*kāyānupassanā*): mindfulness on breathing and meditation on *asubha* are regarded as its main practices.

K.HA.

ASUBHA-BHĀVANĀ, a group of ten forms of meditation, having as their object a corpse in various stages of decomposition, each exercise terminating with the conclusion : This body of mine also has this nature, it cannot escape this fate (*ayaṃ pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti : D.* II, 295).

Based on awareness of the body (*kāya-gatā-sati*), which is the first of the four applications of mindfulness as found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*D.* II, 290—315 ; *M.* I, 55–63), it comprises the so-called cemetery meditations (*sīvathikā*), where the meditation-object is a corpse, one, two or three days old, swollen, blue-black, full of corruption, partly eaten by crows, or just a framework of bones with flesh hanging from it, held together by the sinews, or scattered bones, bleached, heaped together, weathered and crumbling to dust.

More or less identical herewith is the description in the *Visuddhimagga* (chap. vi) on " foulness as a meditation subject " (*asubha-kammaṭṭhāna*), where the ten kinds are enumerated and paraphrased as the bloated, the livid, the festering, the cut-up, the gnawed, the scattered, the hacked, the bleeding, the worm-infested and a skeleton. The same ten appear also in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (263–4), but in earlier suttas of the *Aṅguttara* and *Saṃyutta Nikāyas* (*A.* I, 42 ; *S.* V, 131) one finds mention of only five among the 20 objects of perception, viz., the skeleton (*aṭṭhika-saññā*), the worm-eaten corpse (*puḷavaka-s°*), the discoloured corpse (*vinīlaka-s°*), the dismembered corpse (*vicchiddaka-s°*) and the bloated corpse (*uddhumātaka-s°*).

One who would practise these concentrations and even only for the short duration of the snapping of one's fingers (*accharā-saṅghāta-matta*) abide in one of the states of mental absorption (*jhāna*), he may truly be called a monk, his meditation is not in vain (*arittajjhāna*), for he abides by the Master's words and follows his advice ; he eats the people's food-offerings to some purpose (*A.* I, 38).

Many words of sound advice are given by Buddhaghosa (*Vism.* pp. 146-52, chapter vi, §§ 12-55) to the monk as to what he should do before he sets out to the cemetery and after he gets there. For details see preceding article ASUBHA.

The meditator is even warned that it could happen that after he returns from the cemetery and tries to recall the physical scene, the dead body might appear as rising up and threatening him, whereupon his mind might be gripped by panic fear. Such fear he can remove by remembering the physical features of the surroundings, the near-by stone, or bush, or ant-hill, which will not appear in his frightened imagination. Thus, by and by he will tie up his mind for the purpose of apprehending the sign (*nimittaggāho upanibandhanattho* : ibid. p. 153, §58).

Many obstructions may occur which will cause an interruption or even the total disappearance of the visualised object. One's duty to attend to one's teacher or to visitors may take so much time or effort that it becomes impossible to keep the learner's sign (*uggaha-nimitta*) before the mind. Then it may not be feasible to return to the spot where the corpse was observed first, but it should be possible to an observant mind to retrace one's movements from the starting point, recalling one by one the objects encountered on the path, and thus re-live every experience till again the learner's sign (*uggaha-nimitta*) is clearly visualised. Thus the meditator should over and over again revert to this mental image, though hideous, dreadful and frightening, till the transformed after-image (*paṭibhāga-nimitta*) arises which has none of the loathsome aspects of the former.

Simultaneous with the acquisition of this after-image or counterpart sign, the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*, q.v.) are abandoned, opening the doors for the manifestation of mental absorption (*jhāna*) which was the purpose of these ten forms of meditation on the foul (*asubha-bhāvanā*).

H.G.A.v.Z.

AŚUBHABHĀVANĀKRAMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs twice in the Tengyur, in the Dbu-ma (*Madhyamaka*) section, under the title *Mi-sdug pa bsgom-paḥi rim-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 102, No. 5315 ; ibid. Vol. 103, No. 5454). The authorship of the work is ascribed to Dge-baḥi go-cha (Kalyāṇavarman) and the translation is said to have been done by the great translator monks of former times (*sṅon-gyi lo-tsa-va chen-po-rnams*).

Instructions on the method of contemplation on the impurity (of the body) form the content of the work. Desirous of attaining emancipation, the contemplative saint should first conceive of his

body from the forehead to the tips of his thumbs and big toes as being covered with pustules, full of pus. He should then meditate on the decomposed and putrified state of the body. As he thinks of his body in this manner, he would see the whole world as full of corpses. In contemplating the impurity of the body, it should be thought of as a corpse, blue and disagreeable in colour, emitting obnoxious smells, decaying and festering, and infested with worms.

He, who meditates in this manner,will realise that there is no essence in worldly phenomena, which are illusory. His desires allayed, he would enter the noble path.

R. H.

ASUBHAKAMMIKA-TISSA, an arahant thera. He was a pupil of Mahātissa thera of Koṭapabbata-vihāra near Māgama in south Ceylon (*MhvA*. II, 553). Asubhakammika-Tissa thera is mentioned as an example of a worthy friend who took delight in meditating on the impurities and association with whom would lead to the destruction of lustful desires (*DA*. III, 778 ; *MA*. I, 282 ; *SA*. III, 165 ; *VibhA*. p. 270). Evidently he attained arahantship by meditating on the impurities (See *J*. III, 534), but there is not sufficient evidence to identify him with Mahātissa thera of Cetiyapabbata who won arahantship under similar circumstances (*Vism*. p. 17).

L. R. G.

AŚUBHĀNUSĀREṆA CITTA-STHĀPANOPĀYA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Mi-sdug-paḥi sgo-nas sems gnas-paḥi thabs*, incorporated in the Ṅo-mtshar bstan-bcos (Āścarya-śāstra) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol, 145, No. 5855).

The procedure of settling one's thoughts through the contemplation of offensive things forms the content of the work. Such contemplation, states the text, extinguishes like water the fire of passion (*rāga*) which is the root of all evil. Hence, one is exhorted to practise this type of meditation, attain wisdom thereby and eradicate the cause of all defilement (*kleśa*).

The topics of meditation are set out in the text. One should think of the body as a mere assemblage of the hair of the head, the hair of the body, nails, teeth, filth, skin, flesh, bones, urine, veins, kidneys, heart, liver, lungs, intestines, colon, stomach, entrails, spleen, tears, spittle, fat, pus, marrow, bile, phlegm and blood. One should also reflect upon the body as subject to the processes of being discoloured, festered, infested with worms, decayed and dismembered, a mere skeleton besmeared with blood, pus, phlegm, spittle and filth. Such thoughts will help a person overcome desire.

R. H.

ASUBHA SUTTA. There are three suttas by this name. The first occurs in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 150) and describes the four modes of progress with reference to four types of monk.

A monk lives contemplating the loathsomeness in the body (*asubhānupassī*) and is dependent on the five powers of a trainee (*pañca-sekha-bala*) ; but the five controlling faculties in him are dully manifested. Sluggish is his attainment of concentration. This is called the mode of progress that is painful, with sluggish intuition.

A monk lives contemplating loathsomeness in the body and is dependent on the five powers of a trainee ; but the five controlling faculties in him are manifested in abundance. Swift is his attainment of concentration. This is called the mode of progress that is painful but with swift intuition.

A monk attains to the four stages of mental absorption (*jhāna*) and lives dependent on the five powers of a trainee, but his five controlling faculties are dull. Sluggish is his attainment of concentration. This is called the mode of progress that is pleasant but with sluggish intuition.

A monk attains to the four stages of mental absorption and lives dependent on the five powers of a trainee ; but his five controlling faculties are abundant. Swift is his attainment of concentration. This is called the mode of progress that is both pleasant and is accompanied by swift intuition.

The second *Asubha Sutta* occurs in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 132) and here the Buddha says to his monks that the idea of loathsomeness (*asubha-saññā*), if cultivated, conduces either to the attainment of realisation (*aññā*) in this very life, or, if there be any substrate left, to the attainment of the state of non-return (*anāgāmi*).

In the third *Asubha Sutta*, which occurs in the *Itivuttaka*, the Buddha advises the monks to dwell observant of the foul in the body and thereby abandon the passionate inclination to the element of the fair ; to concentrate on inbreathing and outbreathing and thereby abandon the inclination to think of outward things associated with trouble ;

and also to dwell observant of impermanence of all compounded things and thereby abandon ignorance (*It.* 80–1).

U. K.

ASUCIKUṆAPA, a hell described in the *Jātakamālā* (*Jm.* 197.5). The description is given in the words of the bodhisattva born in Brahmaloka, descending on earth to admonish king Aṅgadinna, who was given to evil ways. He appears as a *devarṣi* (a heavenly sage) and, in the course of an interesting intellectual debate with the unbelieving king, tells him of the sufferings borne by evil-doers who go to these various hells, in one of which they burn, and waste away, but do not die. Aśucikuṇapa is described immediately after this in this vivid manner : 'those who have resorted to (the hell named) Aśucikuṇapa (the hell of unclean corpses) as to a pond of fresh water, meet there with unparalleled pain. Their bones are brought to decomposition by hundreds of worms '.

This name does not appear to occur in the Pali canonical literature.

B. J.

ĀSUCITTĀ, daughter of Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, noted for her wisdom at the age of twelve years (*DCBT*. 291b).

ĀSUGANDHA, name of a bodhisattva (*Mhvyut.* 714).

ASUKA (飛鳥), the southern part of the Nara prefecture of Japan, and the name of a period when the imperial palace was in Asuka.

Generally speaking, the period from the introduction of Buddhism (552 A. C.) up to the Taika Reformation (645 A. C.) is called the Asuka period. During this period, especially during the rule of the empress Suiko (554–628), the imperial household was trying to establish its authority over many powerful clans. This period is important not only because of its political features, but also because of the cultural advancement which it produced. During this period, Buddhism was introduced into Japan ; and in the same period it became established in the land. With the influence of Buddhism, architecture, painting, sculpture, technology, music, etc., developed remarkably in Japan.

According to the *Nihonshoki* (a chronological history of Japan), Buddhism was introduced into Japan in the thirteenth year of the emperor Kinmei, in the 10th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché, also called king Syöng, sent Kwi-si of the western division, and the Tal-sol, Nu-ri Sa-chhi-kyè, to the emperor with a present of an image of Shaka Butsu in gold and copper, several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of sūtras. Separately, he presented a memorial in which he praised the merit of spreading abroad religious worship, saying :— " This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain, and hard to comprehend. Even the duke of Chow and Confucius had not attained knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bonds, and so lead on to full appreciation of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in the measure of his use of them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three kingdoms of Han, where there is none who does not receive it with reverence when it is preached to him. Thy servant, therefore, Myöng, king of Pèkché, has humbly despatched his retainer, Nu-ri Sa-chhi, to transmit it to the imperial country, and to spread it abroad throughout the home provinces, so as to fulfil the recorded saying of Buddha : My law shall spread to the East. "

According to the *Nihonshoki*, the introduction of Buddhism to Japan was in the thirteenth year of the reign of the emperor Kinmei, but some other documents differ as to the date of such introduction. Zennosuke Tsuji examined these documents and concluded that the seventh regnal year of the emperor Kinmei (538 A.C.) was the correct date.[1]

This was the official introduction of Buddhism into Japan, but it is probable that Buddhism was preached privately by early settlers or even by Japanese prior to this official introduction.

The memorial of king Syöng-myöng quoted above is believed to have been written later in Japan.

When the emperor Kinmei received the image of the Buddha and the Buddhist texts, he asked his chief vassals whether Buddhism should be revered or not. Soga-no-Iname answered, " All the western frontier lands without any exception do worship it.

1 Zernosuke Tsuji, *Nihon-bukkhō-shi* (A History of Japanese Buddhism), Vol. 1, p. 42.

Shall Japan alone refuse to do so ?" But Mononobe-no-Okoshi and Nakatomi-no-Kamako addressed the emperor jointly, " Those who have ruled the empire in this our state have always made it their care to worship in spring, summer, autumn and winter the 180 gods of heaven and earth, and the gods of the land and grain. If just at this time we were to worship in their stead foreign deities, it may be feared that we would incur the wrath of our national gods."

In those days the main clans of Japan were divided into two groups concerning their political views. One group, Soga and Ōtomo, wanted to have close connections with Pèkché ; and the other, Nakatomi and Mononobe, with Silla. The Soga clan, in charge of foreign relations, was progressively inclined, but Mononobe, in charge of arms, and Nakatomi, in charge of the rituals of traditional religion were conservative. So, Soga-no-Iname wanted to worship the Buddha, but the Mononobe and Nakatomi clans did not want to do so. The emperor, then, gave the Buddha image to Soga-no-Iname to let him worship it tentatively. Iname installed it at his house at Oharida. Then he exchanged his house with the princess' palace at Muhukara, which was made into a temple to install the Buddha image. During the following year, an epidemic was prevalent and it was attributed to the worship of the Buddha. Therefore, the emperor dissuaded Soga-no-Iname from worshipping the Buddha. Soga-no-Iname obeyed the emperor, saying : " I will consent with others ostensibly, but I will continue to revere the Buddha in my mind."

Thirty years after this event, when Soga-no-Iname was dying, he told a prince, who later became the emperor Yōmei, and the emperor Bidatsu's consort, who became the empress Suiko, not to give up Buddhism in their minds. During the year following the death of Soga-no-Iname, Buddhist halls and images were burned down or thrown into the moat of Nanba. The only exception was the Mukuhara temple, because it had been the palace of the princess.

During the eleventh year of the emperor Bidatsu (582 A. C.), the Mukuhara temple was removed to Sakurai and three women became nuns. However, in February, in the fourteenth year of the same emperor, Buddha images, Buddhist temples and houses of devotees of Buddhism were set on fire and nuns were stripped of their robes and were banished.

When the emperor Bidatsu died, his successor was Yōmei, who was the first emperor to become a devotee of Buddhism. Soga-no-Umako, the eldest son of Iname, invited three nuns to the Sakurai temple with the permission of the emperor. Carpenters were invited from Pèkché to construct a new temple for monks. When the emperor Yōmei fell ill, a Buddhist was called into the court to pray for his recovery. And a man, named Kuratsukuri-no-Tasuna, abandoned home solely to become a priest for the purpose. This was the first Japanese layman to become a priest. S. Hanayama mentions that the motive of this person's becoming a priest was characteristically Japanese.[1]

During 587 A.C., civil war broke out between the Soga and Mononobe clans which ended in the defeat of the Mononobe clan. Soga-no-Umako made great efforts for the prosperity of Buddhism. In 592 prince Shōtoku was appointed regent. Prince Shōtoku composed commentaries on three sūtras, namely, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, *Vimalakīrtinirdésa* and *Śrīmālā-siṃhanāda Sūtra*. One compilation of his, the *Seventeen-Article Constitution*, is on the reverence due to Buddhism. He despatched many priests as well as laymen to China for the cultural development of Japan.

Thus, after the introduction of Buddhism to Japan from Korea, many events happened concerning the reception of this foreign religion, but gradually Buddhism was established in Japan under the protection of the emperor Yōmei, the empress Suiko, prince Shōtoku and others during the Asuka period.

K. Tmr.

ASUKA-DERA, begun in 588 A. C., was the first full-fledged temple complex built in Japan. A small sanctuary still remains on the original site, located in the Asuka district on the south-east edge of the Yamato plain about fifteen miles from Nara. Although this is now a quiet rural region, the traces of ancient palaces and imperial tombs near the temple bear witness to the fact that the Asuka district for centuries was the very centre of Japanese political and religious life—until 710, when the capital was moved to Nara.

The early history of the Asuka-dera is documented in the *Nihonshoki*, the *Shoku Nihongi*, and its own temple records. Its founding patron was Soga Umako, chief minister to the throne and head of the powerful Soga clan which had championed the Buddhist faith throughout the sixth century. Umako was closely associated with prince Shōtoku Taishi, and the building of the Asuka-dera, together

1 Shinshō Hanayama, *A History of Japanese Buddhism*, p. 6.

with that of the Shitennō-ji (c. 592) and the Hōryū-ji (c. 607), marked the stage in the history of Japanese Buddhism when the survival of the faith was no longer threatened and it first became possible to build in great splendour. In the case of the Asuka-dera, aid and counsel from the Buddhist kingdoms of Korea (Pèkché, Silla, and Koguryo) played a vital role in its early history.

The temple was erected soon after a gift of Buddhist relics arrived from Pèkché in 588. Accompanying the relics were Korean monks, temple carpenters, a metal founder for the casting of pagoda spires, expert tile workers and a painter ; presumably they set to work with local craftsmen in the construction project. By 592 the main devotional halls (Kondō) and connecting corridors had been built ; in 593 the relics were installed in the foundation of the central pillar of the pagoda ; in 596 the pagoda was complete.

In the same year, the temple began its role as a centre of Buddhist learning when its first two monks took up residence. One of them was Eji (Hyecha) from Koguryo, who became a teacher of Shōtoku Taishi and then his collaborator in the writing of the three sūtra commentaries. The other was Esō (Hyecchong) from Pèkché. Another celebrated monk, Fukuryū (Fu Liang) from the south Chinese kingdom of Wu, came to the Asuka-dera and studied the doctrines of the Sanron school under the Koguryo monk, Ekan (Hyekwan), who previously lived in Sui, China. The Japanese monk Dōwa returned in 672 from T'ang (China) with relics and a copy of the complete Tripiṭaka and built two meditation halls at the Asuka-dera. He was the first Japanese to preach the tenets of the Hossō school of Hsüan-tsang, and several monks who were to distinguish themselves in the Nara period studied with him at the temple.

All of the ancient buildings disappeared centuries ago, but excavations conducted in 1956–7 disclosed that the original ground plan of the Asuka-dera was unlike any other yet found in Japan. Its pagoda was surrounded by three Kondō halls, in contrast to the single Kondō at Hōryū-ji or Shitennō-ji. The same unusual lay-out has been discovered in ruins in the vicinity of Pyongyang, the ancient capital of Koguryo, especially at the site called Seiganri. Archaeologists think it possible, however, that this type of building was also employed in Pèkché and on the Chinese mainland, even though examples have yet to be found. Elsewhere in the Asuka-dera, strong Korean influence can be seen in the use of the stone double platform in the east and west Kondō, in designs on the roof tiles, and in other details of construction, confirming fully the statement in the *Nihonshoki* (xxi, 13) about the presence of Korean craftsmen at the time.

Although the Asuka-dera was virtually the Soga family temple, it continued to flourish after the family had been supplanted by the Fujiwaras as the leading power behind the throne. There is record, for example, of a great Avalamba festival (Urabon-e) held there by the imperial court in honour of deceased parents in 675 and a model of Mount Sumeru was erected then west of the temple. The emperors Tenchi (661–671) and Temmu (672–686) sponsored lavish vegetarian feasts and offered gifts to the brotherhood of monks ; and at the time of their final illnesses and deaths sūtras were ceremonially recited for their welfare.

The naming of this temple is unusually complicated, even though from the time of its founding, it has been called informally " the Asuka temple." In the *Nihonshoki* its formal name is given as Hōkō-ji. It is also called Gangō-ji, which seems to have been more inclusive and may have referred also to a near-by nunnery (no longer extant) which had been named after one in Pèkché, the Hōshi-ji. Soon after the capital was transferred to Nara in 710, the Asuka-dera, as one of the chief temples of the empire, was also transferred. That is to say, a new temple was erected in Nara which bore the names both of Gangō-ji and Asuka-dera, and the old Asuka-dera came to be called the Moto (original) Gangō-ji. The older temple quickly lost its prestige and support, however, and from the Tempyō period onward it virtually disappears from historical records. In 1196, an electric storm caused the pagoda to burn, and thereafter the other buildings must have rapidly deteriorated. Even though the temple became affiliated with the powerful Shingon sect, it shared the common fate of other temples in the Asuka district, neglect and poverty. A report of 1447 describes the Asuka-dera in forlorn condition, some of its images open to the sky.

The present Kondō is a modest building dating from the Kanei period (1624–30). The temple now bears the formal name Ango-in, derived from the Sanskrit *vārṣika* (Pali *vassa*), the period of quiet retreat of the monks during the rainy season. According to the temple tradition, this custom was introduced into Japan by the Korean monk Eisō (Hyecchong) while dwelling at the Asuka-dera.

The Asuka Daibustu. Two giant images of Śākyamuni were ordered in 605 A. C. by Soga-Umako on behalf of the empress Suikō. This is recorded in the *Nihonshoki* (xxii, 14 ; xxv, 10).

One of the images was to be in gilt bronze, the other in embroidery, both of them to measure the so-called Jōroku size—'sixteen feet,' the legendary height of Śākyamuni (seated images were one-half this height). The king of Koguryo, hearing of the project, contributed over 300 ounces of gold. The works were entrusted to the engineer Kuratsukuri no-Tori, who was the head of the Kuratsukuri family of Buddhist craftsmen and whose name appears as 'Tori Busshi' on the bronze Shaka Trinity in Hōryū-ji, dated 623. The emp~ess' commission was finished in 606, and the installation of the statue in the Gangō-ji celebrated by a great vegetarian feast. Kuratsukuri-no-Tori was rewarded with a high court rank for the piety of his family, his skill as an artist, and his ingenuity in moving the large statue through the small doors of the temple. This account in the *Nihonshoki* is partially confirmed by an entry in the temple records that the statue's halo (now lost) bore a record of its installation. The date, however, was given as 609—a slight discrepancy.

For its time, the casting of so large a bronze statue was an impressive feat of technology. Moreover, this was the first work in Japan known to have served as a *honzon*, an image which is the main object of devotion in a temple hall. There still remains in the Asuka-dera a bronze statue, eight feet eleven inches high, which is thought to be the one described in the *Nihongi*. Unfortunately, it has suffered greatly over the centuries and, at sometime or other, was clumsily restored. Parts of it seem relatively undamaged—the upper portion of the face, parts of the right hand and perhaps part of the left—and the image retains the proportions and gestures of a work in the style of Tori Bushi. In any event, it is the only remaining artistic relic of the temple's one hundred years of grandeur.

J. M. R.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Asukadera Temple Site*. Publication of the Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties, Number 5 (Nara, 1958), with English summary. *Nihonshoki*, translation by W. G. Aston as *Nihongi*, Supplement to the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* (London, 1896).

ÁSUKĀRIN, the seventeenth name in the first list of approximately 100 Buddhas (actually only 97 are named), which was recited by Mahā Kātyāyana at the request of Mahā Kāśyapa, giving the names of Buddhas under whom the Buddha Śākyamuni acquired merit when he was advancing as a bodhisattva from the first to the seventh stage of development or *bhūmi* (*Mhvu.* I, 136).

ÁSUKETU, name of a king, aspirant to Buddhahood (*Rpp.* 24. 14).

ASURA, name of a class of beings mentioned in Pali Buddhist literature as the enemies of the gods (devas) and as such, usually depicted as being against virtue and goodness. They are classed among the inferior deities, together with *supaṇṇas*, *gandhabbas*, *yakkhas*, *garuḍas* and *nāgas*. Rebirth as an asura is considered one of the four unhappy or evil states (*apāyā*) the others being *niraya*, *tiracchānayoni* and *pettivisaya*.

The concept of the asuras is much older than the Buddhist literature, and in recent times a great amount of research has been made on the study of the origin and history of the word. It has been now shown that in the *Ṛgveda* the term has usually been used as an epithet of Varuṇa, and, less frequently, of other high gods. They appear to have figured collectively as the enemies of the gods throughout the later parts of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Atharvaveda* and the subsequent Vedic literature. It has also been shown that there exists a philological and historical connection between the Indian 'Asura' and the Iranian 'Ahura' (Mazda) and there is a vast and diverse range of scholarly opinion on the nature of this connection. Keith has provided a convenient critical summary of the views of some of these scholars (*Religion and Philoshophy of the Vedas*, Cambridge, Mass. 1925, pp. 231 ff.).

In the *Atharvaveda* and in subsequent Vedic literature, the term asura is used almost always in a hostile sense, and almost always collectively. Keith (loc. cit.) has shown that in the *Atharvaveda* the singular is used three times and the plural thirty times. In the Pali literature, too, the word is used almost always collectively. Whenever it is used in the singular, as in the term *asurinda*, which means asura-chief, it implies the existence of a following of whom one is chief. This collective reference in fact distinguishes them from the independent demons found in the Pali literature. Several asurindas are mentioned, Vepacitti, Rāhu, Pahārāda (Mahābhadda), Sambara, Verocana, Bali, Sucitti and Namucī, but always as leaders of a host (see s.v. for each).

The second feature which Buddhists have retained is the idea of the fallen god associated with

the asuras. In the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* is found a description of their fall. "In those days there were asuras dwelling in the realm of the Thirty-three. Said Sakka, king of devas, 'what good to us is a kingdom which others share?' So he made the asuras drink the liquor of the devas, and when they were drunken he had them hurled by their feet into the steeps of mount Sineru' (*J.* I, 202, trsl. Chalmers, Cowell's *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 80). This idea of the fall is assumed throughout the canonical references.

Another common feature is that they are almost always depicted in association with the gods, usually in opposition, whether collectively or singly. This opposition is most frequently mentioned in connection with the war between the asuras and the devas. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 432), the Buddha describes the war thus: "Long ago a battle was raging between the devas and asuras, and in that battle the asuras won and the devas were defeated and the defeated devas simply fled, with the asuras facing north hot after them. Then the devas thought: 'The asuras give chase, let us battle with them a second time' and a second time they fought and a second time they were defeated." The Buddha goes on to mention a third battle where the devas were defeated, and sought refuge in their city, and then of another series of three wars in which the devas are triumphant and the asuras are defeated. There is, however, a point at which the theme becomes essentially Buddhist. This consists of the fact that the Buddha uses the episode of the war as a metaphor for the moral retreat of the monk in the face of Māra, the Evil One, before the former has attained the meditative state of 'infinite space'.

This essentially Buddhist twist is seen whenever the war between the asuras and devas is mentioned. In the *Dīgha Nikāya*, (II, 285), Sakka, being questioned, describes the war and his triumph in it, but he claims that the joy of his victory, which is the greatest he had known, is unequal to the satisfaction he derived from having heard the Dhamma preached by the Buddha. "But, Lord," says Sakka, "experiencing satisfaction such as this which was wrought by blows and by wounds does not conduce to detachment nor to disinterestedness, to cessation, to peace, to spiritual knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna."

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 219) again, we find Sakka referring to the war. Here he instructs his hosts to look for courage and inspiration from his banner, or those of his leading gods, Pajāpati, Varuṇa or Isāna. But, the Buddha advises his following to find a more stable refuge from fear, in the Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Another reference to the war is found in the same nikāya (*S.* IV, 201 f.), where again the Buddha uses the post-war incidents to illustrate that the bondage of Māra is even more subtle than that of Vepacitti, the asura king, who attempted to bind Sakka.

We also find Sakka mentioning the war to his son, Suvīra, and encouraging him to the fight in the preface to some verses in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 216). The same is repeated to Susima, Sakka's son (ibid. 217).

The story of Sakka deciding to retreat in his fight with the asuras, so that he might not injure the young birds in their nests, is often mentioned by Buddhist authors. The story is related in outline in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 224) but is given in detail in the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (*J.* I, 202).

Even when the asuras figure individually in the texts, they are usually found in conflict with the devas, for instance, ranged in debate as in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 222), where Vepacitti, the asurinda, challenges Sakka to defeat him by excellence of speech. Vepacitti is shown to be defending brute force and punishment as means for restraining the fool, while Sakka recommends conquest by methods of peace, and the judgement of the audience of asuras and devas is given in favour of Sakka.

In common with the pre-Buddhist concept, Buddhist literature also has the asuras dwelling in the ocean. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 200) describes Pahārāda himself giving the ocean as the dwelling place of asuras, where they live along with nāgas, gandhabbas and fabulous fish. The *Kulāvaka Jātaka* describes the asuras as having been hurled into the deep. The *Udāna* (54) also gives the ocean as their abode. There are, however, other references in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 221; 225; V, 448) and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 432) which state the asuras as dwelling in a city, the Asurabhavana.

There are several other mythological details mentioned in connection with the asuras, beside their delight 'in the mighty ocean' (*A.* IV, 197). The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 447) pictures them as retreating through a lotus-stalk. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 253) Sakka tells Moggallāna that he built his Vejayanta palace to commemorate his victory over the asuras. The *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (loc. cit.) attributes to their abode the Cittapātali tree, parallel to the divine Páricchattaka. It is when the Cittapātali blooms that the asuras realise that they are no longer in heaven and decide to regain their

kingdom from the devas, and climb up Sineru "like ants up a pillar" (*J.* I, 202). The *Kakkatā Jātaka* (*J.* II, 344) says that they had a drum called *āḷambara*, and relates how they came to possess and later lose it to Sakka in their war.

In the *Sutta-nipāta* commentary (*SnA.* 484), the asuras are also called Pubbadeva, 'the gods of yore'. In the same source, their kingdom is stated to be 10,000 leagues in extent. In another place on the same page, it is stated as being 100,000 leagues in extent.

G. P. Malalasekera (*DPPN.* I, 215) observes that in Buddhaghosa's time, the bygone lustre of the word asura (as equivalent to *ahura*) had faded, and draws attention to the commentator's interesting explanation of the name: When Sakka was born with his followers in the asura world (which later became Tāvatiṃsa), the asuras prepared a drink called *gaṇḍapāna*. Sakka warned his companions not to drink it, but the asuras became drunk and were thrown down Sineru. Halfway down they regained consciousness and made a vow never again to drink intoxicants (*surā*), hence the name *asura*.

There are two classes of asuras mentioned in the nikāyas, the Kālakañjakas and the Dānaveghasas who carried bows in their hands. The former are mentioned as attending the great concourse when the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* was preached, and are described there as 'of fearsome shape' (*D.* II, 259). They were considered the lowest among the asuras. The *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA.* I, 260) describes them as awful, vile (*bībhaccha*).

B. J.

Asura, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, a class of non-humans, usually classified as one of the six forms of existence (*gati*), together with *naraka*, *preta*, *tiryagyoni*, *mànuṣya* and *deva*, and also as one of the ten spheres (*dhātu*), the others being *naraka*, *preta*, *tiryagyoni*, *manuṣya*, *deva*, *śrāvaka*, *pratyeka-buddha*, *bodhisattva* and Buddha.

In regard to Chinese equivalents, the *P'o-pou-p'an-tou-fa-shih-ch'uan*, a Chinese translation of a biography of *Vasubandhu* (*Taishō*, No. 2049, Vol. 50, p. 188a), says that Asura should be interpreted 'non-virtuous-player', for he enjoys vice, while the gods play with virtue, and that he can be called 'non-heavenly being'. The *A-p'i-ta-mo-ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*, a Chinese translation of the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣa-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1545, Vol., 27, p. 868 b), says as follows: 'sura' means 'heaven' and as asura is not a heavenly being, he is named 'a-sura'. 'Sura' also means 'grace', but his figure is not graceful because of his being filled with hate and jealousy for heavenly beings; he is therefore, called 'a-sura' (non-graceful). Asura is, furthermore, named 'dissimilar', for he is considered to live near the gods, yet he is different from them. In the *Chu-wei-mo-chian-ching*, a commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* written by a Chinese priest *Sêng-chao* (*Taishō*, No. 1775, Vol. 38, p. 1331c), the *Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching-wen-chü*, a Chinese commentary on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 1718, Vol. 34, p. 25a), the *Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan-chi*, a Chinese commentary on the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Taishō*, No. 1733, Vol. 35, p. 135a), and so on, a drinker, yet not-drunk is given as a translation of Asura. In regard to this translation, the *Hsin-i-ta-fang-kuang-fu-hua-yen-ching-yin-i*, a Chinese commentary on the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Moc.* Vol. 1, p. 32 and Vol. 3 pp. 2096b-97a) considers it a mistranslation. But because the same reading for Asura as a drinker, yet not drunk, is transmitted to the later Pali literature as we know in the previous article, we cannot simply dismiss it as a mistake.

As the Tibetan equivalent of Asura, *lha-ma-yin* or *lha-min* is given. 'Lha' means 'god' (*sura*) and 'lha-ma-yin', 'one who is not a *sura*', that is to say, *a-sura*. By the way, 'min' is a shortened form for 'ma-yin'.

While all these explain the first letter 'a' of Asura as 'a' of a negative prefix, there is another view, namely: the root 'as' which means 'to exist' changes to a substantial form 'asu', the meaning of which is 'breath' or 'soul', and a suffix 'ra' is added to 'asu'.

Narratives about Asura. Many narratives are found in Mahāyāna texts. These seem to have gradually developed from the simple stories in early Buddhism. Some of the simple stories have been explained in the previous article, and this one will show a narrative of the *Chêng-fa-nien-ch'u-ching*, a Chinese translation of the *Ārya-saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* which was translated in 70 fascicles in 539-40 by Gautama Prajñā (*Taishō*, No. 721, Vol. 17, pp. 1-417), which is the most developed and complexed one and is considered to be a source of some Mahāyāna narratives about Asura in the later period. According to this sūtra, the original Sanskrit text is considered to have been composed in the 2nd century A.C. by the Sarvāstivādin-school (See, "On the *Ārya-saddharma-smṛty-upasthāna-sūtra*" by K. Mizano, *Journal of*

Indian and Buddhist Studies, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 38-47 ; *Moc.* Vol. 3, pp. 2769-70). The Tibetan translation is titled the *Ḥphags-pa dam-paḥi chos dran-pa ñe-nar gshag-pa*, the translation of which is not known (*TM*. No. 287). There are two kinds of Asura ; one belongs to the Preta, the other the Tiryagyoni. The following narrative is about the asuras of the Tiryagyoni only.

There is a living place of asuras, which consists of 4 strata and lies between 21,000 and 84,000 yojanas below the bottom of the sea.

The first stratum is located 21,000 yojanas below, where Rāhu, the asura, is living. His body is as huge as Mt. Sumeru and his castle named Prabhā is 8,000 yojanas long and wide. With much pride in his mind, he wanted to see a heavenly maiden, flew up in the sky and came near Mt. Sumeru. As he could not see anything because of the sunshine, he shaded the sun from his eyes with the palm of his right hand and saw what heavenly beings were doing. This is observed as an eclipse of the sun. Then he shaded the moon from his eyes with his right palm, too. This becomes what we call an eclipse of the moon. When he was a brāhman in his previous life, he saved a Buddhist tower from being destroyed by fire and wished for himself to get a huge body in compensation for this good deed. He was born as an asura because of his having made many offerings to non-Buddhists in his previous life. One day of his life equals 500 years of human life and his natural duration of life, is 5,000 years of his length of time (*Taishō*, Vol. 17 pp. 107 a-109 a).

The second stratum called Candra-māla is located 21,000 yojanas lower than the first one. This is the residence of Yakṣa asura and his castle named Yugma-vikrīḍita is 8,000 yojanas square [1]. One day with a desire of destroying the human world, he went to an evil dragon-king (*nāga-rāja*) in order to request his co-operation. Accepting the asura's request, the dragon-king roused great anger (*vyāpāda*) to shake the waters of the sea. As the water was shaken, the earth shook too. This is what is called an earthquake. On account of having snatched things from others and donated them to non-Buddhist saints in his previous life, he was born as an asura. A single day of his life equals 600 years of human life and his natural life-span is 6,000 years of his length of time (*Taishō*, Vol. 17, pp. 109a-113a).

1 In other passages of this sūtra this asura is named also Kusuma-māla. Still another name is found, which, however, cannot be constructed in Sanskrit. The name of the castle as Yugma-vikrīḍita is reconstructed from the classical Chinese Shuan-yu-hsi but not with absolute certainty.

The third stratum called Hsiu-na-p'o (the original name cannot be reconstructed) is situated another 21,000 yojanas below the second one. An asura king named Kusuma-māla lives there in his castle, 'Gambhīra', which is 8,000 yojanas square. One day wishing to ruin human and heavenly beings, he went to the castle of a dragon-king. The dragon-king, as soon as he heard the asura's voice, became very angry and resolutely fought against the asura with a lightning flash from his body. After being defeated, the dragon-king went to a heavenly being and told him what had happened. Then the heavenly being also became angry and poured forth a smoke. This is a comet. As the result of having dispensed some food and drink to patients in his previous life, the asura Kusuma-māla was born as he was. His one day is identical with 700 years of human being and his duration of life amounts to 7,000 years of his length of time (ibid. pp. 103a-114a).

The fourth stratum called Acala lies another 21,000 yojanas lower, where an asura named Vemacitra lives. His castle is called Gambhīra [2] and is 13,000 yojanas long and wide. He is the strongest of all the asuras and his character is licentious and proud. One day, in obedience to a suggestion of an evil dragon-king, he challenged heavenly beings together with the three asura-kings mentioned earlier. After a defeat of the three, Gambhīra raised great anger, with his eyes red he beat a march on the drum and began an all-out fight against heavenly beings. In regard to the result, if people are dutiful to their parents and respect Buddhist and non-Buddhist saints, many of them can be reborn in the heaven and because of it the heaven will be powerful enough to overcome the asura, but in case of the contrary, the asura will gain a victory. It is the result of his having dispensed, with a wrong mind, something to trainees observing the commandments that Gambhīra was born as an asura (*Taishō*, Vol. 17, pp. 114a–124c).

In various Mahāyāna texts, there can be found many asuras other than those mentioned here.

Deeds as the cause for birth as Asura. As the cause (*hetu*) for birth as an asura, many texts preach the three deeds (*karma*) such as anger (*dveṣa* or *pratigha*), conceit (*māna*) and doubt (*vicikitsā*).

2 As this is the same name as that of the third stratum's castle, one of them seems to be wrong, but they are now given as they are recorded.

But in the *Fu-wei-shou-chia-ch'ang-chê-chuo-yeh-pao-ch'ai-pieh-ching*, one of the sūtras in early Buddhism (*Taishō*, No. 80, Vol. I, p. 893a), the following ten deeds are mentioned as the cause for it : doing evil by the body (*kāya*) ; speaking evil (*vāc*) ; thinking evil in the mind (*manas*) ; causing the arising of *māna*[1], *asmi-māna*, *abhi-māna*, *ati-māna*, *mithyā-māna* and *mānāti-māna* ; doing good leading to rebirth as an asura.

The first three deeds are, needless to say, the so-called three evil deeds (*trīṇi duścaritāni*). The next six deeds from the fourth to the ninth are concerned with a mind of conceit. These correspond to the seven mānas of the abhidharma teaching with a lack of *ūnamāna*. Among the abhidharma teachings there are, more or less, some differences in the definition and explanation of the seven *mānas* depending on schools and texts. According to the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* by Vasubandhu (*Taishō*, No. 1558, Vol. 29, p. 101a) the above-mentioned six *mānas* are defined as follows :

1. *Māna* : in case of inferiority, to consider themselves the superior and boast of it in the mind.
   in case of equality, to consider themselves the equal.
2. *Asmi-māna* : on the body, to attach the self (*ātman*) and what belongs to the self (*mana-kāra*) and boast of it in the mind.
3. *Abhi-māna* : in spite of attaining no enlightenment, to consider it to have been done.
4. *Ati-māna* : in case of equality, to consider themselves the superior ; in case of superiority, to consider themselves the equal.
5. *Mithyā-māna* : with no values, to consider oneself to have possessed them.
6. *Mānāti-māna* : in case of superiority, to consider themselves the superior.

The tenth deed means a good deed, while the former nine are all what we call evil deeds. The last case is considered to be that of rebirth up into the *Asura-gati* from the lower *gatis* such as *naraka*, *preta* and *tiryagyoni*. On the contrary the former nine seem to be the causes of rebirth down into the *Asura-gati* from *manuṣya* and *deva* which are higher *gatis* than asura.

Figures of Asura. In regard to the figure of asura, various types are mentioned in many texts. According to the *Kuan-yin-i-sha*, a Chinese commentary on the *Samantamukhaparivartonāmāvalokiteśvaravikurvaṇa-nirdeśa* (*Taishō*, No. 1728, Vol. 34, p. 934c), one asura has 1,000 heads and 2,000 hands ; another one 10,000 heads and 20,000 hands ; and the third one, 3 heads and six hands. According to the *Pu-t'o-lo-hai-hui-kuei*, a Chinese translation of an Esoteric Buddhist text (*Taishō*, No. 1067, Vol. 20, p. 137b), an asura has three faces in blue-black colour and a bare body with the appearance of anger on it. His hands are six in all and he has two legs ; the first pair of hands make a gesture of being joined in veneration, the second hand of his left only has a fire crystal, and the third clasps a sword. The second hand of his right has a water crystal and the third holds an *i*[2].

There are two kinds of asura according to the *Chu-shuo-pu-t'ung-chi*, a classical Chinese work written by a Japanese priest on Esoteric Buddhism (*Taishō*, No. 2922, Vol. 86, p. 107a and b) ; one is *Maṇi-asura* and the other, *Asura*. The whole form of the Maṇi-asura is in red colour. He buckles on an armour and a crown with its top pointing upwards and grasps a sword with his right hand. Fixing his left hand at the waist with its fist clenched and facing to the right, he sits with his left leg placed across his right one. Two attendants follow him sitting on either side of him. The asura on the left side of the Maṇi-asura is with all his

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1 The very Chinese translation is *Ch'iao-man* and according to the *Moc.* pp. 618c–19a, this is a translation of *adhimāna* in Sanskrit. But it is usually considered that *adhimāna* is the Pali and Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit word for the Sanskrit word *abhimāna*, the Chinese translation of which is *tsêng-shang-man*. In the *Abhidharma* teaching, furthermore, *Ch'iao* is a translation of *mada*, and *man* is that of *māna*, and they are clearly defined as different terms to each other (*On the problem of Mind or Consciousness in Buddhism centered round the Pali Buddhism*, by K. Mizuno, 1964, Tokyo, p. 740). But as the times of formation and translation of this sūtra are earlier than that of the Abhidharma literature, there are two possibilities to suppose ; one is that the translator gave the *Ch'iao-man* for *māna*, the other that the original text had already shown *mada-māna*. In the latter case it is impossible to trace whether the *mada-māna* meant the *māna* of the Abhidharma teaching or not because of the text giving no comment on the term. Anyway in this article, we, for convenience, consider '*māna*' to be the original term of '*Ch'iao-man*' in the text and interpret its meaning according to the Abhidharma teaching.

2 The 'i' may be a unit of gold in ancient China. It also represents a measure of rice. In Japan it means a hook used over a fire.



ASURA, with three faces and six arms, one of the eight guardians (*Hachi-bū-shū*) at Kōfuku-ji, Nara Japan (734 A.C.). Total height of this dry-lacquer statue is 1·53 m. (almost 5 ft.)



ATIŚA, wearing monk's garments and a high-peaked cap. The chaitya is his symbol, as the restorer of Buddhism in Tibet. His hands form the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, i.e., preaching the Norm.

(See *Ency. Bsm.* II, pp. 311—15.)

(*reproduced from A. K. Gordon,* The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, *Tuttle Co., Tokyo,* 1959, *p.* 106)



ATISA'S TOMB. "In the centre of the mausoleum is an image of Atiśa made in his own likeness: it is perhaps the very one that the Master blessed."

(*reproduced from* The Religion of Tibet *by Sir Charles Bell, by courtesy of the Clarendon Press, Oxford*)

figure including his armour and crown, red in colour. He has tied a blue belt round the waist, covered with armour. Grasping a pole with his right hand and fixing his left at the waist with his fist clenched, he is accompanied by two subordinates one on either side of him. But even in the same text, some figures of asura other than the above mentioned ones are described.

Besides these, in some other texts, there are described various shapes of asura such as that with 9 heads, 1,000 eyes, 990 hands, 6 legs, a flame bursting from the mouth and with a body 4 times as large as Mt. Sumeru, attended by two maids, and so on.

S. Mo.

ASURADEVA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi (q. v.) acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 141).

ASURAKĀ, a pool near Nirati, the city of the kinnaras. Druma, the king of the kinnaras, ordered his ministers to decorate it when he heard that Sudhanu, his daughter's suitor had come (*Mhvu.* II, 111).

ASURA-LIPI, the script of the asuras, i.e., mystic, occult script. The compound *asuralipi* has two variations, viz., *asuralivi* and *asuralibi*.

In the Lipiśālāsaṃdarśanaparivarta of the *Lalitavistara* (126.3), reference is made to *asuralipi*, where it is listed as one of the sixty-four scripts which the bodhisattva Gautama desired to study at the Lipiśālā (writing school), under the aegis of preceptor Viśvāmitra, which is confirmed by Tibetan ' *lhama yin* (*BHS.* 84.b).

ASURANEMIN, name of a sage occurring in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.*).

ASURAPRĀMBHĀRA, name of a mountain occurring in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.)

ASURASAMCODANA, name of a samādhi in which Avalokiteśvara has gained proficiency. This is mentioned in the list of samādhis enumerated by the Buddha, at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (text reads—nīvaraṇa—), as those which were accomplished by Avalokiteśvara (*Kvyū.* p. 52).

S. K. N.

ASURA SUTTA, the first sutta of the *Asura Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 91 f.).

It is an address to the monks on the four types of person found in the world. These four types are given as the asura (a) with a retinue of asuras, (b) with a retinue of devas, the deva (c) with a retinue of devas, (d) with a retinue of asuras. The first is immoral and wicked and so is his following. In the second type the first is immoral but his following is virtuous, and so correspondingly with the next two.

B. J.

ASURA VAGGA, the last chapter of the *Catukka Nipāta* (Book of Fours) of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 91-101). It consists of ten suttas, each sutta dealing with four persons found in the world. Since the first sutta describes four persons comparable to the asuras and devas and hence is called the *Asura Sutta*, the whole chapter is called the *Asura Vagga*. Of the subsequent suttas, the second, third and fourth suttas deal with persons who have either gained or not gained mental calmness and higher wisdom of insight and these suttas are named *Samādhi* (concentration). In the fifth sutta, entitled *Alāta* (firebrand), four persons — bent on the profit of oneself, profit of others, profit of both and profit of neither —are described in comparison with the firebrand. The next three suttas appearing under one and the same title, *Attahita*, meaning profit of self, and the subsequent sutta, called *Sikkhā* (precepts), deal at length with the above four persons. The tenth and last sutta of this chapter describes four persons who speak in praise of what deserves praise and so on. This sutta alone is preached to the wanderer Potaliya, whereas all the other suttas are preached to the monks.

H. R. P.

ASURENDRĀ, name of a kinnara-maid who was present with innumerable others in Jetavana to listen to the Buddha. (*Kvyū* 6.21).

ASURINDAKA-BHĀRADVĀJA, also known as Sundarika Bhāradvāja, was a brāhman of the Bhāradvāja clan. " The name (demon-chief) is so pagan for a brahmin, and the Buddha's reply so suggestive of Sakka's ", says Mrs. Rhys Davids, " that a bifurcated or transferred legend here seems fairly plausible " (*Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 203, n. 2). Asurindaka was the third of the Bhāradvāja brothers who insulted and scolded the

Buddha for having ordained their elder brother Saṅgārava Bhāradvāja (*MA*. III, p. 452). Although he reviled the Buddha, eventually he became one of his followers and attained arahantship.

I. K.

ASURINDA(KA) SUTTA, the third sutta of the *Arahanta Vagga* of the *Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S*. I, 163 ff.; *SA*. I, 178).

The Buddha, while staying near Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove, near the Squirrel's Feeding-ground, had an interview with the brāhman Asurinda Bhāradvāja, which this sutta recounts.

When the brāhman Asurinda Bhāradvāja heard that Bhāradvāja (probably the leader of the clan) had entered the Order, he was so angry that he went to the Buddha and abused him. The Buddha remained silent, and then, addressing the brāhman, said that the worse of the two is the one, who when reviled reviles again. Further the Buddha said, that one who does not revile wins a twofold victory, namely, that he seeks the good, both of himself and of others.

I. K.

ASUROPA. Rage, occasioned by hate. See ABRUPTNESS, DOSA.

ASVABHĀVA, known as Wu-hsing in China and Ṅo-bo-ñid med-pa in Tibet, an author and a scholar belonging to the Sākāravijñānavāda of Diṅnāga. He lived in India from about 450 to 530 A.C. Basing his teaching upon that of Diṅnāga, he wrote the *Mahāyānasaṅgrahopanibandhana*, a commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*. Hsüan-tsang translated this into Chinese as *Shê-ta-ch'êng-lun* 攝大乘論 (*Taishō*, No. 1598 and *Nanjio*, No. 1171) and it is available in Tibetan as *Theg-pa chen-po bsdus-pahi bśad sbyar*, translated by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde. Later, Dpal brtsegs revised the translation (*TM*. No. 4051). Asvabhāva's other work, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāraṭīkā*, was also a scholium on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* and is translated only into Tibetan as *Theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo-sdeḥi rgyan-gyi rgya-cher bśad-pa* by Śākyasiṃha and Dpal brtsegs (*TM*. No. 4029).

A.G.S.K.

ASVAGHOṢA (1), a bodhisattva, who gives to naked beings clothes to wear (Ma-ming 馬鳴 or Ma-ming 馬明 in Chinese).

The *Ma-ming-p'u-sa-ta-shên-li-wu-pi-yen-fa-nien-sung-kuei-i* (馬鳴菩薩大神力無比驗法念誦軌儀, *Taishō*, No. 1166) mentions: One day, Śākya Tathāgatha was sitting under the bodhi-tree at a mass meeting. Then, the bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa stepped forward and told the Buddha, "I want to preach the great mantra which I have obtained after the practice of the way of a bodhisattva for innumerable kalpas, in order to let naked poor beings have clothes in the ages of the two final stages of Buddhism...... If anyone wants to have this power, he should offer alms to me, should learn mudrās and mantras of me, and should draw my image. That image should be in white flesh colour, sitting on a white lotus on a white horse, with the hands clapsed, wearing a white robe, with garlands to adorn the body and with a crown on the head, while the right leg is hanging down...... Then, I will send forth great rays of light to the houses of devotees and to the whole earth; and produce fine cloth like brocade, lace, silk,...... and pile gold like a mountain. All these are for public use" (*Taishō*, Vol. 20, p. 674).

His seed-syllable (*bīja*) is *ka* and his symbol (*samaya*) is a thread.

In regard of his figure, the *Asabashō* (阿娑縛鈔) mentions that he has either six or two hands. His colour is that of a red lotus and he rides a white horse. His six main followers surround him. The *Zuzō-shō* (圖像抄) and the *Besson-zakki* (別尊雜記) show the image with six hands, but the illustrations in the *Shoson-zuzō* (諸尊圖像) and in the *Shikeshō-zuzō* (四家鈔圖像) are those with four hands. The wooden image at the Kōryū-ji in Kyoto has two hands.

This bodhisattva has been considered the protector of sericulture, which fact seems to be based on a Chinese popular belief. The *Ma-ming-p'u-sa-ta-shên-li-wu-pi-yen-fa-nien-sung-kuei-i*, the text quoted above, is said to have been translated by Vajrabodhi, but the translation is clumsy and is not like other translations of Vajrabodhi. So, according to *Mochizuki* (p. 4863), this must be an apocryphal work written in China.

K. Tmr.

ASVAGHOṢA (2), court poet of the great Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka who was a patron of learning. He was an elder contemporary of the king who, according to the Tibetan tradition, flourished 400 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. He held a prominent position in northern countries,

and Jñānayaśas was his leading disciple.[1] According to the tradition in the Chinese *Tsa-pao-tsang-ching* (*Saṃyuktaratnapiṭakasūtra*), the court of Kaniṣka is believed to have been adorned by three wise men, viz., a bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa, a minister named Māṭhara (Mo-cha-la) and an experienced physician named Caraka, the well known author of the *Carakasaṃhitā*.[2] The Chinese *Fu-fo-tsan-ch'uan*[3] mentions that Aśvaghoṣa was taken by king Kaniṣka from Pāṭaliputra to his own capital, Gandhāra, in the north-west.

Aśvaghoṣa was the religious preceptor (*guru*) of Kaniṣka. He became the disciple of Pārśva, who according to Hsüan-tsang,[4] defeated him in a public discussion. He was not only a great poet but also a dramatist, a musician and a gifted exponent of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy. He was the first great writer of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism and, according to Hsüan-tsang, he was the contemporary of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Kumāralabdha. He was accurate in his knowledge and was profoundly learned.[5] He was well acquainted with the *Ṛgveda*, the Epics and the *Upaniṣads* and even the *Divyāvadāna*, a work of the Sarvāstivādins. The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* was also used by him.[6]

Aśvaghoṣa was known by different names. He was honoured by the Chinese with the epithet of *Kung-tê-jih* (Puṇyāditya) and with that of *Kung-chany* (Puṇyaśrika). The Tibetan historian Tārānātha applies nine more epithets to him, viz., Kāla (time), Durdarśa (hard to-be-seen), Durdarśakāla (hard-to-be-seen-time), Mātṛceṭa (mother-child), Pitṛceṭa (father-child), Śūra (hero), Dhārmika-subhūti (virtuous-mighty) and Maticitra (intelligence-bright).[7] He was a man of great wisdom which embraced all subjects and he discoursed on the minute words of the three Piṭakas and referred to the great principles of the five *vidyās*.[8] According to the *Si-yu-ki*, Aśvaghoṣa lived in a monastery and he preached so eloquently that the entire congregation was moved to tears.[9] Tārānātha points out that as a youth, when fully equipped with every branch of knowledge, Aśvaghoṣa went to Oḍiviśa, Gauḍa, Tirahuti, Kāmarūpa, and some other places (all in eastern India), defeating everywhere his opponents by his ingenious logic.[10] He remained in the Middle Country, making an extensive study of the sūtras, seeking a clear comprehension of the doctrine, Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic, and was treated by the ruler of the place as a man of distinction.

Aśvaghoṣa was the son of Suvarṇākṣī, and Sāketa was the town to which he belonged. According to Tārānātha, he was a son of a rich brāhman, named Saṅghaguhya, who married the youngest daughter of a merchant in Khorta.

As regards the birth-place of Aśvaghoṣa, the Chinese traditions preserved in the *Record of the Triratna and the accounts of the Buddha and Patriarchs* agree with Tārānātha in locating it in eastern India. According to the *Life of Vasubandhu*, Aśvaghoṣa was a native of Bhāṣita in Śrāvasti, while Nāgārjuna, in his *Mahāyānaśāstravyākhyā*, places his birth-place in western India. Another tradition says that Aśvaghoṣa was born in western India as the son of Loka and Ghoṇā.[1] In the *Record of the Buddha and Patriarchs* under successive dynasties, we find that Aśvaghoṣa was a native of Banaras (Vārāṇasī), while in another Chinese work, *Shittanzo*, (fasc. 1), he was a man of south India. He is described as a man of the Middle Country and a powerful Buddhist teacher whose activity was confined to this very region of India. It is difficult to say how far the information supplied by the colophons of his three works regarding his birth-place and mother is authentic.

In the colophon of the extant text of the *Saundaranandakāvya*, its author Aśvaghoṣa is described as a great and eloquent poet, a mendicant and a teacher.[12] In the colophons of the *Buddhacarita* and *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* he is also described as a Sāketaka, son of Suvarṇākṣī.[13] At first he was a brāhman and later he was converted to Buddhism. Opinions differ as to the person who converted him to the Buddhist faith The *Life of Aśvaghoṣa* accords to the Sthavira Pārśva the

1 *JBTS.* Vol. I, Pt. III, article on Kaṇiṣka.
2 Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 52 note.
3 *Transmission of the Dharmapiṭaka*, fasc. 5.
4 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 208–9.
5 *Buc.*, Pt. II, p.xliv.
6 e.g., *Saundarananda*, I, 15 ; II, 36.
7 Suzuki, *Aśvaghoṣa's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*, p. 21 ; *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 90.
8 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 100–101.
9 ibid. Vol. I, p. 57, fn.
10 Suzuki, op. cit., p. 18.
11 Suzuki, loc. cit.
12 *Saundaranandakāvya*, Johnston's Ed., p. 142.
13 *Buc.* Pt. II, Intr. p. xiii.

credit of his conversion, while according to the *Transmission of the Dharmapiṭaka* this was due to Pārśva's disciple, named Puṇyayaśas.

According to a Sarvāstivāda tradition, Aśvaghoṣa bodhisattva, the author of the *Mahāsūtrālaṅkāraśāsira* translated by Kumārajīva in 405 A. C., was born some three hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Hui-Yüan, in his commentary on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra,* places the date of his birth about 370 years after the Nirvāṇa, on the authority of Kumārajīva. In the *Life of Vasubandhu* it is stated that Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Kātyāyana, the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra,* and that he lived in the fifth century after the Nirvāṇa. According to the second Chinese translation of the *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra,* he is said to have appeared in the world 500 years after the Nirvāṇa. Sang-Ying, the Chinese translator of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra,* also places the date of Aśvaghoṣa towards the end of the period of orthodoxy, i.e., 500 years after the Nirvāṇa.

Johnston is right in pointing out that the upper limit for Aśvaghoṣa's date is determined by the mention of the Aśoka legend in Book V, 28 of the Chinese version of the *Buddhacarita.*[14] The lower limit is similarly fixed by the date of the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* by Dharmarakṣa in about 420 A.C. Beal considers the date as uncertain. Aśvaghoṣa was the contemporary of Nāgārjuna, who is generally placed 400 years after the Buddha. It would be incorrect to place him in the first century B.C.[15]

The *Fu-tsu-t'ung-chi* (Vol. V) records a prophecy put into the mouth of the Tathāgata about the transmission of the Dharma to Aśvaghoṣa 600 years after the Nirvāṇa, which is accepted as a fact by Fa-tsang, the learned commentator of the *Śraddhotpādaśāstra.* Keith says[16] that Aśvaghoṣa was acquainted with the *Prajñāpāramitā* doctrine. If he was really the author of the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpādaśāstra,* then we must assume that the doctrine of idealism developed effectively before that of emptiness or vacuity (*śūnyatā*). Keith opines that such an assumption seems contrary to tradition and to probability, although the doctrine was elaborated into a very complex system of thought under the influence of the Brahmanical Absolute.[17]

Winternitz[18] thinks, however, that the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda* was not written by the author of the *Buddhacarita.*

Traditions are so very conflicting that it is easy to make out at least three Aśvaghoṣas: (1) Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the *Mahāsūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra,* who flourished 300 or 370 years after the Nirvāṇa, (2) Aśvaghoṣa, better known as Sthavira Aśvaghoṣa, a Hīnayānist monk, who lived 400 years after the Nirvāṇa, and a disciple either of the Sthavira Pārśva[19] or of the latter's pupil, Puṇyayaśas, and (3) bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra,* who appeared five or six hundred years after the Nirvāṇa. Anesaki does not find enough evidence either to affirm or deny the identity of any of the Aśvaghoṣas with the author of the *Buddhacarita-kāvya.* The same epithet may have been applied to many authors of different periods.[20]

The tenets of the Buddha expounded by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* are all doctrines of Hīnayāna, there being not the slightest trace of the Mahāyāna in them. There is no mention of Avalokiteśvara, the typical Mahāyāna bodhisattva, either in his writings or in the Hīnayāna books. The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa as pointed out in Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka* was an integral part of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Dharmagupta sect, which seceded, like the Sarvāstivāda, from the Mahīśāsakas, a typical Hīnayāna denomination.

Traditions correctly represent Sthavira Aśvaghoṣa as a powerful personality who was weaned from the Brahmanical tradition and persuasion. It may be taken for granted that Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda,* was born and brought up in a brāhman family of the Middle Country and that he was a master of the brāhmanic lore before his conversion to Buddhism. He is truly represented as a powerful *tīrthaka* or protagonist, who had belonged to a different school of thought in his earlier days. After his adoption of the Buddhist faith he studied the Buddhist texts which contain the genuine teachings of the Buddha. Whether he was an adherent of the Dharmagupta sect or of the Sarvāstivāda he belonged to the fold of orthodoxy and as such he is to be classed as a Hīnayānist or an advocate of the ideal of arahantship.

14 *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-ching, S.B.E.,* Vol. XIX, p. 336.

15 *The Romantic Legend of the Sakya Buddha,* vii, fn. 5.

16 *JRAS.* (1914), p. 1092.

17 *Buddhist Philosophy,* p. 228; *History of Sanskrit Literature,* (1928), p. 493.

18 *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II, p. 362 R. Kimura, *Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna,* pp. 41, 180 ff.

19 Suzuki, op. cit. p. 33.

20 *ERE.* II, p. 160.

His writings bear eloquent testimony to his mastery of Sanskrit diction and to his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, rhetoric and prosody, dramaturgy, erotic science (*kāmaśāstra*), royal duties (*rājadharma*), Sāṅkhyayoga, the Epics and the Upaniṣads.

The tradition representing Aśvaghoṣa as the composer of an excellent tune called *Lai-cha-huo-lo* should not be given undue importance.[21] Its classical, mournful and melodious music, we are told, induced the citizens of Pāṭaliputra to ponder on the misery and emptiness of life. Both Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa were known as the authors of 150 ślokas, describing the six *pāramitās* (perfections) and eulogising the excellent virtues of the Tathāgata. Keith rightly points out that the question whether Aśvaghoṣa is really identical with the poet Mātṛceṭa is of literary rather than philosophical interest.[22]

Aśvaghoṣa is definitely known to be the author of the *Buddhacarita*, the *Saundarananda-kāvya* and the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*.

According to Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, however, Aśvaghoṣa was the author of six works: (1) Fifty verses on the rules for serving a teacher (No. 1080); (2) *Sūtrālaṅkāraśāstra* (No. 1182); (3) *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra* (No. 1249–50); (4) *Mahāyānabhūmiguhyavācāmūla-śāstra* (No. 1299); (5) *Buddhacarita-kāvya* (No. 1351); and (6) *Daśaduṣṭakarmamārgasūtra* (No. 1379; Appendix I, p. 369).[23]

Another work attributed to Aśvaghoṣa is the *Gaṇḍīstotra*.[24] It is an attempt to describe the religious message carried to the hearts of men by the sounds produced by beating a long strip of wood with a short club.[25] Its Chinese name is *Chien-ch'ui-fan-tsan*. Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka* calls it *Ghaṇṭi(kā)-saṃskṛta-stotra* or *Ghaṇṭi Sūtra*. In the Tibetan Tengyur it is represented by a translation. There is a difference of opinion as to its authorship and its value. Some say that it is a fine work worthy of Aśvaghoṣa and is characterised by much metrical and literary subtlety.[26] The stotra is written mostly in *sragdharā* metre in praise of the Buddha and the practice of visiting monasteries. Its twentieth verse indicates that it was written in Kaśmīr during one of the periods of misrule. Its style, however, bears little resemblance to that of Aśvaghoṣa.

The *Vajrasūci*[27] (Diamond Need-le), also ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa, is a clever piece of polemics against the caste system upheld by the brāhmans. The Chinese translation ascribes it more correctly to Dharmakīrti. There is no doubt that the work itself was inspired by the *Vajrasūcika Upaniṣad* and the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*.[28]

The following works in Tibetan are attributed to Aśvaghoṣa:—

(1) *Aṣṭavighnakathā*[29], (2) *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā*[30], (3) *Daśakuśalakarmapathanirdeśa*[31], (4) *Paramārthabodhicitta-bhāvanākramavarṇasaṅgraha*[32], (5) *Buddhacarita-mahākāvya*[33], (6) *Maṇidīpamahākāruṇikadevapañcastotra*[34], (7) *Vajrayānamūlapattisaṅgraha*[35], (8) *Śatapañcaśatakanāmastotra*[36], (9) *Śokavinodana*[37], (10) *Saṃvṛtibodhicittabhāvanopodeśavarṇa-saṅgraha*[38] and (11) *Sthūlapatti*[39].

Suzuki has listed in his edition of Aśvaghoṣa's *Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (pp. 36 ff.) the translations of eight different works ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa, as found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka:

(1) ***Tai-shêng-ch'i-hsin-lun*** (***Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda Sūtra***, translated into English by D. T. Suzuki).

(2) ***Ta-sung-ti-hsüan-wên-pên-lun*** (A fundamental treatise on the spiritual stages for reaching final deliverance). This book has a decided tendency to mysticism, explaining a gradual development of religious consciousness through fifty-one different spiritual stages.

21 Suzuki, op. cit., p. 35.
22 *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 229.
23 For details see s.v.
24 This work has been edited and published in the *Bibilotheca Buddhica*, St. Petersburgh, 1913. There is a commentary in Russian. See also F.W.Thomas, *JRAS*.(1914), pp.752–3.
25 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, (1928), p. 56.
26 *A History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 266.
27 Published by L. Wilkinson, with the translation of B. H. Hodgson *Transactions of the RAS*. Vol. III, 1829. See also A. F. Weber, *Uber die Vajrasūci*, *ABA*., 1859, 205 ff.
28 Ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 586–609.
29 Tengyur Mdo, XCIV, foll. 206–10.
30 ibid. Bstod foll. 210b–14a.
31 ibid. Mdo, XCIV, foll. 271–3.
32 ibid. Bstod, XXXIII, foll. 145–6.
33 ibid. Bstod, XCIV, foll. 1–119.
34 ibid. Rgyud, LXVIII, foll. 157–58.
35 ibid. XLVIII, 219b-220b.
36 ibid. Bstod, foll. 129a–136b.
37 ibid. Mdo, XCIV, foll. 270–1.
38 ibid. Mdo, XXXIII, foll. 146–7.
39 ibid. Rgyud, XLVIII, foll. 220b-221a.

(3) *Ta-chuang-yen-lun-ching* (*Mahālaṅkārasūtra-śāstra*) which is " a book of great glory " or a compilation of stories illustrating the retribution of karma.

(4) *Fo-so-hsing-tsan* (*Buddhacarita-kāvya*).

(5) *Ni-kan-tzŭ-wên-wu-wu-i-ching*[40] (A sūtra on a Jaina's asking about the theory of non-ego).

(6) *Shih-pu-shan-yeh-tao-ching* (A sūtra on the ten no-good deeds).

(7) *Shi-shih-fa-wu-shin-sung* (Fifty verses on the rules of serving a teacher) and

(8) *Lu-tao-lun-hui-ching* (A sūtra on transmigration through the six states of existence).

As a poet, Aśvaghoṣa is revealed to us through his two poems, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, while as a dramatist he stands or falls in literary estimation by the merit of his *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*.

If we admit that Aśvaghoṣa was a Hīnayāna Buddhist, the interesting question arises as to the particular Buddhist sect and school of thought to which he might have belonged. Johnston (*Buddhacarita*, II, Intr. p. xxxiii) thinks that he was either a Bahuśrutīya (q.v.) or an adherent of the school (Gokulikas ?) from which the Bahuśrutīyas[41] issued. Whatever might have been the sect or school of thought to which Aśvaghoṣa belonged, it was closely connected with the Sarvāstivāda. This is clearly borne out by the Chinese tradition connecting the Sthavira Aśvaghoṣa with the Sthavira Pārśva or his disciple Puṇyayaśas.

According to Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (p. 163 ; No. 680), the life of the Buddha has been chronicled by different schools under different titles : the *Mahāvastu* by the Mahāsāṅghikas, the *Lalitavistara* by the Sarvāstivādins and the *Śākyamunicarita* by the Dharmaguptas. But, there is no work in Sanskrit by the title of the *Śākyamunicarita*, dealing with the life of the Buddha. If by the *Śākyamunicarita* is meant the *Buddhacarita*, then we have a definite tradition which connects Aśvaghoṣa with the Dharmaguptas. This is supported by the fact that the true spirit of the Dharmaguptas is set forth by Aśvaghoṣa in the religious discourse of the Buddha addressed to Nanda.[42]

As an inhabitant of Sāketa, Aśvaghoṣa was well acquainted with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In his *Buddhacarita* he refers to Vālmīki as the *ādikavi* (i. 43), and in his *Saundarananda* (i. 26) he extols him as wise (*dhīmān*). There is much evidence to show that he was greatly influenced by the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus, canto viii of the *Buddhacarita* is very similar to the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The similarity in words between the two is conclusive on this point.[43] Similarly, Aśvaghoṣa directly refers to the incidents in the *Mahābhārata*.[44] The parallelism existing between Aśvaghoṣa and the epics on the one hand and Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa on the other, marks a period of transition in the development of classical Sanskrit literature. There is no doubt that Aśvaghoṣa influenced Kālidāsa's style.[45]

Aśvaghoṣa's works indicate a definite stage in the development of *kāvya* literature from more or less narrative poems to a series of set pieces on conventional topics. This tendency is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The whole range of topics used by Aśvaghoṣa, with the exception of a few passages of purely Buddhistic doctrine, is found alike in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Numerous didactic passages and allusions found in the work of Aśvaghoṣa are also to some extent derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Such topics as the breaking of ascetic vows, the fulfilment of *dharma* by royalty, and the methods of attaining salvation (*mokṣa*) have not escaped the attention of Aśvaghoṣa.

The *Saundarananda-kāvya* which is chronologically later than the *Buddhacarita*, is a poem consisting of 18 cantos. It excels the *Buddhacarita*, as a poetical composition, and is one of the most noteworthy specimens of Sanskrit poetry. Its earlier cantos contain a kind of résumé of the *Buddhacarita*, which means that the latter poem is pre-supposed by it. Its theme is the story of conversion by the Buddha of his step-brother Nanda who was married to Sundarī, a female of rare beauty. It has no Tibetan translation.

Some[46] assume that Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda* is a Mahāyāna work. But there is no evidence in favour of this view. Whether the author of the *Buddhacarita*, *Saundarananda* and *Sūtrālaṅkāra* is also the author of the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*, is by no means evident. But it is clear that there is no trace of Mahāyānism in the *Saundarananda*.[47]

The *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, of which only a few passages are extant in a central Asian manuscript, is a

40 This book gives in advance some indication of Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika philosophy.

41 Called in Pali Bāhulikas.

42 *Saundarananda*, XVIII, 22, 25.

43 See also *JASB.*, N.S., Vol. XXIII, 1927, 347 ff.

44 e.g., *Buc.* XI, 31 ; *Saundarananda*, IX, 17.

45 See Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 161.

46 See, e.g., *JAs.* (1912), 1, pp. 79-100.

47 See also *BSO(A)S*. Vol. I (1917-20), pp. 133-40.

nine-act play, having for its theme the story of the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

The most remarkable thing regarding the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* is its close correspondence to the classical type of dramas as laid down in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* It is a *prakaraṇa* and has nine acts which bear no titles. This is in accordance with the normal usage.

From the fragments of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* it is clear that Aśvaghoṣa was master of the technique of the dramatic art and that his drama already manifests most of the characteristics of the Indian theatre.[48] He was a worthy predecessor of Kālidāsa. The earliest Sanskrit dramas known to us are these fragments of Aśvaghoṣa. Their discovery shows that the drama had already attained a very definite and complete form. [49] Aśvaghoṣa uses three dialects in his drama, which suggest much older forms of Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī. The use of these dialects by Aśvaghoṣa explains itself naturally from his familiarity with the Buddhist text, the original of which was very probably closely akin to the Ardhamāgadhī known to him.[50] Of the three Buddhist dramas discovered at Turfan, the authorship of one is certain, for the colophon of its last act has been preserved and it records that the drama was the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa. Its fuller title is *Śāradvatīputraprakaraṇa.* The certainty of his authorship is established by the fact that one verse is taken bodily from the *Buddhacarita.*

A few words should be added on Aśvaghoṣa's qualities as a poet. Aśvaghoṣa's comparisons are not generally adapted to the emotional needs. His grammatical similes are laboured and pedantic. Some of them are far-fetched conceits. Those of the psychological type seem to have an academical aura about them.[51] Aśvaghoṣa uses words in more meanings than one, sometimes in a recondite fashion, to baffle the reader. His insistence on symmetry, his exposure of the frame work and his non-functional decoration are characteristic of his early work. In other words, he is primitive in his poetry, as well as in his religion and philosophy. He reveals himself as a man of artistic temperament and strong passion. All his writings are characterised by the zeal of the convert. By his intense conviction of the importance of his message he carries away the reader of another faith and an alien civilisation. The inadequacy of his philosophy is no bar to the persuasiveness of his religious appeal. Admirable is his skill in narration. There are two sources of his overflowing emotion: (1) his ardent devotion to the Buddha and (2) his keen sense of the impermanence of all wordly things and the ephemeral character of all ordinary joys of life. Aśvaghoṣa comes out as a psalmist when he pays through the mouth of Nanda his personal tribute to the Master.[52]

In the *Buddhacarita-kāvya* the art of delineation is subordinated to that of narration, while in the *Saundarananda* the latter is subordinated to the former. The dramatic art employed in the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* is essentially the one and the same art of delineation of character.

Aśvaghoṣa assumed the responsible position of a teacher and a philosopher. He was an active advocate of a new faith and showed great zeal in his task. The philosophico-ethical position of Buddhism made out by Aśvaghoṣa was fundamentally the same as that represented in the *Sūtra Piṭaka,* which served as the Buddhist scriptural authority for him. The same observation applies to his interpretation of *nirodha*[53] (meaning the complete cessation of the evils of worldly life) and the Noble Eightfold Path pointing to the sure way leading thereto. His description of Nirvāṇa of which the essence is tranquillity, is similarly based on the sūtra texts. His description of the three refuges (*triśaraṇa*), the Tathāgata as the most perfect type of man and human and divine character, the Dharma as the best of norms ever propounded by any person in history, the personnel of the ideal Saṅgha as stalwarts among the followers and disciples of a great teacher, and the persons endowed with wisdom, vision, character and spirituality, are all in keeping with the sūtra tradition.

Śraddhā (faith), *vīrya* (energy) and other moral faculties, the immoral mental states with their unwholesome effects, creating fetters and hindrances, are all interpreted by him in consistency with the sūtra line of development of these psycho-ethical concepts. This remark holds equally good in the case of Māra as depicted by him.

The literary art employed by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarananda* in presenting the subject of *mokṣa* (salvation) through poetical discourse is the same

48 Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama,* pp. 50 ff.

49 Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama,* p. 70.

50 ibid, p. 74.

51 *JASB.* 1930, pp. 175–80.

52 *Saundarananda,* xviii, *vv.* 7, 8, 10; cp. *Thag. vv.* 1252, 1272, 1273. See also Law, *Aśvaghoṣa,* pp. 48–50.

53 Vide my *Concepts of Buddhism* (Kern Institute publication). pp. 29–31; *Saundarananda-kāvya,* xvi, 26.

as followed in *Bhagavadgītā*. The distinctive trait of this art is that here the dialogues are represented as having taken place between the teacher and the disciple.[54] The definition of *guru*, as in the *Gurugītā*, looms large in the *Saundarananda* (e.g., canto xviii, *v.* 36). For such expressions as *karmayoga, abhyāsayoga* and *indriyāṇīndriyārthebhyo*,[55] Aśvaghoṣa was certainly indebted to the *Bhagavadgītā*. The account of the practice of *dhyāna* or *yoga* as given in the *Saundarananda-kāvya* is nothing but a replica of Vāsudeva's account of the *abhyāsayoga* in the *Bhagavadgītā*.[56] The *Upaniṣad* (doctrine and method) elucidated and advocated by him is the Upaniṣad of the Buddha.[57] Aśvaghoṣa made use of his two *kāvyas* to establish that Buddha Gautama was the *puruṣottama* needed for the salvation of suffering humanity as the great epic held out Kṛṣṇavāsudeva to be the *puruṣottama* : and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma Daśarathī. As Johnston rightly points out, Aśvaghoṣa divides religious aspirants into two classes : those who obtain salvation of themselves by virtue of the *hetu* (cause) working within them, and those who can only act in reliance on others (*parapratyaya*) ; the Buddha is an instance of the former category and Nanda of the latter.[58]

Aśvaghoṣa's representation of the Buddhist way of salvation as the middle path, meaning the Noble Eightfold Path, is thoroughly in keeping with the sūtras and the śāstras which were authorities for him. The five *indriyas*, the five *balas*, the Four Noble Truths, the seven *bodhyaṅgas*, the Noble Eightfold Path and the remaining principal terms of Buddhism as a system of thought (*bodhipākṣikadharmāḥ*) are appropriately employed by Aśvaghoṣa. The importance of *śīla, samādhi* and *prajñā* (*paññā*) is sufficiently emphasised. The practice of *indriyasaṃvara, kāyagatāsmṛti* and obedience to ethical principles receive their due importance. Aśvaghoṣa's presentation of Buddhism is saturated with Buddhist technical terms and ideas, phrases and idioms, similies and metaphors, maxims and many *obiter dicta*. The successive stages of *śrāmaṇya* are set up and vividly described in the *Saundarananda* (xvii ; cp. *Dīgha* I, *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*). Aśvaghoṣa's *śraddhā* is the first of the five *indriyas* and *balas* of Buddhism. The representation of *śraddhā* as the *bīja* (seed) of higher life is thoroughly Buddhistic. With the canonical dictum *saddhā bījaṃ*[59], it was easy for Aśvaghoṣa to elaborate the idea.[60]

We are naturally inclined to trace the influence of the then known Sāṅkhya doctrine in Aśvaghoṣa's definition of *duḥkha* (suffering), according to which the essence of suffering is the impediment to free will (*bādhātmakaṃ duḥkham idaṃ*).[61] The mention of fluidity as the essential quality of the element of water and hardness as that of earth (*apāṃ dravatvaṃ kaṭhinatvamūrvyāḥ*)[62] and the representation of the purposes of religious efforts (*samyakpradhānāḥ*) in such negative terms as *alabdhasyālābho niyatamupalabdhasya vigamaḥ*[63] bear testimony to his previous study of the brāhmanical system of thought.

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ASVAJIT (var. Aśvakin ; Pali : Assaji), one of the first five disciples of the Buddha (*pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū*). See ASSAJI.

ASVAKA-PUNARVASUKA, two of the group of six corrupted monks (*ṣaḍvārgikā* ; Pali : *chabbaggiyā*) who lived during the time of the Buddha. The corrupt practices engaged in by these two monks are described in detail in the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM.* III, iii, pp. 15-17.). In Pali it is the corrupt practices of the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu that are discussed, whereas in the Sanskrit text

54 *Saundarananda*, xviii, 20, 22.

55 ibid. xvii, 19 ; xvi, 20 ; xiii, 30.

56 ibid. xiv, pp. 19–20 ; *Bhagavadgītā*, vi, 16–17.

57 *Saundarananda*, xiii, 22–26 ; *Vin.* V, p. 164.

58 *Buc.* Intr. p. xxxiv ; *Saundarananda*, canto v, *vv.* 16-18.

59 *Sn. v.* 77.

60 *Saundarananda*, xii, 39–41.

61 ibid. xvi, 4.

62 ibid. xvi, 12.

63 ibid. xvi, 95.

(loc. cit.) those activities are attributed to the two monks themselves, for, in the description of their immoral activities, no other names are mentioned and the predicate is throughout in the dual. Sometimes it is said that they made others also commit those offences, which might refer to their followers. Thus, according to the Sanskrit text, when the Buddha was staying at Jetavana, the two monks Aśvaka and Punarvasuka were staying at Kiṭāgiri. They were spoilers of families (*kuladūṣaka*) in that they had very close dealings with the families of laymen and were thus committing and making others to commit all types of sinful activities (*pāpadharma*), unbecoming of monks(*aśrāmaṇakāni*). The following is a list of such immoral activities: talking freely, playing about and shouting joyfully with women; exchanging jokes and making amusement with them; engaging in amorous behaviour with them; sitting on the same seat with women; eating in their company; drinking several varieties of liquor with women from the same vessel; gathering flowers and making others to gather flowers; making wreaths and getting others to do so; making ear-ornaments from flowers and getting others to do so; dancing and engaging in musical performances, both vocal and instrumental, and getting others to do so; watching such musical performances and dances and enjoying them with applause; running and playing about with their robes drawn aside; engaging in various other physically immoral activities; engaging in water-sports with women; crying like horses, elephants, bulls, peacocks and cuckoos; playing various musical instruments of which a list is given in the text; engaging in duels like those of horses, elephants, bulls, buffaloes, goats, eunuchs, women, men, boys, girls, cocks and quails.

The text says that because of their immoral conduct, other monks would not visit Kiṭāgiri and even those who had come there would not stay long. Even the brāhmans and householders living there were not happy and pleased because of this situation. Even those other good monks, whose traditional homeland was Kiṭāgiri, found it very difficult to obtain their alms, let alone those who came from outside. When Ānanda went to reside there for some time, he went on his alms-round and did not receive alms from a single place. On inquiry he was told by a devotee (*upāsaka*) that the reason for that behaviour among the inhabitants of Kiṭāgiri was that they had lost confidence in the Saṅgha on account of the immoral activities engaged in by Aśvaka and Punarvasuka. Further, Ānanda was requested by the brāhmans and the householders of Kiṭāgiri to see that the act of banishment (*pravāsanīya*; Pali: *pabbājanīya*) was carried out against those two monks, and this was accordingly done.

In another context (*GM*. III, i, p. xviii) these two monks, Aśvaka and Punarvasuka, are said to have been later born as *nāgas*. When the Buddha visited the place called Nandivardhana, they had lived there as *nāgas* for twelve years and were repenting that, since they were born as *nāgas*, the Buddha did not preach to them. They had a great desire to listen to the Buddha who, reading their thoughts, felt that as these two were very powerful(*mahānubhāva*) there was the possibility that after his demise they would destroy his śāsana (*śāsanaṃ bhaśma kariṣyataḥ*). Accordingly, to gratify them, the Buddha went there and preached a four-lined stanza of which the detailed explanation was left to be understood by themselves. As they were not satisfied, because of their inability to comprehend it, the Buddha gave them an image of his for worship. The text says that it is believed even today that the Buddha is present in that region. See also ASSAJI-PUNABBASUKĀ, CHABBAGGIYĀ.

A. G. S. K.

AŚVALĀYANA, a young brāhman of Sāvatthi. See ASSALĀYANA.

ĀSVĀPANA, a form of black-magic, referred to in the *Divy*. (526. 23, *rājñaḥ sāntaḥpurasyāsvāpanaṃ datvā*), in connection with the story of king Siṃhakeśarin, wherein it is recounted, how a rākṣasī from Tāmradvīpa, caused king Siṃhakeśarin, and his harem to sleep by the magical efficacy of the *āsvāpana*, 'sleeping-charm', and thereafter ate their human flesh.

The origin of this kind of black-magic and sorcery can be traced back to the *Ābhicārikī Sūktāni* of the *Atharvaveda*.

W. S. Kt.

AŚVĀSANĪ, a kinnara-maid who was present with innumerable others in Jetavana to listen to the Buddha (*Kvyū*. 6. 16).

AŚVĀSAHASTA, name of a bodhisattva occurring in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (*BHS*.).

AŚVAŚIRṢA, name of a nāga king occurring in *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS*.).

AŚVATĪRTHIKA, a nāga of a very cruel nature, tamed and converted by the elder Svāgata. It dwelt in Śuśumāragiri (Pali, Suṃsumāragiri) and did much harm to the people of that region. It destroyed their crops and their cattle and was angry with their friends. Hence they wished the Buddha to tame it. The Buddha instead of doing it himself gave a chance to the elder Svāgata in order to make his fame known.

Svāgata went to the abode of the nāga after going round for alms in the region of Śuśumāragiri. Aśvatīrthika saw him coming at a distance and thought "This monk is coming because he has heard about me. Since he is a guest I would allow him to come." Svāgata had his meals there, washed the bowl in the pond of the nāga and poured the water back into the pond in order to rouse its anger. The nāga, thus roused, thought of destroying the monk and sent forth poisonous fumes towards the monk. Then it began to throw various weapons at the monk. But as a result of the monk's compassion all of them turned into divine flowers. Aśvatīrthika then began to pour down showers of charcoal and earth and they turned into *mandāraka* flowers and sweet-smelling powder like that of sandalwood. Various other contests of power followed, and the nāga lost.

The people of Śuśumāragiri gathered to see Svāgata taming the nāga. Aśvatīrthika, now its pride and arrogance vanished, began to flee. Svāgata created a fire in all directions, and Aśvatīrthika, seeing no place that was not ablaze other than where the monk stood, came near him and pleaded for mercy. Subsequently, the nāga was taken to the Buddha by the monk.

The Buddha said that Aśvatīrthika in previous births had indulged in various vices and taken others' lives. He advised the nāga to take refuge in him, observe the precepts of morality and refrain from harrassing the dwellers of Śuśumāragiri. The nāga agreed to follow the Buddha's advice (*Divy.* 184.5 ff.).

H. R. P.

AŚVATTHA (botanical name: *ficus religiosa*; Anglo-Indian: Pipal), a name for the bodhi-tree (s.v. BODHI 3), mentioned as one of the sacred trees in the *Ṛg-veda*. People made plates of this wood, on which offerings to the gods were done. The wood was also used for fire oblation in Brahmanism. Thus, Hindus as well as Buddhists consider this tree sacred. So, in China *aśvattha* was translated as *chi-hsiang-shu* (吉祥樹 : good fortune tree) or *wu-tsui-shu* (無罪樹 : the tree which removes sins).

The *Buddhacarita* uses the word *aśvattha* as well as bodhi when it refers to the tree of the Buddha's attainment of enlightenment.

The very old tree at Anurādhapura in Ceylon is believed to have been taken from the original bodhi-tree at Buddhagayā by Saṅghamittā, the daughter of emperor Aśoka, and this tree is an *aśvattha*.

It is clear from the evidence mentioned above that the tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment is an *aśvattha*.

Mochizuki (p. 35) says that *pei-to*, which suggests bodhi-tree in the biography of Fa-hsien, and *a-p'ei-to-lo* in the *Mahāvyutpatti* are evidently corruptions of *aśvattha*.

K. TMR.

AŚVINAU. From the etymological point of view, the term *aśvinau* may be translated as 'possessed of, or consisting of horses' (from *aśva*, horse and *in*, the possessive suffix in Sanskrit). The concept of *aśvinau* presupposes a long history, and may be correctly traced back to the Indo-Iranian period, if not Indo-European. The term is generally conceived of as the name of two deities who appear in the sky before the dawn, in a golden carriage drawn by horses or birds, bringing treasures to man, and averting misfortune and sickness; in later times they are considered as the physicians of Svarga (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams, 116*a*).

The *aśvinau*-mythology, which is much developed and elaborated throughout the Vedic and post-Vedic Hindu literature, fades greatly during the Buddhist era. Nevertheless, the original significance of the term was not completely obliterated, and hence even the Buddhist writers considered *aśvinau* as a dual divinity. This is clearly evinced by the references made to *aśvinau*, by Aśvaghoṣa, in his two great works, the *Buddhacarita* (vii, *v.* 7), and the *Saundarananda—kāvya* (vii, *v.* 26). In fact, a *Buddhacarita* verse reads as follows,

> *Kaccidvasūnāmayamaṣṭamaḥ syāt*
> *Syādaśvinoranyataraścyuta vā*
> *Uccerurucсairiti tatra vācas*
> *Taddarśanādvismayajā munīnām.*

"Is he the eighth Vasu or one of the *Aśvins* come down to earth? Such were the voices raised aloud by the sages in their amazement."

The word *aśvinau* occurs among the names of several Hindu gods, who were symbolic of brilliance and beauty of form. The author of the *Mahāvyutpatti* (165.27) alludes to the term *Aśvinī Kumārau* in connection with a group of divinities.

According to the opinion of Paranavitana, the Sinhalese people of mediaeval Ceylon, too, seem to have looked upon the Aśvinau as deities of succour and protection. This conclusion is arrived at by identifying the god associated with Saman in the Sabaragamuwa devāle, and the images of horsemen found at Mahiyaṅgaṇa with the two Aśvins. Although this opinion seems to be ingenious, yet it is open to controversy (cp. *The God of Adam's Peak*, S. Paranavitana, pp. 56–60).

Slight traits of this fading concept may also be traced in the rituals and religious cults of the Chinese Buddhists, who seem to perform the All Souls' festivals and the Divāli (Dīpāvalī) in the Āśvina month, i.e., the month of the Aśvins (*Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, M.W. De Visser, p. 86, 93).

W. S. Kt.

ATAGO-SAN (愛宕山), a mountain in Kyoto (Japan).

It is believed that Mt. Takamine in Kyoto was the original Atago-san, on which there was a Shintō shrine. The chief god of this shrine is said to have been Kagutsuchi-no-mikoto ; but it is also believed that Izanami-no-mikoto and Honomusubi-no-mikoto, or Raizin and Hamushin were the chief gods of this shrine.

During the first year of the Tennō era (781 A.C.), the Buddhist monk Keishun shifted the shrine to the present Atago-san, and erected the image of Shōgun-jizō (勝軍地藏 Victory Kṣitigarbha) as the original personality of the god of this Shintō shrine.

According to the *Atagosan-engi* (愛宕山緣起 the history of the Atago-san), during the Taihō era (701–4 A.C.), Enno-gyōja wanted to climb this mountain with Unpen-shōnin. But, owing to a heavy thunder-storm they could not do so. Thereupon, they asked the help of the Buddha. Then, suddenly the weather became clear and Kṣitigarbha, Nāgārjuna, Pūrṇa, Vaiśravaṇa, Rāgarāja, Nichirō, Zenkai, Tarōbō and their followers appeared. These venerables ruled over the mountain and protected all beings, as asked by the Buddha. Enno-gyōja refers to the five peaks as Asahi-mine, Ōwashi-mine, Takao-san, Ryūjō-san and Kamakura-san, and he constructed a shrine on Asahi-mine.

Later, Keishun restored this shrine. Wake-no-kiyomaro (933–99) constructed a temple on each peak, namely, Hakuun-ji on Asahi-mine, Gatsurin-ji on Ōwashi-mine, Shingan-ji on Takao-san, Nichirin-ji on Ryūjō-san, and Denpō-ji on Kamakura-san.

It is believed that the temple on Asahi-mine was also called Atago-gosan-Daigongen and was made the praying centre for the peace of the nation during the period of the emperor Kanmu (737–806).

This temple belonged to the Daikakuji school of the Shingon sect for a long time ; but after the Meiji restoration (1867) the temple was discontinued as a Buddhist shrine and became a Shintō shrine under the name of Atago-jinja.

K. Tmr.

AṬAKĀVATĪ, name of a place, presumably Aḍakāvatī (q.v.), the capital of the yakṣas. The term occurs in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.). It is also identical with Aḷakā and Āḷakamandā in Pali literature. See ĀḶAKAMANDĀ.

ĀṬĀNĀṬĀ, a city in Uttarakuru mentioned in the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* along with other cities such as Kusināṭā and Parakusināṭā (*D.* III, 200). The *Dīgha Nikāya* commentary (*DA.* III, 961) tells of seven Buddhas who stayed in this city.

H. R. P.

ĀṬĀNĀṬI. According to the *BHS.* (II, 91), Hoernle (*Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in E. Turkestan*, Oxford, 1916) gives this as the name of a yakṣa, but it is rather the name of a magic charm mentioned in the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta*.

B. J.

ĀṬĀNĀṬIYA SŪTRA, occurring in the *Dīrgha Āgama* of the Sanskrit canon. Fragments of this sūtra were found in East Turkestan. In contents it differs to some extent from the Pali text of the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta* (*D.* III, 194 ff.).

This sūtra does not occur in the Chinese *Dīrgha Āgama*. But it is said that a separate translation was made by Puṇyavardhana in 663 A.C. ; but this, too, is lost. However, a sūtra by the name *Vaiśravaṇa* (var. *Vaiśramaṇa : Nanjio*, No. 849), which seems to be a combination of sections of the *Āṭānāṭiya Sūtra*, the *Mahāsannipāta Sūtra* and the *Mahāmāyūrī Tantra*, does occur in the

Chinese *Dīrgha Āgama* (Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in E. Turkestan*, p. 25).

A Tibetan version of this sūtra, by the name *Lcaṅ-lo-can-kyi-pho-braṅ-gi mdo*,i s extant (*ŌM.* No. 749).

S. K. N.

ĀṬĀNĀṬIYA SUTTANTA, the thirty-second sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 194 f.), preached at the Gijjhakūṭa.

In this sutta, the four Great Kings (*cātummahārājikā devā*) visit the Buddha, and Vessavaṇa, their leader, tells him that the reason for the yakkhas not being adherents of the Buddha is that they could not give up the evils against which he preached, such as the taking of life, theft and drunkenness. Vessavaṇa then gives the Buddha a rune (*rakkhā*) which he might teach his disciples who dwell in lonely places which yakkhas haunt, so that by its recitation they might ward them off. The Buddha accepts the rune from Vessavaṇa.

Mentioning first the seven previous Buddhas, beginning with Vipassī, the sutta gives a long list of gods and demons, some of whom are mentioned in the similar list of the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D.* II, 253 f.) and some of whom are absent in that list. Vivid and lengthy descriptions are given of the four Great Kings. The forty-one other gods in the list are merely mentioned by name.

The *Milindapañha* mentions it among the *parittas* listed in it. Its power as a *paritta* is said to pervade a hundred-million world-systems (*VibhA.* 430). See further MAGIC, PARITTA.

B. J.

A-TAO (1), 阿道, the name of a monk who is credited with the introduction of Buddhism into Konguryū, in Korea.

According to the chronicle of Konguryū quoted in the *San-kuo-i-shih* (三國遺事 *Taishō*, No. 2039), A-tao came to Konguryū from China during the fourth year (374 A.C.) of the period of the king So-su-rim-wang (小獸林王). A-tao is believed to have come from Tsin, in southern China, but it is also said that he came from Wei, in northern China. Perhaps it means that the introduction of Buddhism into Konguryū is not quite clear; and it is believed that Buddhism was introduced into Konguryū from northern China as well as from southern China, just as the other cultures of Konguryū.

In 372 A.C., two years before A-tao's coming to Konguryū, Shun-tao came to Konguryū bringing with him a Buddha image and Buddhist texts.

Under the patronage of the emperor, they took active part in the establishment of the new faith on Korean soil. It is recorded that two temples were built in 375 A.C. for these two monks, Hsiao-mên for Shun-tao and I-fu-lan for A-tao.

K. TMR.

A-TAO (2), 阿道, or Wo-tao 我道, or A-t'ou 阿頭, a monk who introduced Buddhism into Silla, in Korea, in 527 A.C.

This monk must be different from the one mentioned above, because the periods of their activities are different.

Yasukazu Suematsu collected four stories about the introduction of Buddhism into Silla and concluded as follows:

1. The name A-tao or Wo-tao is found as the name of the monk who introduced Buddhism into Silla.

2. As the original year of Buddhism in Silla, the first year of the Ta-t'ung era (527 A.C.) is given.

3. The establishment of Buddhism in Silla was made by Buddhists in Konguryū, that is to say, by the monks from Konguryū, and on this foundation, owing to the activity of Yüan-piao, a monk from Liang, Buddhism became the religion recognised officially in Silla.

K. TMR.

ATAPPA DEVA (also Atapa), a class of deities given in the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 237) as belonging to the Suddhāvāsa plane. They are mentioned second in ascending order.

In the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*D.* II, 52,) the Buddha is quoted as claiming to have visited these gods in their abode. Buddhaghosa explains in the commentary to this nikāya (*DA.* II, 480) that they derive their name *Atappā* from the fact that they torment no one (*na kañci sattaṃ tapenti*). This etymology is also repeated in the *Vibhaṅga* commentary (*VibhA.* 521).

The *Sāleyyaka Sutta* (*M.* I, 289) also mentions them, stating that life in their abode is one aspired to by the righteous, in which the aspirants are born according to their dying wish. According

to the *Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta* (*M*. III, 100), which repeats this idea, the aspirants to these abodes do so on hearing that their inhabitants are long-lived, beautiful and abounding in happiness.

The *Itivuttaka* commentary says they are *anāgāmins* (*ItA*. 40).

B. J.

ĀTAPPA SUTTA (1), seventh of the twelve abridged suttas (*antarapeyyālaṃ*) in the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 132). The discourse is very short, only two words—*ātappaṃ karaṇīyaṃ*, meaning that ardent energy must be exercised. The *Saṃyutta* commentary says that *ātappa* means energy to destroy sins (*SA*. II, 128). Probably the *Ātappa Sutta* is one discourse in a series of short discourses preached at Sāvatthi.

H.R.P.

ĀTAPPA SUTTA (2), on ardent energy, is the ninth of the ten suttas in the *Cullavagga* of the *Tikanipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 153). The sutta mentions three purposes for which ardent energy is to be exerted, namely, to prevent the arising of evil, to cause the arising of good and to endure bodily feelings that have arisen and are distressing.

H.R.P.

ĀTAPTARĀṢṬRA, perhaps to be read as the name of a former Buddha (*Mhvu*. I, 139). This spelling is closer to certain manuscripts which read Āttaptarāṣṭra, or Attaptarāṣṭra, than Senart's emendation Uttaptarāṣṭra, although Edgerton (*BHS*. 122) admits that this emendation may be right. The word means "having a pure rule or kingdom".

I.K.

AṬAṬA. the name of a hell in a system of hells in Buddhist cosmology (*S*. 1. 150; *Sn*. 126). classified and named, according to Buddhaghosa (*SA*. I, 170; *SnA*. 476), on the basis of the length of time spent in them by their inmates. The term spent in *Aṭaṭa niraya* is stated to be 8,000 times more than that which would be spent in counting a cartload of twenty *khāris* (a Kosalan measure) of sesamum seed, counting one seed each century. The commentaries (loc cit.) also mention that it is not the name of a separate hell but of a period of time spent in Avīci niraya. See further ABABA, COSMOLOGY.

B.J.

AṬAVAKA, (var. Āṭavaka), name of a nāga king mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS*. II, 8).

ĀṬAVAKA, (Pali, Āḷavaka), a demon general. The Sanskrit form occurs in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (168. 11), *Mahāmāyūrī* (15) and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (161. 13). See ĀḶAVAKA.

Some Buddhist texts refer to a yakṣa called Āṭavaka (Chinese, Kuang-yeh-chên) who was placed opposite the yakṣiṇī Hārītī in the refectories of Chinese monasteries and like her also received daily offerings of food. But since none of the texts describe Āṭavaka, it is not possible to say what he was like. Getty (*The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 89, 158) identifies Āṭavaka with Āḷavaka of the Pali texts and thinks that he is one and the same as the deity who was worshipped by the common people as Bestower of Riches, along with Hārītī, especially in centres of commerce where the caravans passed, while in China itself his worship was probably confined to a more learned class who founded their cult on the sūtras.

H.R.P.

ĀṬAVIKA (Chinese: T'ai-yüan-shuai-ming-wang 太元帥明王), one of the sixteen yakṣa generals. He rules over many gods such as the four heavenly kings (*caturmahā-rājikā devā*), and their followers of eight kinds of beings. He protects the earth and beings by removing from them sufferings caused by animals, kings, traitors, fire, water, swords and armies. The *A-cha-po-chü-yüan-shuai-ta-chiang-shang-fu-t'o-lo-ni-ching-hsiu-hsing-i-kuei* (阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌, *Taishō*, No. 1239) mentions the vow of Āṭavika, which was made when he was on his way to become a yakṣa general, as follows: "May I get rid of this body to become a god of vigour and of bravery in order to frighten wicked men into submission and in order to destroy demons and destructive deities. If there are any crooked persons in the ten spheres, I will save them and lead them to tranquillity" (*Taishō*, Vol. 21, p. 193). Owing to the power of this vow, Āṭavika was able to become a yakṣa general. The same text states that his earlier personalities are Vairocana, Śākyamuni and Avalokiteśvara.

As to his figure, the *A-cha-p'o-chü-kuei-shên-ta-chiang-shang-fu-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (阿吒婆拘鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼經, *Taishō*, No. 1238) says: Āṭavika's body is blue-black in colour and his height is six feet or *ch'ih* (one *ch'ih* is 0.358 meters)....He has eight hands, of which six hands hold, respectively, a ring, a lance, a string, a thunder-bolt, a bar

and a sword. The other two hands form a mudrā. A snake clings on every arm ; and there are dragons also. He wears an armour with seven kinds of gems. Rāṣṭrapāla and Virūḍhaka attend on his left side and Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa on his right side (*Taishō*, Vol. 21, p. 181). The figure differs according to the texts. The ritual, of which the main object of worship is Āṭavika, is called *Daigensui-hō* in Japanese, and it is conducted when praying for the health of an emperor, for the submission of an enemy, and so on.

K. TMR.

AṬAVISAMBHAVĀ, name of a pond, occurring several times in the Jalavāhana Parivarta of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra* (p. 182 ff.). The story describes how the bodhisattva Jalavāhana once saved the lives of thousands of fishes in this pond who were on the verge of destruction because of a drought. With great difficulty he managed to get water from afar and fill the pond. Later, he freed them from starvation by getting down all the food available at home and feeding them with it. Ultimately, he was able to procure for them heavenly bliss by preaching to them the doctrine of dependent origination.

W. G. W.

ĀTHABBANA refers to the magical practices of the Atharvan priest (*āthabbanikamantappayoga : SnA.* 564) as they are found in the *Atharvaveda,* the last of the four Vedas.

The hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are broadly divided into two categories, i.e., those of the Atharvans and of the Aṅgirasas. The two designate two different species of magic formulas : Atharvan is holy or beneficial magic, bringing happiness, while Aṅgirasa means hostile or black magic. Among the Atharvans, for example, are the formulas for the healing of diseases, while among the Aṅgirasas are the curses against enemies, rivals, and such like. The earlier name Atharvāṅgirasaḥ thus means these two kinds of magic formulas, which form the chief contents of the *Atharvaveda.* The later name Atharvaveda is merely an abbreviation of the "Veda of the Atharvans *and Aṅgirasas*" (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature,* I, 120).

Buddhism with its emphasis on self-exertion as a means to attain happiness in this world or in the next, wipes out any reliance on any external being or force. One enjoys happiness or suffers pain through one's own deeds (*sehi kammehi : Dhp.v.*136). Therefore, magical practices, whether beneficial or harmful, do not find a place in its tenets.

Very few are the references to *āthabbana* in the canonical texts, and, as a result, only an inference could be made as to why the Buddha rejected such magical practices as are found in the *Atharvaveda.*

It might be that beneficial magic, if it is included under *āthabbana,* is denounced since, according to Buddhism, alleviation of suffering could not be achieved by such means. On the other hand, harmful magic is condemned, because such practices are not in keeping with the principle of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*) which is fundamental to Buddhist ethics. It was probably because of this that, in the *Tuvaṭaka Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta,* which describes the way in which a bhikkhu is released (*nibbāti*), the practice of magic (*āthabbana*), reading of dreams (*supina*) and of characteristic marks (*lakkhaṇa*) and such worldly sciences are condemned (*Sn. v.*927).

People familiar with the magical formulas of the *Atharvaveda* are mentioned in the *Jātakas* (VI, 490).

Buddhaghosa makes a fruitless and meaningless attempt to include *Āthabbana* among the six *vedāṅgas.* See AKKHARA.

D. J. K.

ATHASSUMEGHA, one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilatī ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these pacceka-buddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 127) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATHEISM. The difficulty of the so-called atheist view-point is that it views a negation, which strictly speaking is only possible when the positive is admitted in some form or other. The atheist who denies the existence of 'God' would appear, therefore, implicitly to admit the very existence of that which he contradicts. This objection of theistic dogmatists to the concept of atheism as a self-contradiction is very superficial, as the atheist does not wage war against 'God' whose existence he does not acknowledge but against the concept

of God which is an actual concept in the minds of many millions, which is a dogma and an article of faith in most religious systems, which is the ideal and the goal of the aspirations of many centuries of spiritual development, and which has not been outgrown by the various religious institutions, centred around the cult of a deity.

It must be admitted at once that in modern times there are many thinkers who, feeling the need of investigating and testing even the most sacred truths, have been trying to outgrow the mediaeval concepts of scholastic dogmatists. They would prefer to bring the concept of a 'supernatural God' down to processes in nature or human ideas. Thus the inherent power in nature to propagate and to evolve would be seen by them as the action of an immanent deity. This, of course, is objected to by traditionalists on the ground that such views would invite semantic confusion and would hide heresy behind the cloak of traditional terminology. It would ultimately lead to some form of Pantheism.

It would not be helpful to the development of thought within the scope of this article, to pursue an investigation as to the genesis of the God-concept, whether it is a mere anthropomorphic projection, a self-apotheosis, a Freudian father-image substitute, or even a means of dulling the revolutionary spirit of the oppressed, "opium for the masses". We are dealing here with the concept of 'God' and its rejection in Buddhism.

The concept of 'God', if thereby is understood the absolute, is an impossibility as a self-contradiction. For, according to Buddhism, any concept must stand in relation to its object in one or more of the many modes (*paccaya*) of conditionality, association, dependence, predominance, foundation etc., etc. But any such relationship is inherently impossible in the absolute. And, hence, any individual attitude must be either an agnostic admission of the impossibility of knowledge, in which case ignorance logically leads to ignoring, or an atheistic attitude of a definite rejection of such a concept, as an impossibility.

As long as the term 'absolute' remains precisely defined, the abstract problem does not afford any great difficulties. But, the more personal elements of devotion and emotion have introduced also that personal element in the absolute, which now represents the absolute as a personal deity with very human, concrete qualities, although with superhumanised omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence and eternity. It is concepts of this nature which are rejected by atheism and ignored by agnosticism, not superhuman power and knowledge. This must be kept well in mind when reading the Buddhist texts with their many references to gods, and at the same time their denial of a first cause.

The gods in Buddhism are in many respects superhuman; their power, their knowledge, the length of their lives all are superior to their human counterparts. And yet, they too are subject to the universal laws of impermanence (*anicca*), conflict (*dukkha*) and lack of a permanent entity (*anattā*). With regard to the superior lives of these gods humans are frequently exhorted to emulate them and the celibate life of a bhikkhu is called the divine life (*brahmacariya*). The Buddha's teaching of the truth, as he found it, is usually described as the rolling on of the wheel of truth. This wheel of truth (*dhamma-cakka*) is sometimes called also the divine wheel (*brahma-cakka*)[1]. And the individual who has realised that in him rebirth is destroyed, that for him there is no state beyond, such an accomplished arahant is said to have lived the divine life (*vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ*).[2] The divine, therefore, is being used as an expression of perfection. The Buddha himself was described by Mahā-Kaccāna, who was amongst the foremost of his immediate disciples, as the one "who knows what should be known (*jānaṃ, jānāti*), sees what should be seen (*passaṃ passati*), so much so that he has become vision (*cakkhubhūto*), he has become knowledge (*ñāṇabhūto*), he has become truth (*dhammabhūto*), he has become perfection (*brahmabhūto*)."[3] There is here no attempt whatsoever, either in the text, or in the commentary, to explain this last term as some form of deification of the Buddha. In fact, in the commentaries *brahmabhūto* is explained as *seṭṭhabhūto*, who has become the highest or the best. In the Pali compounds the word *brahma* refers neither to the brāhmans nor to Brahmā, except in so far as the latter one stands, symbolically, for perfection. In other texts we find that Brahmā, the individual deity, pays homage to the Buddha, "draping his mantle over one shoulder, bending his right knee down to the ground and raising his joined hands in salutation."[4]

1 *A.* II, pp. 9, 24.
2 *A.* II, p. 211.
3 *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta, M.* I, 111.
4 *S.* I, 137.

Brahmā as an individual deity has many names, e.g., Sahampati, Sanańkumāra, Baka. Assuming them to be different individuals, the name Brahmā joined to their respective names becomes an honorific title, indicating one who resides in the spheres of the super-sensuous called *Brahma-loka*. This is actually the mental condition of a state of absorption (*jhāna*, q.v.) in which the spheres of sense-delight have been left behind. Without belittling the poetic descriptions of such attainment, we need not ascribe supernatural qualities to these divine abodes (*brahmavihāra*) which can be mentally attained by concentration and inducement of the first stage of absorption (*jhāna*).

Brahmā may at first, especially in Vedic literature, have been regarded as the greatest god, but in Buddhism his name has remained attached only to the spheres of form (*rūpa-loka*) of the first three divisions: Brahma-retinue (*Brahmapārisajja* or *Brahmakāyika*), Brahma-ministers (*Brahma-purohita*) and Great Brahmās (*Mahā-brahmā*), although later commentarial works apply the epithet 'brahma' to all the heavens above the spheres of sense, e.g., the brahma-worlds of form and formless spheres (*rūpārūpa-brahmaloka*).[5]

Brahmā, the divinely perfect one, has, therefore, completely lost the Vedic splendour of an almighty God-Creator, and a *brahmadeyya* has no further connotations beyond a most generous or royal gift[6], such as the grant of land at Ukkaṭṭha from king Pasenadi of Kosala to Pokkharasādi, the brāhman. The *brahmavāda*, referred to by the Buddha shortly after his enlightenment, while experiencing the bliss of freedom under the Goatherd's Banyan-tree, although explained by the commentator as said by one who rightly can say "I am a brāhman"[7], has no deeper meaning than 'right speech'.

The acquired meaning of *brahma* as perfect is reflected similarly in the term *deva* which is applied to the minor celestial beings residing in the heavenly spheres of the pleasures of sense (*kāmaloka*), as well as to everything supernormal, such as the divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*) which is the faculty of clairvoyance, and the divine ear (*dibba-sota*) which is the faculty of clairaudience. Long life is called divine (*dibbāyu*), not because it is a divine gift, for the span of life is determined by one's own karma, but because longevity is one of the chief characteristics of celestial beings. But the very idea of rebirth in those spheres seems to have been "annoying, distressing and causing disgust" to the followers of the Buddha.[8] The title *deva* is then applied to any being above the average human level, tree-spirits as well as kings. Hence we find *devas* in the meaning of supermen in the physical sense,[9] supermen in the spiritual sense in the highest stages of development[10] and those who are born in the heavenly spheres (*devaloka*). This last class, the *devas* proper, are, however, not free from the continuous round of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and are in that respect inferior to the Buddha and arahants. In the *Theragāthā* particularly, several instances could be shown where *devas* approach an arahant in a worshipful attitude, "waiting on him morning and evening, out of gratitude"[11].

It is not proposed to enter here into a detailed discussion on the gradation and classification of gods, etc., because this will be dealt with under COSMOLOGY. All that is attempted is to show that the concept of deities in Buddhism has no connection with the concept of a supreme God-Creator as found in theistic religions and philosophies, which try to reconcile the idea of a personal God with that of an impersonal Absolute. It is this contradiction which is refuted in Buddhism, when the evolution of a world-cycle is described and the first being who is evolved in the new cycle is held in ridicule, when he imagines himself to be the creator and lord of all.[12]

In this article the term 'theism' is used as a convenient designation for a philosophical conception of 'Deity' as the single, personal, ultimate cause of the universe and source of all existence, distinct from polytheism and pantheism. And 'atheism', therefore, is the negation of such a conception. Buddhism with its many heavenly spheres, thickly populated with numerous deities of varying degrees of radiance and power, apart from the divine humans, but without the concept of a single ultimate cause and supreme God, is, therefore, atheistic in this sense. By its denial of 'substance' and 'soul' and by its teaching of karmic responsibility, Buddhism denies the Platonic concept of an ultimate reality responsible for the orderly motions of the universe. Substituting conditioned origination for absolute causation, Buddhism rejects the Aristotelian principle of a prime mover which was many centuries later borrowed by Thomas Aquinas, who

5 *Vism.* xvii, p. 574.

6 *D.* I, *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, p. 87. It was the best kind of gift because it was free from taxes.

7 *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *Mahā-Vagga*, p. 3.

8 *A.* I, p. 115.

9 *J.* I, 132 ; *DA.* I, 174 ; cp. *PED.* s.v.

10 *Nd.* II, 307 ; *J.* I, 139 ; *Vvu A.* 18 ; cp. *PED.*: *Visuddhi.*

11 *Pilinda-vaccha* : *ThagA.* 9.

12 *D.* I : *Brahmajāla Suttanta.*

thereby laid the foundation of mediaeval scholastic philosophy. Buddhism rejects Kant's idea of God, as a categorical imperative, by its denial of an absolute existence of a moral order.

In the natural order of an evolving and involving universe, as envisaged in Buddhism, the concept of a supreme deity is not only superfluous, but even wholly irrelevant. The mechanism continues to function according to its own inherent processes.

The téleological argument, trying to prove the existence of a God-Creator from the order, design and purpose found in nature, has always had a fair amount of appeal especially to those who endeavour to trace in natural events an element of law sufficiently strong to build up therefrom a planned universe. It would not be difficult to point out the many flaws in this ordered pattern, such as earthquakes, disease and perversion. Even the liberty to act against such laws constitutes a breach of that law. But, what is of concern here is : How is this argument met in the Buddhist scriptures ?

The teaching of the leader of the Ājīvaka sect, named Makkhali Gosāla, was over and over again condemned both by the Buddha and by Mahāvīra for his lack of a sense of moral responsibility. For, his was a thorough-going kind of determinism, denying the free will of man and his moral responsibility for any so-called good or evil. In condemning this doctrine [13], the Buddha does not advocate free will, for volition is an action of the mind which has no existence of its own, but which arises and ceases in dependence on conditions. It is, therefore, neither free nor determined, but arises conditionally. This attitude of the Buddha provides an answer to the teleological question. Any action performed purposefully constitutes karmic action ; and hence, will or any of its synonyms, volition, purpose, plan, design (*cetanā*) is the chief constituent of karma. Karma is the element which keeps saṃsāra rolling, which leads to ever-repeated birth and death with all the misery and conflict entailed thereby. This purposeful volition being ego-centred does not lead to order but to conflict and chaos. Only when action is performed without ego-centric intention, will it cease to be karma, will it cease to produce karmic effects (*vipāka*) and the chaos (*dukkha*) resulting therefrom. In other words, the very idea of purpose brings planned action into the cycle of saṃsāra, not as an absolute beginning but as a further conditioning which has come into operation by its dependence on other conditions. However paradoxically it may sound : it is planned action which leads to chaos, for planning is done on purpose, with an intention to attain a pre-determined goal which is also mind-made ; whereas spontaneous action, arising from the understanding of an immediate need of action, does not look beyond the present immediacy and is, therefore, without craving, without volition, without karmic effect, and without adding further conditions for the continuation of the conflict.

The problem of the beginning which caused many systems to adopt a God-Creator is not solved thereby ; for still the problem remains about the beginning of God. The postulate that God has no beginning could with equal right be postulated for the process of evolution, as the beginning of either cannot be known (*pubbakoṭi na paññāyati*).[14] The difference is that where God cannot be seen, the process of evolution is discernible everywhere.

Buddhism, therefore, does not wage war against 'God', but against the concept of a supreme and first cause ; and in this sense it may be truly described as atheism.

There is another argument which has carried great weight, not only with ecclesiastical circles but also among great thinkers, like Immanuel Kant, who made this argument the sole basis for his belief in God,—the so-called moral agrument. For Kant, morality or a moral life consisted in doing what *a priori* is seen to be right without taking into account either utility or convenience. In other words : morality speaks in tones categorically imperative. According to Kant[15] happiness is the natural accompaniment of virtue, but requires an infinite time for its realisation, and hence we have to postulate immortality as the condition of realising the demands of the moral law which holds valid for the present ; but this postulate of immortality includes the postulate of the existence of God. Hence morality, to be binding at all, requires God and immortality to make its demands rational and its rewards possible. At the same time, no one is clearer than Kant himself on the point that there can be no question of demonstration. Moral law must be respected without reservation, not because we can prove that it is entitled to this respect, but because the disallowance of this respect would be immoral itself. The existence of God becomes essentially imperative, as, in the absence of God, this moral law would have no basis, no sanction, no goal.

13 *M.* I, 238, 524 ; *A.* III, 384 ; I, 33, 286.

14 *S.* II, 178.

15 *Kritik der reinen Vernuft*, III, 531-40, Leipzig, 1867.

The Buddha's attitude to morality does not allot a place to any authority higher than one's individual understanding. Right is straight, skilful and wholesome (*kusala*); wrong is wrung, crooked, unwholesome (*akusala*). Not every action is either right or wrong, as there are also indifferent actions without moral value. Moral value (*kamma*) is derived exclusively from the intention (*cetanā*) which is a mental factor (*cetasika*). Reward or punishment for good and evil are not meted out by some supreme judge according to a moral law; but each action (*kamma*) is the seed from which corresponding fruit (*vipāka*) may be expected. As the action has but limited driving force, its result too will be limited; hence the absence in Buddhism of eternal reward in heaven and eternal punishment in hell. All this is called the law of action (*kamma-niyāma*) which, however, is not a law laid down by a supreme law-giver, but an exposition of the order of things in the mind (*citta-niyāma*), in nature (*bīja-niyāma*), and in the change of seasons (*utu-niyāma*), which is neither fixed nor permanent, but dependent on the ever-varying conditions of becoming and ceasing. With the supposition of certain conditional factors, it is not difficult to 'predict' the outcome of such experiment. And so the moral problem is solved in Buddhism without recurrence to the supernatural, in the simple and effective way of any physical problem.

Finally, theism has God as its goal. This goal may be conceived differently, as a beatific vision, or as a union of the individual soul with its creator, or as a re-absorption of the soul into the One from which it had been separated by illusion in its wanderings through many lives, depending on the dualistic or non-dualistic theology of a particular system.

Buddhism has no goal for individual striving, no salvation for an individual soul, and has, therefore, no place for either a goal of divine union or a scheme of salvation in which man has to co-operate with the divine. What is sometimes shown as the goal of Buddhism is a very imperfect understanding of the doctrine of Nibbāna. The perfection and bliss of Nibbāna is not an attainment to be reached by means of accumulation of individual, meritorious acts. Such accumulation must necessarily lead to intensification of individuality, although under sublimated conditions, perhaps; and that will not lead to waning of the passions and cessation of becoming. "Where there is no more being born, growing old or dying,—that end of the world is not to be reached by going. But in this very body, six feet tall, with its perceptions and thoughts, there I proclaim is the world, the origin of the world and its ending."[16] Hence striving for good may be useful to weaken evil tendencies, to overcome hindrances, to break fetters, but it cannot lead to a goal which is the cessation of a delusion of individuality. In the absence of a goal where individual attainment is perpetuated, Buddhism remains the one and only atheistic religion.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATIBALAVĪRYAPARĀKRAMA, name of a future Buddha occurring in the *Avadānaśataka* (i, 22; *BHS*.).

ATICĀRI SUTTA (*S*. IV, 242). The Buddha says that a woman who is faithless, shameless, unscrupulous, who is an adulteress and who lacks wisdom, is reborn in purgatory.

U. K.

ATIDEVA, the bodhisatta in the time of Revata Buddha. He was a very learned brāhman. Having heard the Buddha preach, he was greatly pleased and offered his upper garment worth a thousand pieces of gold and praised the Buddha in a thousand stanzas (*J*. I, 35; *Buv*. *v*. 10; *Mhbv*. 10; *BuvA*. 164).

W. G. W.

ATIGUHYĀCINTYA-NĀMA-PAÑCA-VIṢA-GUPTA-MĀRGA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Dug lṅa sbas-paḥi lam mchog-tu gsaṅ-ba bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa shes-bya-ba*, occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 69, No. 3285). The authorship of the work is attributed to Ḥphags-pa lha (Āryadeva). The work describes the means of obscuring the five poisons, passion or lust (Tib. *ḥdod-chags*), anger (Tib. *she sdaṅ*), ignorance (Tib. *gti-mug*), arrogance (Tib. *ṅa-rgyal*) and jealousy (Tib. *phrag-dog*). Contemplation on the voidness (*śūnyatā*) of each of these vices is the method prescribed for overcoming them. The disadvantages of these vices are set out at the beginning of the text.

R. H.

ATIKŪṬA, A-ti-ch'ü-t'o 阿地瞿多, meaning Infinite Highness, was a native of central India. He was a master of the five branches of knowledge (*pañcavidyā*) as well as of the Tripiṭaka. To

16 *A*. II. p. 48.

propagate Buddhism he travelled from central India to China, disregarding the hardships of the journey, and after crossing the Snow Mountain and the Desert (Taklamakan), he arrived in Ch'ang-an 長安 with a large number of Sanskrit texts in the first month of the third year of Yung-hui (652 A.C.) during the T'ang dynasty. He came to China at the time Hsüan-tsang had returned home after having completed his studies in India, the national prestige of the great T'ang empire was spread far and wide, and Buddhism was prosperous in China. Many eminent monks of India came to China in succesion, and Atikūṭa was one of them. When he reached Ch'ang-an, emperor Kao-tsung (Li-chih, 李治) held him in great regard and specially issued an edict to lodge him in the Great Tzŭ-en monastery (Ta-t'sŭ-ên-szŭ 大慈恩寺). Hsüan-tsang also was at that time in the same monastery, translating the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* and the *Mahāyāna-Abhidharmasamuccaya*. Afterwards sixteen śramaṇas, including Ta-chêng-tsung 大乘琮 and others, and twelve laymen including Hsü Chi, the duke of Ying, Yü-ch'ih, Ching-tê, the duke of Eo and others, invited Atikūṭa to establish the Dhāraṇī-samāja-maṇḍala in the court of the stūpa (which had nine storeys, 150 Chinese feet in height, constructed in 629) of the Hui-jih monastery. It is said that many miraculous phenomena and spirit-responses occurred on the day when the maṇḍala was completed at the end of the religious service. Both the monks and the laity in Ch'ang-an regarded this as an unusual event. Śramaṇa Hsüan-k'ai 玄楷 and others then requested Atikūṭa to translate the ceremonial texts into Chinese. Thereupon he made selections from the *Vajra-mahā-maṇḍala* (*dhāraṇī*) *Sūtra*, translated them into Chinese, and compiled them into the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* (*T'o-lo-ni-chi-ching* 陀羅尼集經) in twelve fascicles at the Hui-jih monastery (from 653 to 654). Eventually śramaṇa Hsüan-k'ai wrote down the translation in Chinese. At the same time Anuruddhamokṣa, Kāśyapa and others, who had come from the Mahābodhi monastery in central India, translated the *Lakṣmī-vidhi* in the Ching-hsing monastery (situated in the same street as the Hui-jih monastery). Atikūṭa also participated in translating this text, which was included in fascicle 10 of the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* without a separate edition. The *Prajñā-kṣaya-garbho-dhāraṇī*, included in fascicle 3 of the same sūtra, was translated by Varyasyinga (?) (Fa-li-yeh-ssŭ-ying-chia 伐唎耶思孀伽) as mentioned at the end of the text; and it, too, did not have a separate edition. Atikūṭa's translations of the tantric sūtras influenced the translation of his contemporary, Hsüan-tsang. In the ninth month of the same year (654) when the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* was translated, Hsüan-tsang also rendered a series of dhāraṇīs into Chinese after he had translated the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra*. Judging from the contents of these sūtras, they seem to belong to the same system as the *Vajra-mahāmaṇḍala-sūtra*.

Atikūṭa's movements after he translated the sūtras are not known. His disciples, Hsüan-k'ai, Ta-chêng-tsung and others received his teaching, but who succeeded them is unknown. In the 20th year of Chên-yüan (804) of the T'ang dynasty, Wei-hsiang of the Kuo-ch'ing monastery at T'ai-chou taught the *Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa-mahāmudrā-maṇḍala-kalpa* of Atikūṭa's tantric system to Saichō of Japan (in the tenth month of 804). In the fifth month of the next year (805) Saichō also learned the *Kuṇḍali-bodhisattva-maṇḍalavidhi* and the mudrās and obtained the sūtras, images, etc. from Ling-kuang at the Fa-hua court of the K'ai-yüan monastery in Ming-chou. He also learned the samāja-maṇḍala and the cintāmaṇicakra-maṇḍala from Chiang-pi, a liberal donor from the Mou district. Both Ling-kuang and Chiang-pi belonged to the tantric system of Atikūṭa. This system of tantra was later practised generation after generation by the esoteric sect of the T'ien-t'ai school in Japan.

The one-hundred-thousand-śloka edition of the *Vajra-mahāmaṇḍala Sūtra* prevailed in India probably at a time after Fa-hsien, Chi-mêng and others had returned to China (424). Mention is made in Yi-ching's *Biographies of Eminent Monks of the T'ang Dynasty who went to the Western Regions to search for the Law* (second part), that before the time of Diṅnāga there had been in India a *Vidyādharapiṭaka* in one hundred thousand ślokas which was later summarised into twelve thousand ślokas by Nanda. In the preface to the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* it is said that the *Vajra-mahāmaṇḍala-sūtra* is either a small portion of the *Mahāvidyādharapiṭaka* or intrinsically connected with it. In 535 Jinayaśas of Magadha, a kingdom in central India, came to China with his disciples, Yaśagupta, Jinagupta and others. They first translated the *Uṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī and Its Functions* of the *Vajra-mahāmaṇḍala-sūtra* in one fascicle (in 564) and the *Ekadaśamukha-avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* in one fascicle (between 564–572). It has been found that these two sūtras were already included in the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya*. Prabhāmitra, who came to

China in 626–7, taught the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya-dhāraṇī* of the *Vajramahāmaṇḍala-sūtra* and gave *dharma-pratirūpakas*, the relevant images to Hsüan-mu. Hsüan-tsang who returned to China in 644 also taught the *Hṛdaya-anugata-(Tārā) dhāraṇī-mudrā* of the same sūtra to Chih-t'ung. The above-mentioned great masters who translated the tantric texts of this sūtra all belonged to the Nālandā monastery. Therefore, it is beyond doubt that the *Vajramahā-maṇḍala Sūtra* was always taught and practised in the Nālandā monastery.

Atikūṭa's translation of the *Vajra-mahāmaṇḍala Sūtra* in twelve fascicles is the only comparatively complete text. Although this edition does not include all the contents of the larger edition of the *Vajra-mahā-maṇḍala Sūtra,* nor all the contents of the tantric teachings as taught by Atikūṭa, (for instance, the *Cintāmaṇi-cakra-maṇḍala* which Chiang-pi taught Saichō, is not included in the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya*), yet we may see in this sūtra the features of the ancient tantric practices prevalent in India during the sixth and seventh centuries before the rising of the tantric teachings of the Garbhadhātu and the Vajradhātu. All the dhāraṇīs in the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* may be generally classified into five sections, viz., the Buddha section, the Avalokiteśvara section, the Vajra section, the Deva section and the miscellaneous section. In the Buddha section there are the *Uṣṇīṣa-vidhi* the *Bhaiṣajya-vidhi,* the *Amitābha-vidhi,* etc. (in fascicles 1 and 2). Next comes the *Prajñā-bhagavatī-vidhi* (in fas. 3). But in the *Cakravarti-buddhoṣṇīṣa-vidhi* in fasc. 1, the Mahāprajñā bodhisattva is placed in the centre next to the image of the Buddha, without a separate uṣṇīṣa image ; hence it also belongs to the Buddha section. In the Avalokiteśvara section there are the *Ekādaśamukha-vidhi* (retranslated by Hsüan-tsang in 656), the *Sahasrāvarta-Avalokiteśvara-vidhi* (of which the dhāraṇī was retranslated by Hsüan-tsang in 664 and was included in the *Pañca-dhāraṇī*), the *Pāṇḍaravāsinī-Avalokiteśvaramātā-vidhi,* the *Anu-hṛdaya-Avalokiteśvara-vidhi* (of which the dhāraṇī, was retranslated by Hsüan-tsang in 664, and was included in the *Pañcadhāraṇī*; he also taught this vidhi and its mudrā to Chi-tung), the twelve-armed *Avalokiteśvara-vidhi,* the *Amoghapāśa-Avalokiteśvara-vidhi* (of which the text was retranslated by Hsüan-tsang in 659), the *Bhṛkuṭi Avalokiteśvara-vidhi,* and the *Hayagrīva-Avalokiteśvara-vidhi* (in fascicles 4, 5 and 6). At the end of fascicle 6 there are appended the vidhis of the various great bodhisattvas, including the dhāraṇīs and mudrās of great bodhisattvas such as Mahāsthāma, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Samantabhadra, and Ākāśagarbha. In the Vajra-section there are the *Vajragarbha-vidhi,* the vidhi of the retinue of Vajragarbha (including the vidhis of Māmatī, Muṣṭi, Śaṅkara, Aṅkuśa and others), the *Vajra-garbha-anuhṛdaya-vidhi,* the *Vajragarbha-kuṇḍali-vidhi,* and the *Vajra-ucchuṣma-vidhi* (in fascicles 7, 8 and 9). In the Deva section there are the vidhis of Mārīcī, Lakṣmī, Mahābrahmā, Indra, Maheśvara, the Catur-mahārāja-kāyikās, Sūrya, Candra, Nakṣatra, Pṛthivī, Nārāyaṇa, Sarasvatī, Varuṇa, the Maruts and others (in fascicles 10 and 11). In the miscellaneous section, there are the vidhis of Nāga-rāja, Gandharva, Mahoraga, Mahā-māyūrī, Siṃha-rāja, Asura-rāja, Cāmuṇḍā, Vināyaka, Yakṣas, Rākṣas and others (in fascicle 11). It is described in fascicle 12 that the *Sarvabuddha-mahādhāraṇī-samāja-maṇḍala* is also known as the method of establishment of the *Samāja-maṇḍala.*

It is apparent from the contents of the sūtra that in it the Uṣṇīṣa-vidhi is specially esteemed. The Uṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī has its source in ancient times. In Tārānātha's *Rgya-gar Chos-ḥbyuṅ* (*The History of Indian Buddhism*), it is recorded that once Maitreya asked Asaṅga to tell Vasubandhu to guard and repeat the *Vijaya-uṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī,* This tradition of giving special honour to the Uṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī was still preserved in the tantric texts translated by Amoghavajra. But during the one hundred years from the time when Atikūṭa translated this sūtra (653) to the time when Amoghavajra translated the sūtras and ceremonial texts of the Uṣṇīṣa section (754), there were some changes both in the meaning and the form of practice of the Uṣṇīṣa-vidhi, because it was propagated in different regions. Some of the differences of the Uṣṇīṣa-vidhi may be discerned in the sūtras of the Uṣṇīṣa-section translated by Ratnacinta (of Kāśmīra in north India) and Bodhiruci (of south India) who came to China in 693. In the Uṣṇīṣa-vidhi introduced by Ratnacinta, no specific Uṣṇīṣa Satyadevatā is established ; for instance, in practising the *Ekākṣara-cakravarti-dhāraṇī,* the *Tej-orāśyuṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī,* the *Effulgent Uṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī,* the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī,* the *Mahāuṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (the *Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī* and the *Suraṅgama-dhāraṇī*), etc., the image of Śākyamuni Buddha is still the chief object of worship. But in the sūtras translated by Bodhiruci, there are five separate uṣṇīṣa images of worship. The *Uṣṇīṣa Sūtra,* later translated by Amoghavajra, is quite similar to the text translated by Bodhiruci

These sūtras and images are not found in Tibetan translations and traditions, apparently because they were propagated in different regions.

Generally speaking, the contents of the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* are the dhāraṇīs and mudrās, by which Buddhists pray for the various benefits, both mundane and supermundane, as their objects. According to the thought expressed in the writing of Nāgārjuna, Maitreya and Asaṅga, the so-called 'dhāraṇī method' is one of the ways that the Mahāyāna bodhisattvas must practise. Kumārajīva, Dharmarakṣa, Guṇavarman, Guṇabhadra, Bodhiruci, Paramārtha, Prabhāmitra and others who came to China to translate the works of Nāgārjuna, Maitreya, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, Diṅnāga and Bhāvaviveka, were all experts in dhāraṇīs or tantras and had supernatural powers. From this we may see that the mystic formulas of the 'dhāraṇī method' were generally studied by scholars since the early period of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and they were different from the tantric practices of the Garbhadhātu, the Vajradhātu maṇḍala and the Anuttarayoga, which were later developments. Although they were afterwards regarded as unorthodox, they were in fact a system of esoteric methods which had their source in the distant past.

K. Yu.

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ATIMĀNA, conceit. See MĀNA.

ATIMĀYĀ, third of the seven daughters of Subhūti, the Śākya chieftain of Devadaha ; a sister of Māyā and wife of a brother of Śuddhodana (*Mhvu.* I, 355).

ATIMUKTAKAMĀLĀ, a village chieftain's daughter, one of ten damsels who attended on the bodhisattva when he was practising austerities (*Lal.* 194.2).

ATIMUTTAKA (1). See ADHIMUTTA (1).

ATIMUTTAKA (2), name of an ancient cemetery near Bārāṇasī where criminals were impaled. Vajrasena, a dealer in horses, was once suspected of theft and the king ordered him to be impaled there, but he was saved by Syāmā, the courtezan, who fell in love with him while he was being taken in procession to be executed. Syāmā bribed the king's men to substitute another man, who resembled Vajrasena. Thieves made this cemetery their rendez-vous, where they divided the booty. The ascetics Dīpāyana and Maṇḍavya also lived in huts in the same cemetery (*Mhvu.* II, 168.8; Skt. Atimuktaka : *J.* IV, 28 ff.).

W. G. W.

ATINIVĀSA SUTTA (*A.* III, 258) enumerates five disadvantages of staying too long in one place; accumulation of many belongings, much medicine, many obligations, mixing with various people and having regrets when leaving the place. The sutta also gives five advantages of staying for equal periods at different places ; they are the opposites of the above disadvantages.

U. K.

ATIPURUṢA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 138).

A-TI RNAL-ḤBYOR-GYI BSGOM-PAḤI THABS SES-BYA-BA, a translation in Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See ATIYOGA-BHĀVNANĀ-ĀMA.

ATIŚA (var. Atiśa ; Tib. Jo-bo-rje, 982–1054), the most prominent figure in the restoration of Buddhism in Tibet after the persecution of the Dharma enforced by king Claṅ Dar-ma. He was a native of Za-hor, in the east of Vajrāsana in India.

His father was king Kalyāṇaśrī, and his mother, Saīprabhāvatī. The king had three sons, Padmagarbha, Candragarbha and Śrīgarbha. The eldest succeeded to the throne. The second, who after wards assumed the Buddhist name of Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (Dpal mar-me-mdzad ye-śes) since he received the entire commandments of an ordained monk, was known as Atiśa. 'Atiśa' is an appellation of honour, to which various but mostly incredible explanations were given by later commentators. According to Tsoṅ-hka-pa, and the *Bkaḥ-gdams chos-ḥbyun* (*History of the Bkaḥ-gdams sect*), as quoted in the *Lam-rin brda-brkrol* (*Glossary of the Extensive Treatise on the Stages of the path of Bodhi*), 'Atiśa' means *phul-hyuṅ*, a term implying the idea of 'transcendent' or 'excellent', a probable derivation from the Sanskrit *atiśaya*.

Atiśa was brilliant from his boyhood. At the age of ten, he was already skilled in medicine, the fine arts and literature, and began to rely on the Triple Gem (*tri-ratna*). He observed the fasts and the precepts, showing his faith in and application of Buddhism. At eleven, disgusted with the palace life with all its pomp and gaiety, he went to the forest where he met Jetāri, a Buddhist monk. The prince at first pretended to put on an air of haughty pride, declaring himself the master of the land. "I have overcome the limitations of society", answered Jetāri, "and hence have neither master nor slave." Thereupon, the prince offered his bow and arrows and his precious sword, declared his earnest desire for renunciation, and prayed it be accepted. Finally, on Jetāri's advice, he went to the Nālandā vihāra to meet Bodhibhadra, the Śāstra master, who told him to see the bodhisattva Rigs-paḥi khu-byug (Vidyākokila), then dwelling to the north of Nālandā. The latter bodhisattva advised him to visit Avadhūtipa, living to the south of the Black Mountain. By Avadhūtipa's revelation, his heart was opened up to the truth, and he went back to his native country, to ask his parents for permission to leave home. With their consent he came back to Avadhūtipa to be instructed by him. The master, after transmitting to him the way of initiating the mind for bodhi, recommended him to the great Yogācāra master Bāhulakuptavajra, from whom he received the Hevajra initiation (*abhiṣeka*).

He returned immediately to the palace once more to bid his parents farewell, and then went to stay with Avadhūtipa, cultivating the difficult performances, learning the Mādhyamika doctrine, and obtaining the view of Candrakīrti on the Middle Path. By twenty-one, he had made thorough studies of both the Buddhist and non-Buddhist *śabdavidyā* and *hetuvidyā*. He then engaged himself in subduing the heretics of the Bengal region, recovering many monasteries which they had usurped, and bringing many heretical disciples into submission. At twenty-nine, he was ordained as a bhikṣu by the Śāstra-master Mahāvinayadhara Śīlarakṣita at Mati-vihāra. There he spent two years in learning the *Abidharma Piṭaka*, so that, by the age of thirty, he had already mastered all the scriptures of the four schools (viz. the Mahāsāṅghika, the Sthavira, the Sammatīya and the Sarvāstivāda). He spent a long time in the Vikramaśīlā vihāra, with Naropa as his chief instructor, and in addition, studied the *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* for twelve years under Dharmarakṣita of the Odantapuri-vihāra. Thus he became acquainted not only with the Buddhist doctrines, but also with the basic scriptures of all the heretic systems of that time, such as the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga schools.

Thrice he went across the sea to acquire further learning. Once he visited the great master named Dharmakīrti or Dharmapāla, living in the island of Suvarṇadvīpa (modern Sumatra), whose fame of scholarship had spread to all regions far and near. Atiśa wanted to pay him homage and he embarked on a ship with one hundred and twenty-five disciples and reached Suvarṇadvīpa after a voyage of thirteen months. He was given a hearty welcome by Dharmakīrti, and for twelve years, he shared the daily life of the master, studying all the profound doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He paid particular attention to all the doctrines of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, and to the distinctive doctrines and disciplines of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhisattva-caryāvatāra*, etc. Besides these, he also received the distinctive doctrine of cultivating the *bodhi-citta* through reciprocal intercourse, founded on the superior power of the Pure Joy from the master of Suvarṇadvīpa. Having completed his studies there, he returned to India in company with some merchants of Jambudvīpa, when he was forty-four years old.

At that time there were four great vihāras in India, namely, Nālandā, Odantapuri, Vajrāsana and Vikramaśilā. Atiśa, after his return to India, first stayed at the Vajrāsana, but upon the request of the king who was a patron of Buddhism, he went to Vikramaśilā, where, owing to his ability, scholarship

and prestige, he soon became one of the leading personages (paṇḍits) of the institution. Because of his great fame his portrait was then painted on the left side of the wall in front of the vihāra next to that of the Śāstra-master Nāgārjuna which was painted on the right side. Furthermore, in the main hall of the vihāra, the two side walls were dedicated to the portraits of illustrious persons, one wall to the experts in the five vidyās and the other to those who were accomplished, the Siddhi; and Atiśa's portrait was represented on both walls. Again, it was a rule in Indian vihāras to entrust the keys only to the most erudite scholars, and Atiśa had the charge of eighteen keys.

At that time in the Mṅaḥ-ris region of Tibet, there was a śramaṇa, named Yes-śes ḥod, who was a descendant of the royal family, and had once acted as the regent. He saw the Buddhist society of Tibet plagued by internal rival heterodoxies and controversial views; and in the texts he often found contradictory assertions. Having pondered that all these matters could be elucidated only in India, he sent seven savants to study in Kaśmīra and provided each with servants, thus making a party of twenty-one. He told them that, besides seeking the truth by themselves, they should try to invite some Indian master of virtue to Tibet, and he bade them find out which master could be of the greatest benefit to the people of Tibet. On account of their inability to stand the rigid climate of Kaśmīra, they died one after another, except only the two translators Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and Legs-paḥi śes-rab. These two returned to Tibet and informed Ye-śes ḥod about the high esteem which Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna enjoyed in India. Ye-śes ḥod thereupon sent the translator Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge as an envoy to invite the master with a considerable amount of gold for offering. But the mission failed, for the master would not consent in spite of all their entreaties. When this was reported to Ye-śes ḥod, he bade Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge to make another trial to invite some other master next to Dīpaṅkara, whereupon Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge went to India for the second time.

Meanwhile, Ye-śes ḥod set out to collect the funds needed for the mission. Unfortunately, when he reached the borderland of India and Tibet, he fell into the hands of a heretic tribal king. His grand nephew, Byaṅ-chub ḥod by name, sought to rescue him with an army. In a negotiation, the heretic king demanded as ransom a heap of gold in height equal to Ye-śes ḥod. Byaṅ-chub ḥod tried to raise this sum in Mṅaḥ-ris, but fell short of an amount equal to Ye-śes ḥod's head, and consequently failed to rescue him. Nevertheless Byaṅ-chub ḥod succeeded in obtaining an interview with Ye-śes ḥod in his prison. "Don't give even one ounce of gold to the wicked king," said Ye-śes ḥod to Byaṅ-chub ḥod. "Take all this gold to India as offering to the master Dīpaṅkara. I'd rather die here, offering my life for the sake of the Dharma." Byaṅ-chub ḥod, however, continued in his efforts to procure the stipulated fund until he was told of Ye-śes ḥod's death. Thereupon he requested the Vinaya master Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba to go to Atiśa and invite him.

In the Vikramaśilā-vihāra, Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba met Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge who had been there at an earlier date. The latter advised him to say that he had come there only to study and not to mention his real object outright, lest too much haste endanger his mission. Furthermore Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge told him not to invite any other scholar below Atiśa, for nobody else could competently win over the Tibetan people. After sojourning in the vihāra for some time, they invited Atiśa to Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge's apartment, where they offered him the gold they had brought with them, and then related to him how Tibet had been and was being plagued by the prevalent heresies, how Ye-śes ḥod had paid his life for the cause of inviting him to Tibet, what hardships both Ye-śes ḥod and Byaṅ-chub ḥod had suffered and what an immense amount of money they had spent. They also told him every word of Ye-śes ḥod in bidding them to fulfil the mission by all means. These words greatly moved Atiśa, who declared that Ye-śes ḥod must have been a bodhisattva. Nevertheless, he told them that he might not be able to make the journey to Tibet, because of the important tasks he had undertaken. Yet he said he would consider the matter, whether he was able of doing any good to the Tibetans there. Then he told them to keep their gold for the time being.

One day, some time later, when Atiśa went to Vajrāsana, the envoys made obeisance at his feet, and once more made their entreaties with tears. This time Atiśa consented and proceeded to make the necessary arrangements. The next day, he went to take leave of Ratnākaraśānti, the abbot of Vikramaśilā-vihāra, saying that he was going out with the Tibetans on a pilgrimage to some sacred places. Ratnākaraśānti expressed his wish to join them and did so. On the way, however, he realised their plan of taking Atiśa to Tibet, and got Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba and his companions to agree that Atiśa was only to be 'leased' to Tibet for a period of

three years. Having crossed the Indian border, Atiśa and his party entered Nepāl, where they were received with great reverence and pomp by the king. Unfortunately, the translator Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge fell sick there and shortly afterwards died. Atiśa was greatly distressed at the loss, saying, "It would be of no use now for me to go to Tibet, being thus deprived of the tongue."

During his stay in Nepāl, he propagated the correct doctrine of the Buddha and accepted a prince, named Padmaprabhā, as his disciple. One year later, he started for Tibet. This was in 1041.

When he arrived in Mṅaḥ-ris, Byaṅ-chub ḥod lodged Atiśa in the Mtho-ldin gi gtsug- lag-kaṅ, a monastery founded by Ye-śes ḥod. Here he lectured on many systems of doctrine transmitted many sorts of initiation (*abhiṣeka*) and translated many sūtras and śāstras. Here, he wrote, at the request of Byaṅ-chub ḥod, a book entitled *Byan-chub-lam-gyi sgron-ma*, refuting the heretic theories which deviated from the teaching of the Buddha, and expounding the stages in the ways of the three *puruṣas*. This book has served as the guide for Buddhists of Tibet down to the present time. (See BODHIPATHA-PRADĪPA.)

The translator Rin-chen Bzaṅ-po, then eighty-five years old, at first thought himself already expert in all dharmas both exoteric and esoteric, and hence felt that nothing more could be expected from the new master. However, as an act of courtesy, he showed a certain regard for Atiśa because the latter was a guest of the royal family. Gradually, however, Atiśa's profound scholarship and behaviour impressed him so much that his indifference gave way to reverence and devotion, and thereafter he voluntarily aided in Atiśa's work of translation.

Just at the time Atiśa was thinking of going back to India, a devout Tibetan Buddhist, versed in Sanskrit, Ḥbrom-ston-pa by name, who afterwards became his greatest disciple, came hastily to see the master at Pu-raṅ, and got duly initiated and accepted by him. With a view to altering the master's intention of leaving Tibet, Ḥbrom-ston-pa highly commended the excellences of the vihāras in Bsam-yas and other places with their large numbers of monks, showing withal that all those monks were longing to hear his personal teachings. Atiśa, greatly pleased on hearing these circumstances, exclaimed, "nowhere else can such numbers of pious disciples be found, not even in India. There must be some great arhats among them." So saying, he prostrated himself in obeisance toward the east, and accordingly consented to Ḥbrom-ston-pa's proposal. Ḥbrom-ston-pa, fearing that there might be some possible change on the way, hastened to write to the monks of central Tibet (Dbus), asking them to dispatch envoys to Mṅaḥ-ris before the autumn to invite Atiśa. Meanwhile, the translator Tsul-khrims rgyal-ba, unwilling to break his promise with the abbot of the Vikramaśilā-vihāra, accompained the master to return south-ward. But when they reached Nepāl, the way was blocked by a rebellious army in that country, and they were obliged to abandon their plan of going back to India and returned to Maṅ-yul. When the master had there dwelt about one year, the eminent monks sent from Dbus also arrived. Thereupon they proceeded together for Dbus, lecturing and propagating the Law on the way as they passed by La-stod-byaṅ, Ñan-tsho, Bsam-yas and other places and finally arrived at Lhasa. At La-stod-byaṅ, there were six devotees (namely: Goṅ-ston Gyuṅ-druṅ, Ḥgar-dge-ba, Rgyal-gyi ka-ba chen-po, Ka-ba Śākya dbaṅ-phyug, Khu-stor Brtson-ḥgrus gyuṅ-druṅ and Legs-paḥi śes-rab) who asked five questions to be decided by Atiśa. 1. Is it possible to attain Buddhahood by only applying *upāya*, the relative knowledge of reality, or *prajñā*, the wisdom of the absolute truth ? 2. In practising the bodhisattva rules and ceremonies, is it necessary to rely on the prātimokṣa ? 3. Is it permissible to preach esoteric texts (tantras) to those who have not yet received the initiation of the Vajrācārya ? 4. Is it permissible for those who practise pure living, the discipline of celibacy, to receive the secret initiation of *jñāna* ? 5. Is it permissible for those who have not yet been initiated to practise esoteric incantation ?

In his reply, Atiśa told them to consult his book entitled *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi sgron-ma*. "For", said he, "many other questions besides these have been asked in it by Byaṅ-chub ḥod."

At Bsam-yas, when Atiśa was looking through the Sanskrit manuscripts in the collection of the vihāra, to his astonishment and joy, he found a number of unique copies that had long been lost in India. Then he copied the *Mādhyamikāloka*, the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and several other works, and sent them back to his home-land. Henceforth, Atiśa, in collaboration with native interpreters, devoted himself to the work of translation, accomplished a great number of versions of both sūtras and śāstras, and at the same time undertook the work of preaching and propagating the doctrine. Finally, when he was grown old, and gradually declined in health, he settled down at Sñe-thaṅ, where, on the 18th day of the ninth lunar month, 1054, he passed away. (See *Ency Bsm.* II, Plate xx).

Atiśa lived in an age when the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra, two important schools of Buddhism in India, were in full force and the tantric school also began to assert itself. Atiśa's dwelling place, Vikramaśilā itself, was a centre dedicated to the propagation of both exoteric and esoteric doctrines. It was Atiśa who inherited all the traditions of both exoteric and esoteric masters of India on the one hand, and led up to the establishment of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa (school) of Buddhism in Tibet on the other. The tenet of the so-called Bkaḥ-gdams-pa is in fact a synthesis of all doctrines spoken by the Buddha under the three categories of the Tripiṭaka, incorporated into 'the stages of the ways of the three *puruṣas*'. All the doctrines of the Buddha are accepted in it and every dharma is considered an aid to the attainment of Buddhahood. This synthetic view of Atiśa is the characteristic feature of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa doctrine as much as it is the characteristic feature of Tibetan Buddhism.

As for the detailed contents of Atiśa's philosophical system and the development of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa (sect), readers are referred to the articles on the BODHIPATHA-PRADĪPA and the BKAḤ-GDAMS-PA (sect) in this Encyclopaedia. The following ia list of Atiśa's more important writings and translations.

I. Atiśa's own writings ;

A. The Tantra Group : 1. *Mṅon-par stogs-pa rnam-par hbyed-pa*. 2. *Chos-kyi dbyins lta-baḥi glu*. 3. *Ḥjig-rten-las ḥdas-paḥi yan-lag bdun-paḥi cho-ga*. 4. *Tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdzin tshogs-kyi leḥu*. 5. *Dam-tshig thams-cad bsdus-pa*. 6. *De-bshin-gśegs-pa thams-cad-kyi dam-tshig bsrun-baḥi sgrub-thabs*. 7. *Rdo-rje-gdan-gyi rdo-rjeḥi glu*. 8. *Dpaḥ-bo gcig-paḥi sgrub-thabs*. 9. *Dpal gsaṅ-ba ḥdus-paḥi ḥjig-sten dbaṅ-phyug-gi sgrub-paḥi thabs*. 10. *Ḥphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs ḥjig-sten dbaṅ-phyug sgrub-paḥi thabs*. 11. *Mi-ḥkhrugs-paḥi sgrub-thabs*. 12. *Gśin-rje-gśed rnam-par snaṅ-mdzad-kyi mṅon-par rtogs-pa*.

B. The Prajñāpāramitā Group : 13. *Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-paḥi don-bsdus sgron-ma*. 14. *Śes-rab sñiṅ-poḥi rnam-par bśad-pa*.

C. The Mādhyamika Group : 15. *Skyas-su ḥgro-ba bstan-pa*. 16. *Sñin-po bsdus-pa*. 17. *Theg-pa chen-poḥi lam-gyi sgrub-thabs yi-ger bsdus-pa*. 18. *Dran-pa gcig-paḥi man-ṅag*. 19. *Bden-pa gñis-la ḥjug-pa*. 20. *Mdo kun-las bdus-paḥi don bsdus-pa*. 21. *Mdoḥi-sdeḥi don kun-las btus-paḥi man-ṅag*. 22. *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi sgron-ma*. 23. *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi nor-buḥi phreṅ-ba*. 24. *Dbus-maḥi man-ṅag*. 25. *Las rnam-par ḥbyed-pa*.

D. Commentary : 26. *Las-kyi sgrib-pa rnam-par sbyon-baḥi cho-ga bśad-pa*.

II. Atiśa's translations : 1. Āryadeva's *Dbu-ma ḥkhrul-pa ḥjom-pa*. 2. Guṇaprabha's *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi saḥi ḥgrel-pa*. 3. Dharmakīrti-śrī's *Mṅon-par rtogs-paḥi rgyan shes-bya-baḥi ḥgrel-pa rtogs-par dkaḥ-baḥi snaṅ-ba shes-bya-bahi ḥgrel-bśad*. 4. Ḍombi-pa's *De-kho-na-ñid bcu-pa*. 5. Bhavya's *Dbu-maḥi sñiṅ-poḥi tshig-leḥur byas-pa*. 6. Bhavya's *Dbu-maḥi sñiṅ-poḥi ḥgrel-pa riog-ge ḥbar-ba*. 7. Bhavya's *Dbu-maḥi don bsdus-pa*. 8. Bhavya's *Sde-pa tha ded-par byed-pa daṅ rnam-par bśad-pa*. 9. Vasubandhu's *Theg-pa chen-po bsdus-paḥi ḥgrel-pa*. 10. Suvāgīśvara-kīrti's *Phyag-na rdo-rje sgrub-paḥi thabs*. 11. *Gśin-rje-gśed-po sgrub-poḥi thabs*.

The Tibetan Bstan-ḥgyur (Tengyur or collection of treatises) contains a volume entitled *Jo-boḥi chos-chuṅ*, which exclusively collects Atiśa's essays and a number of other writings on which Atiśa founded his own system. But, as the titles of these works have been given separately in other volumes, the above list may be said to have included practically all of his important works.

C. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : Atiśa, *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi sgron ma*. Sde-dge edition. Fa-tsun, *Life of ven. Atiśa* (阿底峽尊者傳 *A-ti-hsia-tsun-chê-chuan*) ; *the Hai-ch'ao-yin* (海潮音) Vol. XVII, 1936. *Jo-bo Rin-po-che Rje Dpal-ldan Atiśa Rnam-thar Rgyas-pa yoṅ-grags* : Lhasa Edition ; Lü-ch'êng, *Origin of Tibetan Buddhism* (西藏佛學原論 *Hsi-tsang-fu-hsüeh-yüan-lun*(, Shanghai, 1933.

ATISŪRYA, 'surpassing the sun in brilliance', name of one of the thousand Buddhas who will arise in this auspicious world-age (*bhadrakalpa*), named Puṣpika, as proclaimed by the Śākyamuni to the five *bhadravargīya* monks. The name, thus spelled, is an emendation by Senart of the name as it appears in the *Mahāvastu* (III, 330), viz., Abhisūrya.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATĪTĀNĀGATAPACCUPPANNA SUTTA. There are three suttas by this name. In the first one (*S*. III, 19), the Buddha tells his monks that the five groups of existence of the past, the present and the future are impermanent (*anicca*). The learned ariyan disciple who sees this, cares not for what is past, is not in love with the present and seeks dispassion for the future.

The second one, which follows immediately (*S.* III, 19–20) differs from the preceding one in that 'ill' (*dukkha*) comes in place of 'impermanent'.

The same sutta is repeated once more (*S.* III, 20) with the difference that 'without self' (*anatta*) occurs in place of 'impermanent'.

U. K.

ATĪTENA SUTTA. Under this title, "by way of the past", there appear eighteen suttas. or perhaps eighteen sections of one sutta, in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 151-2), many of which are almost identical except for the change of a word. It is interesting to note that this change of word sometimes affects the very nature of the short discourse, e. g., when the sense-organs, which are said to be impermanent and "of the past" (*atīta*), are referred to in the next sutta as being impermanent and "not yet come" (*anāgata*), meaning that the action done in the past has yet to be worked out; and in the third sutta as being impermanent and "a thing of the present" (*paccuppanna*). This alternation is repeated in the following five sets of three suttas. Thus the title *Atītena Sutta*, although heading all the suttas here under review, is applicable only to six out of the eighteen.

Other variations which constitute the differences between these eighteen suttas are the introduction of woe (*dukkha*) in the 4th, 5th and 6th sutta, and that of insubstantiality (*anattā*) in the 7th, 8th and 9th suttas, instead of the concept of impermanence (*anicca*) expressed in the first three suttas. And, again, the replacement of the six sense-organs of the first nine suttas by the six sense-objects of the last nine suttas. These last nine suttas, like the first set of nine, are also grouped in three sets of three, with their differences based on the three characteristics of impermanence (*anicca*), woe (*dukkha*) and insubstantiality (*anattā*).

What all have in common is the concluding formula, given in full only in the first sutta, and merely indicated in the following seventeen by *pe* or *la* (the shortened forms for *peyyāla* : etcetera): The well-taught noble disciple who sees it thus becomes disgusted therewith and detached therefrom; being freed he attains insight and the knowledge that the possibility of rebirth has been destroyed, that the holy life has been lived, that whatever there was to do, has been done and that three is no more a hereafter.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATITTI SUTTA, the fourth sutta of the *Sambodhi Vagga* of the *Tika-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 261). There are three things in the pursuit of which there is no satiety (*titti*), viz., sleep, intoxicating liquor and sexual intercourse.

No title has been given to this sutta in the text. It has been differently named *Atitti* (*DPPN.* I, 52) and *Natthi Titti* (A.P.Buddhadatta, *Tripiṭaka-sūciya*, p. 86).

L.R.G.

ATIYOGA-BHĀVANĀ-NĀMA, the title of a Sanskrit text, credited to the authorship of Kluḥi byaṅ-chub (Nāgabodhi). The Tibetan version occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *A-ti rnal-ḥbyon-gyi bsgom-paḥi thabs shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 69, No. 3259). The work which begins with a salutation to Mañjuśrī, contains instructions (Tib. *man-ṅag*, Skt. *upadeśa*) on the meditation, *Atiyoga*.

Atiyoga is the topic of the work, the *bodhicitta* of Ācārya Buddhaguhya, according to the commentary or preface to a fragment of the text in Tibetan, extant in manuscript form. See No. 594 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, published for the Commonwealth Relations Office, 1962.

R. H.

ĀTMAN. The word 'self' is *ātman* in Sanskrit, *atta* in Pali and *bdag* in Tibetan. Though opinion is divided on the meaning of *ātman*, it originated from a word meaning 'to breathe'. From there it came to mean something breathing, something with life, body, individual; then something existing in the depths of life, i.e., soul, something with spirit; then the word came to express 'self' (individual, ego).

However, for the first time in the Upaniṣads, where philosophical meditation was much advanced, the word became a technical term meaning 'substance'. And while *brahman* was contemplated as the supreme principle on one hand, *ātman* was considered as the principle of the co-ordinately-ranked on the other and the identity of the two was accepted philosophically.

The word *ātman* is seen already in the *Ṛg-veda*, but it became an nportant technical term for the first time in the Upaniṣads. Now, a man is an individual with physiological function of the body on one side and operation of the mind on the other. *Ātman* was originally the name

given to this individual self with two sides. But in Upaniṣadic philosophy the conception of *ātman* came to mean not only an individual self but also the substance of self, and hence developed to become the technical term meaning the substance of all things, their reality.

As seen in the *Ṛg-veda*, the ancients of India had the concept of a life to come, following this life. And this gave birth to the idea that though the human body perished at death, its soul was imperishable. In this conception, the soul was interpreted as having the same meaning as *manas* (will), *prāṇa* (breath), *ātman* (self) and *asu* (vital force) ; and the souls of the dead were believed to inhabit the graves. In other words they believed that human souls after death walked along the same way as our ancestors did and went to a happy world in the eternal light, where they could meet their blood relations again.

Ātman at first meant *asu*, *manas* and *prāṇa*, and it was the name given to something spiritual in opposition to the physical, material things. This originated from the thought concerning the human faculties, and the seed of the thought is seen in the two conceptions about human faculties *vāc* (word) and *manas* (will) which were pursued in the *Ṛg-veda*. In the Brāhmanic period, *manas* yielded place to *prīṇa*, which by and by came to mean 'oneself', in contrast to the other people, then reality of a human being, self, and hence the substance of all things. Therefore, the Brāhmanic period plays an important role in the development of the concept of ātman.

In the *Brāhmaṇas* there was a movement to unify the human faculties. At the beginning, *prāṇa* was considered to be the most important. *Ātman*, which originally had the same meaning and content, was then given greater importance, and eventually in the Upaniṣadic philosophy came to have an even richer content. That is, *ātman* was regarded in the same light as *brahman*, as an individual (self) and universal fundamental principle. Therefore, the process of the development of the concept of *ātman* is schematised as follows : one that breathes > self > *ātman* as the fundamental principle = *brahman*.

In the Upaniṣadic philosophy *brahman* and *ātman* came to co-exist side by side as the two great principles. In this way, these two principles came to be regarded as one, and the idea of *brahmātmāikyaṃ* (*ātman's* oneness with *brahman*) was established. Originally, however, *ātman* did not imply the meaning of world creation. But now, *ātman* being regarded as identical with *brahman*, the creation of the world by *ātman* also came to be considered. Only, with the original meaning in mind, one may say that, while *brahman* was the universal, objective principle, *ātman* was the individual, subjective principle : or we may call *brahman* the neutral principle and *ātman* the personal principle.

This identity of *brahman* and *ātman* is the key subject of Upaniṣadic philosophy, but this thought, too, has undergone stages of development. Śāṇḍilya, one of the Upaniṣadic philosophers, calls the truth of all things *brahman*, and says it is identical with all the things we experience. He says that this very *brahman* is *satyasya satya* (truth in the truth), the doer of all things who, having every and all desires, is able to materialise itself as it desires. This *brahman* can be regarded as our original self. It is also called *ātmā'ntar-hṛdaye* (*ātman* in the heart). And, as *brahman* and *ātman* are identical, Upaniṣadic philosophers described them as infinite and infinitesimal, as smaller than a grain of rice and wheat or a poppy seed (*aṇīyānvrīhervā yavādvā sarsapādvā*) and greater than the earth, skies and heaven (*jyāyānpṛthivyā jyāyānantarikājjyāyāndivak : Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, ii, 14, 3). And it was preached that the true knowledge of the Upaniṣads was to realise that *ātman*, which is our individual self, is identical with *brahman*, which is the universal principle, and that the acquisition of this realisation is *mokṣa* (emancipation).

This view taken by the Upaniṣadic philosophers gave a profoundly philosophical interpretation to the concept of *ātman* which in the Vedic period meant only something breathing. Here it would be useful to introduce Yājñavalkya's view on *ātman*. The essence of his theory lies in *na vā are sarvasya kāmāya sarvaṃ priyaṃ bhavati ātmanastu kāmāya sarvaṃ priyaṃ bhavati* (all things are dear, not because I love all things, but because I love *ātman : Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, ii, 4, 5). This means that, as the existence of all things is no other than *ātman*, to love something is to love *ātman* which is the substance of it, and not because it is beautiful. There, he asserts, if such *ātman* is seen, heard and recognised, all things are known. The characteristic of this view of his on *ātman* lies in that he tried to grasp *ātman* subjectively. Therefore, he calls *ātman* elsewhere *antaryāmin* (immanent dominator). He says "*Ātman* is an immanent dominator, is immortal and controls all the existing things from their insides" (*yaḥ sarvāṇi bhūtānyantaro yamayatyeṣa ta ātmāntaryāmyamṛtaḥ* : ibid. iii, 17, 15). And "it is that which sees and is not seen, hears

and is not heard, thinks and is not thought, recognises and is not recognised" (*adṛṣṭo draṣṭā'-śrutaḥ śrotā'mat mantā'vijñātovijñātā* : ibid. iii, 7, 23). Therefore, *ātman* is the pure wisdom (*prajñāghana*) which can no longer be the object of recognition, something which cannot be grasped by a certain conception, in other words, it is the subject of recognition. It is something which no word can express, and if one is forced to express it in words there is no other way than doing so in negative expression *neti neti* (not so, not so : ibid. ii, 3, 6; iii, 9, 26; iv, 2, 4; iv, 4, 22; iv, 5, 15 etc.).

The Indian philosophical texts in the later ages mention two schools, *āstika* (orthodox) and *nāstika* (non-orthodox). Āstika schools which inherited the orthodox Brāhmanism, share the same standpoint with the latter in asserting the existence of *ātman*. And in contrast to it, all the schools which asserted a non-self theory (*nairātmya-vāda*) are given the general name of *nāstika*, to which belong Buddhism (Bauddha meaning followers of Buddha and Saugata meaning followers of the 'Happy One' are the words used in Indian philosophy) and Lokāyata (or followers of Cārvāka), and Bārhaspatya (followers of Bṛhaspati).

The typical schools belonging to *āstika*, which admit the existence of *ātman* are Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā. These schools do not always agree in their interpretation of *ātman*.

In contrast to *āstika* (orthodox) schools which asserted the existence of *ātman*, Buddhism belongs to the *nāstika* (non-orthodox) group which asserts the theory of non-self (*nairātmyavāda*). As Buddhism denies fundamentally the substantiality of *ātman*, the theory of self of brāhmanic philosophies and the theory of non-self of Buddhism confront each other throughout. In order to comprehend this confrontation, it is necessary to clarify the theory of non-self on which Buddhism takes its stand.

According to the *Brahmajālā Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which furnishes the material for the study of early Buddhism, there were 62 kinds of view at the time of the Buddha. They were 18 kinds of view concerning the past and 44 kinds of view concerning the future, and Sassatavāda, the doctrine of an eternal soul, is found among the 18 kinds of view concerning the past. This view asserts that self (*attan, ātman*) and the world (*loka*) are eternal. Buddhism gives the general name of eternalism (*sassataditthi*) to assertions that all things are perpetual. Concerning the eternality of *ātman*, the Buddha gave no answer saying that it was inexpressible (*avyākata*). One reason he gave was that whether or not *ātman* was eternal was a metaphysical question to which discussion there would be no end, so it would be of no use for the Holy Path, neither would it lead to Nirvāṇa.[1] Then, what doctrine did the Buddha preach instead? It is the theory of non-self, *anattā*.

Generally, in the Buddhist texts are found two patterns of teaching regarding non-self (*anattā*). The first pattern is to deny such statements as *etaṃ mama* (this is mine), *eso'ham asmi* (this is I) and *eso me attā* (this is my self). An example of this way of teaching is clearly seen in *S.* III, 6. The second pattern is to deny that the five aggregates (*pañcakkhandhā*) are the self or that the self has five aggregates and that there are five aggregates in self. What is common between these two patterns is their attitude as regards the five aggregates. Buddhism grasps the whole of the individual self in the name of the five aggregates (matter, feeling, perception, volition and other mental properties and consciousness). The Buddha says that such words as 'individual' are actually nothing but a name for the five aggregates. Therefore, there does not exist the substantiality of *ātman*. Just as the name 'cart' exists where spokes, etc., are assembled together, so there is the name 'human being' where the five aggregates are (*yathā hi aṅgasambhārā hoti saddo ratho iti, evaṃ khandhesu santesu hoti satto'ti sammuti : S.* I, p. 135). Such thinking as "the five aggregates are I" leads into thinking "I have the five aggregates." And the belief that "our individual self (the five aggregates) is *ātman*" constitutes the basis of the *ātman* theory. But the Buddha denies the concept of "the five aggregates are *ātman*," or "the five aggregates are mine," on the ground that the individual self, 'I', is the temporary union of the five aggregates which are impermanent (*anicca, anitya*) and transient (*vipariṇāma*, transforming), and therefore, it is improbable that the individual self which is only a temporary aggregation should

1 Another explanation of the Buddha's refusal to be drawn into this and similar controversies is the impossibility to provide a conclusive answer to a question which contains an intrinsic falsehood. If 'existence' is merely a process of becoming and cessation, there is no existing individual (*atta*) of which it could be said that it is either eternal or not eternal.—G.P.M.

be inhabited by an eternal substantiality which *ātman* is said to be. Buddhism does not set up any independent subject, as it regards every existence as dependent on causal origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda, pratītyasamutpāda*). All of this is clearly expressed in the causality-theory which says: " When this is, that is; when this is produced, that is produced; when this is not, that is not; when this perishes, that perishes (*imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti, imassuppādā idaṃ uppajjati, imasmiṃ asati idaṃ na hoti, imassa nirodhā idaṃ nirujjhati*).

In this way, Buddhism takes its stand on the non-self (*anatta, anātman*) theory, and on the foundation thereof its negation of the theory of *ātman* which asserts the existence of an eternal, independent being, or of the dominating capacity of the central owner. Logical explanations of causal origination and voidness (*śūnya, śūnyatā*) show this clearly. The following is a summary of the manner in which Buddhism criticised the *ātman* theory of the Indian schools.

Such criticisms are found in, for instance, the *Pudgala-viniścaya* of the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Candrakīrti's (600–50) comments on the 18th chapter (*ātman-parīkṣā*) of the *Madhyamaka-kārikā* (*Prasannapadā*), Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* or Āryadeva's (170-270 A.C.) *Catuśśataka*. Generally speaking, such criticism is directed to the Indian philosophical schools which call a human being (Buddhism calls it a living being, *sattva, satta*) *ātman* (individual self). According to the Buddhists, the standpoint of Indian philosophy is to regard as *ātman* a human being, which the Buddhists maintain is a living being formed temporarily by the union of the five aggregates. Therefore, Buddhism criticises the concept of *ātman* by discussing the two points: whether the five aggregates are *ātman* and whether *ātman* is different from the five aggregates. Of all the schools, the Vaiśeṣikas and Sāṅkhyas are criticised in particular.

As regards the first point, its criticism is as follows: from their origin, the five aggregates are impermanent and are subject to birth and death, so, if *ātman* is the five aggregates, such *ātman* has to be naturally and logically, impermanent and subject to birth and death. Moreover, when the five aggregates are impermanent, it is impossible to assert the eternality of *ātman* which is regarded as one thing with the five aggregates. Next, if *ātman* exists apart from the five aggregates, it means that such *ātman* does not have the quality (*lakṣaṇa*) of the five aggregates and it is impossible to set up an *ātman* apart from the five aggregates. The above argument can be expressed in the following way: if *ātman* cannot exist separately from the body, it comes to pass, logically, that the body is *ātman*: if the body is *ātman*, there will be no imperative reason to assert the existence of *ātman* apart from the body. However, the body itself cannot be *ātman*, because, being the temporary form of the united five aggregates, the body cannot escape birth and death. And, if we say *ātman* exists apart from the body, *ātman* without body cannot be imagined, because *ātman* is an existence with the body. As the result of the above reasoning, Buddhism says, neither the assertion that the five aggregates are *ātman*, nor the assertion that *ātman* exists apart from the five aggregates can be established, and therefore *ātman* does not exist.

Buddhism which preached non-self also preached about individualism. It preached about it, however, as a thing to be conquered. As the delusive life of attachment to self, selfish desires and egotism were caused, according to Buddhism, by the individuality-theory, the purpose of preaching about it was to do away with these delusions. Therefore, individuality preached in Buddhism did not imply the theory of self (*ātman*) as asserted by the schools of philosophy. Individualism preached in Buddhism meant 'it is mine', 'I exist,' and represented the ideas of *ahaṅkāra* (egotism, idea of possession) and *mamaṅkāra* (attachment to self). Buddhism regarded the way of thinking ' this is mine and it belongs to me ' as a wrong view and called it the belief in the existence of an ego-substance (*satkāyadṛṣṭi, sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), the illusion that the self is real. Early Buddhism generally spoke of 20 kinds of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, which were four kinds of illusory ideas: 1. form or any other one of the five aggregates possesses *atta* (self), 2. *atta* possesses form, etc. 3. *atta* exists in form, etc. 4. form, etc. exist in *atta*, these four ideas being applied to each of the five aggregates. As mentioned before, this view asserts that in contrast to the body which is the temporary union of the five aggregates there exists *ātman* as a substantiality which possesses, and clings to, the body. This point is emphatically criticised by Buddhism which attributes all delusions and evil desires to this belief. Though this idea of individuality shares in a way the standpoint of other philosophers who assert the existence of *ātman*, the individuality mentioned in Buddhism indicates the illusory idea that our self is real, and therefore, it is the primary principle of Buddhism to regard the thought of individuality

as the thought set up on the wrong idea of clinging to the temporary union of the five aggregates.

See also ANATTĀ.

S. KM.

ĀTMANA, name of a nāga king, occurring in a list of them in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS*. s.v.).

ĀTMA PARIJÑĀNADṚṢṬYUPADEŚA-NĀMA, the title of a short metrical composition in Sanskrit by Cambaka (Campaka), a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Raṅ-rig ye-śes-kyi lta-baḥi ñams-len shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 69, No. 3254). The main theme of the work is the knowledge of self, said to lead to the conquest of the sorrows of the world (cp. Tib. *rnal-ḥbyor bdag-ñid rig-na ni-ḥkhor-baḥi sdug-bsṅal ḥjoms-par byed*).

R. H.

ĀTMARAKṢĀ-VIDHI, the restored Sanskrit title of a work, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Raṅ bsruṅ-baḥi cho-ga* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3638). The text, as occurring in this Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, does not contain a colophon citing the names of the author or translators. But, according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 2817), Ajitamitragupta composed the work, Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna translated it, and Gnubs Byams-pa revised it.

The text describes the procedure of the performance of a rite for securing protection against sorrows (Tib. *mya-ṅan*). The formula *Oṃ a a a hri hri hri hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ* is given as a spell to be chanted in the course of the ceremony.

R. H.

ĀTMĀRTHASIDDHIKARA-NĀMA-YOGAKRIYĀ-KRAMA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation, *Bdag-gi don grub-par byed-pa shes-bya-ba rnal-ḥbyor-gyi bya-baḥi rim-pa* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (Skt. tantra-vṛtti, tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*Cordier*, II, p. 151, No. 5; *TM*. No. 1878). Vitapāda, perhaps Vaidyapāda, is said to be the author of the work. Kamalaguhya and Jñānadhvaja (Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan) translated the work into Tibetan. The mantra: *oṃ sarvatathāgata anurāgana vajrasvabhāvātmako' haṃ* occurs in the text.

E. H. P.

ĀTMASĀDHANĀVATĀRA-NĀMA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation under the title *Bdag sgrub-pa-la ḥjug-pa shes-bya-ba* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (Skt. tantra-vṛtti, tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*Cordier*, II, p. 148, No. 8; *TM*. No. 1860). The authorship of the work is attributed to Buddhajñāna (Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes); and it is stated that Śāntibhadra and Devasuta (Lhas-btsas) translated the work into Tibetan.

E.H.P.

ĀTMAVĀDA, the doctrine that a self or soul exists as an entity separate from the material and mental phenomena of body and mind. See ATTAVĀDA.

ĀTMA-YOGA-NĀMA, the name of Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which is incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 87, No. 5097). The colophon of the work states that Rtog-rtse-paḥi shabs (Kuddālīpāda) was the author of the work, while Nags-kyi rin-chen and Bsod-nams rgya-mtshoḥi sde were the translators. The text describes the procedure of performing a rite. Instructions on drawing the magic circle (maṇḍala) and the invocation of deities like the dark-complexioned Yamāntaka (Tib. *ḥjigs-byed*) of terrifying form, and the red god of fire (Tib. *me-yi-tha*) who appears enwrapt in flames, are given.

R. H.

A-TO (阿道 or 我道 or A-tu 阿頭), a monk of the Koguryo dynasty (37 B. C.—668 A. C.). The *Hai-tung kao-sêng chuan* (海東高僧傳 Biographies of Renowned Monks of Korea) refers to him as an Indian or southern Chinese coming from the Wu region. His mother, however, was a Koguryo girl by the name Ko To-Nyong who met Ch'ü-ma, a Chinese envoy to Korea from the Wei dynasty during the Chêng-shih era (240—8 A. C.). A-to was her son who became a monk at the age of five and, when he was sixteen years old, went to China, where he stayed for three years. His mother sent him to Silla's capital in the year 263 to teach Buddhism. In Kyong-gi, however, he was not received well by the people and he had to hide himself at the home of one Mo-rok or Mo-rye in Sok-rim, in the Il-sson-hyon province. Later, he had a chance to treat successfully a sick princess of king Mi-ch'u. The king permitted A-to to build a temple and preach Buddhism.

The first temple thus erected in Silla was the Hung-ryun-sa temple (興輪寺). Later he moved to Sam-ch'on-gi and built another temple called Yong-hung-sa (永興寺). His good fortune, however, did not last long. After the death of his patron, king Mi-ch'u in 283 A. C., people started to persecute him again, and he returned to Morok's home where he built a vault in which he confined himself until his death. This short biography is based on *Sam-guk-yu-sa* (三國遺事) which, it claims, is based on a now lost stone monument of A-to. According to the *Sam-guk-sa-ki* (三國史記 History of three kingdoms, Korea), however, the date of his visit to Silla is during the reign of So-chi (479—99 A. C.). Although the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* gives a detailed story, the author seems to have confused the Wei of the ' Six Dynasties' with the earlier Wei, one of the three kingdoms, in China. Thus A-to was probably a son of a Northern Wei official and a Koguryo mother during the fifth century A. C.

J.M.

ATONEMENT, Rules of —. Four rules of atonement, namely, *vidūṣaṇa-samudācāra*, *pratipakṣa-samudācāra*, *pratyāpattibala-samudācāra* and *āśraya-bala-samudācāra* are cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (160 ff.) along with details of their practices.

The bodhisattvas practise these rules to overcome sins committed by them in the past, and as such they fall within the code of disciplinary rules of the Mahāyānists.

He who practises *vidūṣaṇa-samudācāra* (self-denunciation of one's own past sins), repents over the sins committed, and entreats the numerous Buddhas to forgive him. In cultivating this rule he has to supplicate the Buddhas and confess in their presence (*buddhānāṃ purataḥ sthitaḥ*) the tenfold sins accumulated by deeds of body, speech and thought, due to ignorance (*ajñānatā*), pride of youth (*tāruṇyamada*), bad company, etc.

The confessor has to state that his heart is full of sorrow, that he is frightened and, therefore, he is to be pitied (*śokacitto'ham kṛpaṇīyo bhayārditaḥ*). He is also expected to request the Buddhas to behold him and free him from sin. Further, the Buddhas are entreated to wash the confessor clean with the water of their mercy (*snāpayantu ca māṃ buddhāḥ kāruṇyasaṃtodakaiḥ*). An undertaking, too, should be given to the effect that he will not commit evil deeds in the future.

Even the five acts that have immediate retribution (*pañcānantarya-karma*) could be confessed, and thereby one becomes free from them. In such instances those sins are to be confessed by day and night in the presence of the thirty-five Buddhas, proclaiming and praising their names, and also paying earnest attention to all the Tathāgatas. In the practice of denunciation by oneself of one's own past sin, this form of confession is regarded to be very effective in purging oneself of all past sins. When the confessor thus becomes purged of all sins, the Buddhas show their faces to him.

Pratipakṣa-samudācāra (the practice of the opposite or the practice of meritorious acts to outweigh the past sinful acts) too is resorted to, at times, to annul past sins (ibid. 171 ff.). Here, by the mere acquaintance with sacred books one is purged of sins.

An extract from the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* is cited to show that by faith in the void (*śūnyatādhimukti*) also, one could purge oneself of past sins. Further, it is stated that if one accepts the Tathāgata's teaching of causation (*hetupratyaya*) and also recognises that there is no such thing as self or being, life or person who acts, or enjoys the fruits of action, that everything is illusory, such a one, too, becomes free from sin. He, who sees sin and merit, discipline and indiscipline, purity and impurity, worldly existence and Nirvāṇa, too, obtains purification that stops the effect of action (*karmāvaraṇaviśuddhiṃ pratilabhati*).

In this rule of atonement various offerings, mystic dreams and meditations are mentioned as methods for the annulment of sin. It is said that a bodhisattva closing his eyes, reciting the 'Hundred Syllables' eight-hundred times, should meditate on the Buddhas and gain a mystic vision of them, whereby his sins would pass away immediately; or else he should walk round a shrine from left to right, reciting this eight hundred times, placing in front of the shrine-image one of the books of the sacred doctrine. Another method is mentioned in which a bodhisattva has to recite the *Cundādhāraṇī* until he dreams of uttering various cries, or partaking of milk and so forth, which are regarded as signs of destruction of sin. By presenting an image of the Tathāgata, waiting upon the Tathāgata and also by observing the precepts, one could annul the effects of evil deeds.

He, who follows *pratyāpattibala-samudācāra* (rule of expiation), succeeds in purging sin by abstaining from sin (ibid. 176 ff.). Regarding this rule, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* quotes the *Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* which says that by abstaining from taking life and stealing, one not only becomes free from all past sins but also becomes a bodhisattva. Abstinence from malice, too, brings about destruction of all sin.

The follower of *āśrayabala-samudācāra* (rule of taking refuge) has to take refuge in the Buddha, Dharma (Law) and Saṅgha (Order), without abandoning the thought of enlightenment. Sometimes, great compassion and thought of enlightenment alone are cited as means of being purged from sin. It is stated that the virtue of a bodhisattva, who, taking his stand in the Great Vehicle (*Mahāyāna*) falls into sin at midday but keeps firm in the thought of omniscience at eventide, would be infinite.

It is added that a bodhisattva should neither repent excessively nor be excessively regretful over sins, as the Mahāyāna Vinaya instructions are full of atonements.

S. K. N.

ĀTREYA (1), a distinguished physician of Takṣaśilā in the time of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, famous for his knowledge of treating ailments pertaining to the head (*kapālīmocanī-vidyā*). The famous physician Jīvaka studied this science under him and became his best pupil. Puṣkarasārin was probably the king of Takṣaśilā at the time (*GM.* III, ii, 26 ff.).

H. R. P.

ĀTREYA (2), one of the forty-nine brāhman gotras referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 635). This is a sub-division of the Vātsya gotra. This particular gotra is referred to in Vedic literature, also (see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, ii, 6. 3).

S. K. N.

ATRI, a prajāpati (deva), guarding the seat of enlightenment (*bodhimaṇḍa*). (*BHS.* s.v.).

ĀTSĀRYA DPAḤ-BO RNAM-PAR SNAṄ-MDSAD-KYI GLU, a translation in Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ĀCĀRYAVĪRA-VAIROCANA-GĪTIKĀ

ATSU-ZŌSHI 厚草子, a Japanese text of the Shingon sect, written by Genkai (1093—1156) based on the doctrine transmitted to him orally by Jōkai (1074—1149) of Sanbō-in. *Atsu-zōshi* deals with about eighty items which include the rituals of many venerable ones, offerings and instruments for those rituals, such as the seven gems, five medicines and a vajra-shaped ring.

At first, this text had no name. Therefore, it was called *Mumyō-shō* (無名抄 : a text without name). But later, as this text is bulky, it was titled *Atsu-zōshi* or 'bulky text', to distinguish it from the *Usu-zōshi*, or 'small text', by Seigen (1163—1232).

Atsu-zōshi records the orally transmitted secret doctrines which have never been recorded before, and is greatly valued, especially by the Daigo sub-school of the Shingon sect.

K. TMR.

ATTA, self or soul, understood as a permanent entity which supports the physical and mental phenomena as a substance, the spiritual and vital principle of all human action, abiding permanently after the dissolution of the body. Forming the basis of the doctrine of salvation in many religions, its existence is categorically denied in the Buddhist doctrine of *anattā* (q. v.).

H.G.A.v.Z.

ATTACHMENT, the state of being bound or fastened, emotionally, to a desired object or person. The very nature of attachment prevents freedom of thought and action and is, therefore, a hindrance to progress and deliverance. In the form of desire or craving (*taṇhā*) it leads to clinging (*upādāna*) and subsequent acts (*bhava*) of ignorance.

Its basis or origin, too, is ignorance (*avijjā*) and it cannot be overcome, therefore, by mere acts of renunciation. As long as attachment appears desirable, there is no possibility of liberation, but when the nature of attachment is fully comprehended, the feelings (*vedanā*) which brought about the state of desire earlier, will cease to have their emotional effect, and detachment (*virāga*) will become naturally.

H.G.A.v.Z.

ATTADAṆḌA SUTTA, the fifteenth sutta of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* of the *Suttanipāta* (182–5). It describes who a real sage (*muni*) is. "Whatever disputes there are in the world, the sage does not get involved in them ; having abandoned sensual pleasures of various sorts, he disciplines himself to realise the calm. He speaks nothing but the truth ; he is modest, not deceitful, free from slander, not given to anger and is free from the sin of greed. He never indulges in too much sleep ; he is not slothful, stupid or heedless. He never harbours conceit. Never does he utter falsehood or crave

for any form. He comprehends pride, and is away from rash actions. He does not take delight over what is no more and is not attached to the present; he does not bewail that which is waning and is not attached to anywhere."

Complete detachment from sensual pleasures as well as all sorts of speculative ideas and formulations are emphasised as the true way to attain release from saṃsāra. The sage gives up not only what is bad, he gives up the good, too. If attachment to extremes is bad, it holds the same for the middle, too. So he is not attached to anywhere or anything. He is freed of everything.

W.G.W.

ATTADATTHA, an arahant thera. When the Buddha revealed that he would pass away four months later, seven hundred bhikkhus were stricken with grief and, while visiting the Master, were unable to decide what they should do. But, unlike his colleagues, Attadattha was quite heedful, and he pondered thus : "The teacher is passing away in four months' time ; I am yet to conquer my passion ; hence it behoves me to strive and attain release while yet the Teacher is alive." So thinking he did not join the others. When they asked him about it, Attadattha remained silent and so he was taken to the Master. Attadattha explained to the Buddha his point of view. The Buddha applauded the words of Attadattha and said : "Monks, whosoever sincerely loves me should be like Attadattha. For truly they honour me not who honour me with perfumes and garlands. They only honour me who fulfill the higher and lower teaching ; therefore, others also should follow the example of Attadattha" (*DhpA.* III, 158–60 ; *HOS.* Vol. 29, p. 366).

W.G.W.

ATTADĪPA SUTTA, the first sutta of the chapter of the same name in the *Khandha Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (III, pp. 42–3). The word *dīpa* can mean either island or light. In this particular context both meanings are acceptable, as the term is explained in the commentary with the following synonyms: shelter (*tāṇa*), cave (*leṇa*), destiny (*gati*), goal (*parāyaṇa*) and refuge (*saraṇa*). Here, the Buddha instructs his monks not to take their refuge in anyone else (*anaññasaraṇa*), i.e., not to expect a solution of life's problems through some supernatural intervention, but to search for the source of all conflict and the cessation thereof in oneself. This is sometimes misunderstood as if the Buddha exhorted his monks to save their 'souls'. That the word *atta* here is not to be confused with an individual spiritual soul (*ātman*) is immediately clear, first of all, from its synonym which is used here *anañña,* not someone else. He who makes the problem, has also to solve it.

Then the Buddha explains how one makes the problem through misunderstanding, by regarding the body as a permanent entity (*rūpam attato samanupassati*), by belief in a soul with a body (*rūpavantaṃ vā attānaṃ*), by regarding the body as a part of a greater and permanent soul (*attani vā rūpaṃ*), or by considering such a soul to be immanent in the body (*rūpasmiṃ vā attānaṃ*). These four aspects of relationship between body and soul are also considered from the standpoint of sensations (*vedanā*), perceptions (*saññā*), mental formations (*saṅkhārā*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*), each in respect of the concept of a permanent entity, presumed to be the self or soul, behind, or within or enveloping and motivating all mental activity.

With one of these twenty misconceptions as basis, the natural transiency of physical and mental phenomena will be resisted by mental preoccupation and concern (*vipariṇāmānuparivatti viññāṇaṃ hoti : S.* III, 16–18) ; and from this attitude arise grasping and worrying (*upādā–paritassanā* : lsc. cit.) which completely overpower the mind (*cittaṃ pariyādāya tiṭṭhanti*), resulting in further trouble, vexation and clinging.

The present *Attadīpa Sutta* shows a light (*dīpa*) on this conflict, not by presenting a true self, over-self, soul, entity or anything of a permanent nature, but by throwing the troubled mind back on its own resources, making it its own island (*attadīpa*), its own refuge (*attasaraṇa*), without reliance on external sources (*anañña-saraṇa*). This is effected by considering the impermanence, the instability, the fading away and the cessation (*aniccataṃ viditvā vipariṇāmaṃ virāgaṃ nirodhaṃ*) of the physical and mental components, as their very nature (*dhamma*). With this insight the mind will not be troubled or vexed about the vanishing of the impermanent, will not attempt to retain what is passing, will not invoke or invent the supernatural to stem the course of nature, but free from worry one will live at ease (*aparitassaṃ sukhaṃ viharati*). And such a one is said to be free from all that (*tadaṅganibbutoti vuccati*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATTADIṬṬHI, belief in the existence of a soul This involves the speculation as to the eternity or otherwise of one's own individuality, always presupposing the existence, permanent or impermanent,

of an individual entity, apart from the physical and mental processes which constitute the individual, a substance, material or immaterial, underlying the phenomena of body and mind. As *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, it forms the first and perhaps most formidable fetter (*saṃyojana*) which has to be broken before entering the path of holiness (*sotāpatti-magga*). This belief has been formulated and organised in many religious doctrines, ancient and modern, but is in direct opposition to the chief characteristic tenet of Buddhism which is based on the ' no-self ' doctrine (*anattavāda*).

For the existence, development and contents of the belief in a soul as a doctrine, see ATTAVĀDA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATTAHITA SUTTA. Three suttas by this name are found in the *Asura Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 96 ff.), preached by the Buddha while staying at Kosambi in Ghosita Park. They deal with four types of people, namely, those bent on the profit of others, those bent on their own profit, those bent on the profit of both, and those bent neither on their own profit nor on the profit of others. *Attahita* means profit of self. Though the table of contents (*uddāna*) includes only these three suttas under the title *Attahita*, the two suttas immediately preceding and following them also deal with four similar types of people.

H. R. P.

ATTAINMENT (*samāpatti*), technical term for a stage of meditation usually given in a group of eight, comprising the four states of mental absorption in the spheres of form (*rūpa-jhāna*) and the four formless mental states (*arūpāvacara*).

Occasionally a ninth attainment is added, the attainment of cessation of sensation and perception (*saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti* : *S.* IV, 293). See SAMĀPATTI.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATTAINMENT-CONCENTRATION, a samādhi. See APPANĀ.

ATTAKĀRA SUTTA, as it occurs in the *Devatā Vagga* of the *Chakka-nipāta* (Book of Sixes) of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 337-8) is admittedly a difficult sutta, exegetically.

In a discussion with the Buddha a brāhman upholds the view that there is no ' self-agency ' (*attakāra*) and no 'other-agency' (*parakāra*). This, taken out of all contexts, would appear to be the very essence of the Buddha's teaching of *anatta*, of action without a doer, without a self, as expressed later by Buddhaghosa (*Vism.* xvi, 513 ; xix, 602) : No doer (*kāraka*) is discoverable ; no experiencer (*upabhuñjaka*). It is, therefore, all the more surprising to hear the Buddha's retort to the brāhman : 'Never have I seen or heard of such a view.' But the same terms *attakāra* and *parakāra* are also used by Makkhali Gosāla (*D.* I, 53) where, in the context of his heretical views, they assume the following meaning : 'The attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend, either on one's own acts, or on the acts of another, or on human efforts (*n'atthi attakāre n'atthi parakāre, n'atthi purisa-kāre*), which statement follows immediately his basic heresy : 'There is no causation' (*n'atthi hetu, n'atthi paccayo*).

And so, the brāhman's avowal in the *Attakāra Sutta* that it is his view that there is no self-agency and no other-agency, is but the view of *ahetu-vāda* (q.v.), a denial of the doctrine of causality.

Mrs. Rhys Davids, in her introduction to *The Book of the Gradual Sayings* III (pp. xii-xiii), has tried to make much of the term 'self-agency' to establish *her* concept of ' the very man ', and of the Buddha's refusal to deny such agency, which would be a wiping out of the doctrine of *anattā*, the bedrock of his teaching. But the Buddha's denial is directed against the view of no-agency, i.e., non-causality.

And to further clarify his position, the Buddha introduces a new term, *ārabbha-dhātu*, the condition of making an attempt. The condition for initiating an action is sufficient cause without having to resort either to a 'self' or 'other-than-self' as agent.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATTAKILAMATHĀNUYOGA, self-mortification. Generally known in Indian religious literature as *tapas* (Pali, *tapo* from *tap* to burn or heat), it was widely accepted as a highly effective method of emancipating the 'soul' from the bonds of the flesh. The believer in the dualistic concept, which separates the soul and the body, the spiritual and the material, into sharply contrasted realities, sought refuge in austerities to burn away, as it were, the lower and enable the release of the higher spirit. The word *tapas* and the concept underlying it appear for the first time in the later Tenth Book of the *Ṛg-veda*.

The idea gained acceptance gradually and later could even supersede the older conception of the efficacy of the sacrifice and the incantation. "Let him who knows this," says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, "by all means practise austerities, for indeed, when he who knows this practises austerities, every part of him will share in the heavenly worlds" (*ERE.* II, 88). All the great saints and heroes of old, even gods, practised austerities to enhance their supernatural powers. The supreme being himself endured age-long austerities in order to create. Śiva, in the guise of a naked *sanyāsin* practising austerities of untold severity for thousands of years, is the type and patron of the ascetics who by his grace and the power of their *tapas* hope to gain their ends. There is no limit to the powers of austerities. Viśvāmitra, a kṣatriya, compelled the gods to grant him rebirth as a brāhman by the most severe and protracted austerities. Says Manu "Whatever is hard to be traversed, whatever is hard to be attained, whatever is hard to be reached, whatever is hard to be performed, all may be accomplished by austerities : for austerity (possesses a power) which it is difficult to surpass." Not only this, the very effect of mortal sins may be made null and void by *tapas* (ibid. 91). Such are the powers of self-mortification.

The Jains had a similar belief. For them, one of the chief ways of reducing the sum of accumulated karma is to burn them away with the glow of austerities. By taking the vow of starvation and dying on a bed of *kuśa* grass (i.e., by committing suicide by starvation) one could reach *mokṣa* (release). But this was only in the past ages. In this Dusama age it can lead only to rebirth in a heaven (S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 163 f.). The Buddha's refutation of this view of the Jains can be found in the *Devadaha Sutta* (*M.* II, 214 ff).

At the time of the appearance of the Buddha, self- mortification was considered a well-tried path to deliverance. Thus, when prince Siddhattha gave up self-indulgence as useless and low, he at once went to the other extreme of self-mortification. He considered that happiness could never be gained through happiness but through suffering (*M.* II, 93). He subjected his body to untold miseries, until his body, through lack of food, was reduced to a mere skeleton. Describing his own austerities he says :

> Now scorched, now cold, alone in terrifying forest,
>
> Naked and sitting fireless, the sage is intent on his quest (*M.* I, 79 ; trsl. I. B. Horner).

There were recluses and brāhmans who experienced feelings acute, painful, sharp and severe. So are there now and so will there be in the future. But his experience of such feelings was paramount. Yet all that was of no avail. He did not gain any superhuman states (*uttari-manussa-dhammā*) or wisdom and insight befitting a recluse. As he had already done with self-indulgence (*kāma-sukhallikānuyoga*) he abandoned self-mortification as not conducive to the realisation of Nibbāna. He discovered a new path, the middle way (*majjhimā paṭipadā*) which he knew was difficult to tread with his body weakened by severe austerities. "It is not easy to reach that happiness with this greatly emaciated body. Suppose I were to take some solid food?" (ibid. 247). He took some boiled rice and sour milk. His followers, who waited in great expectation to see him gain deliverance by self-mortification, left him in disappointment. Such great hopes they had in the efficacy of austerities. But the bodhisatta regained his physical strength and could at length realise his desired goal.

The lessons of this bitter experience are seen in the Buddha's first sermon itself. Here he describes self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*) as an extreme that should be given up by a monk. It is painful (*dukkha*), mean (*anariya*) and not conducive to good (*anattha-saṃhita* ; *S.* V, 421). In another place, self-mortification is said to consist of annoyance (*saupaghāta*), fret (*saupāyāsa*) and trouble (*sapariḷāha*). It is the wrong path (*micchāpaṭipadā*), and to avoid it is the right path (*M.* III, 231).

A number of other instances may further illustrate the Buddha's attitude towards self-mortification. Pessa, the son of an elephant trainer says that he does not like either self-tormentors, or tormentors of others, or those who do both. On the other hand, he is pleased with those who are neither self-tormentors nor tormentors of others. The Buddha calls him a wise man (*paṇḍita*), a man of great wisdom (*mahā-paññā*). He would have realised the Dhamma had he waited till the Buddha explained these terms in detail. His disciple is neither a self-tormentor (*attantapa*) nor a tormentor of others (*parantapa*). By following the Dhamma, he reaches Nibbāna, becomes cool (*sītibhūta*), and lives experiencing happiness here and now (*M.* I, 341 ff.).

Another instance was when Puṇṇa, the ascetic who behaved like a bull (*govatika*), and Seniya, the naked dog-like ascetic (*kukkura-vatika*), met the Buddha. Both of them expected to be reborn in heaven through their austere practices. The Buddha's reply which disillusioned them is not without

humour for the layman. He said that by the nature of the habits and the mental attitude they had cultivated, the former should be reborn among cattle and the latter among dogs (ibid. I, 387).

In the *Devadaha Sutta* (*M*. II, 214 ff.) the Buddha states that some recluses and brāhmans, e. g., Jains, believe that all painful feelings they experience are due to their past actions. Putting an end to past action (*kamma*) by burning up (*tapasā*) and not accumulating any new actions, one can finally put an end to all suffering. This was the view of the Jains. But the Buddha refutes their views. Jains do not know, says the Buddha, whether they existed in the past or not, whether they had acted wrongly in the past or not. Nor do they know what their past wrong actions are. They do not know how much suffering has ended, how much has yet to be put an end to and whether by putting an end to so much, all suffering would cease. Therefore, it is not correct to hold such a view. If everything is due to past actions, then the Jains must have been evil doers in the past, for they experience such acute pains in subjecting themselves to austerities. In the same manner, if what they experience is due to effort here and now, then the efforts of the Jains must be evil, for they experience such painful and acute feeling.

When Devadatta requested the Buddha to enforce five ascetic practices on the monks he did not agree. But he gave the monks freedom to practise them if they so wished. For this he was blamed by some as living in luxury and abundance (*Vin*. III, 171 f.).

On the other hand, the wandering ascetic Sakuludāyi thought that the Buddha was respected and revered by his disciples on account of his strict practices. Denying this the Buddha showed that his life could not be described as ascetic at all and the cause for the respect shown by his disciples was his great spiritual qualities (*M*. II, 5 ff.).

The rejection of self-mortification was not an excuse for slackness in self-discipline. Discipline was considered the foundation of the spiritual life of a monk. But here too, as elsewhere, the Buddha strikes the *via media*. A healthy body is necessary for success in mental culture. But over-indulgence is harmful in every manner. Hence, the necessity of a strict code of discipline like the Vinaya. But these rules are not meant to torture the body. Two of the ten reasons for the framing of rules of discipline often given in the Vinaya are, for the well-being of the Order of monks (*saṅgha-suṭṭhutāya*) and for the comfort of the Order of monks (*saṅgha-phāsutāya* : *Vin*. III, 21; *A*. I, 98 f.). Unbroken, noble (*ariya*) virtues, untarnished and without blemish, are described as a comfortable abode (*phāsuvihāra*) of the monks (*A*. III, 132). A monk should be satisfied with whatever food, clothing, dwelling and medicines are available. But, they are also allowed to receive better food, etc., if such were offered.

The Buddha, after describing the austerities practised by various recluses and brāhmans, has shown in many a place the utter uselessness of mortifying the flesh in order to find release from suffering. How ever much one mortifies one's flesh, still the mind is a dwelling for evil thoughts, and if it clings to sensuality, it is far removed from noble insight and recluseship (*D*. I, 167; *M*. I, 240 f.). It is not the externals that matter, but the purity of mind.

" Not nakedness, not matted hair, not mud, not fasting, not lying on the ground, not (rubbing the body with) dust, nor sitting motionless, purify a person who is not free from doubt " (*Dhp*. *v*. 141).

" Though adorned (dressed in fineries), if one has a serene mind, calm and controlled, leading the higher life, has ceased to injure all beings, he is the brāhman, the recluse and the monk " (ibid. *v*. 142).

The Buddha rejected self-torture as a wrong path to deliverance. But he did not condemn all ascetic practices indiscriminately. He denied the statement made by some that he censured all ascetic ways, that he invariably chided and abused any ascetic who lived a hard life (*S*. IV, 330). There may be an ascetic who has won superhuman states or ariyan insight by ascetic practices. He should be praised in two respects for his realisation, and condemned in one respect for the wrong path of self-mortification he has taken (ibid. 339). Thus, while rejecting the charge that he is against all ascetic practices, the Buddha reiterates his position that self-torture is blameworthy. Later, probably as a concession to the conservative ideas of his time, the Buddha allowed his disciples the practice of some austere habits such as the thirteen *dhutaṅgas* (q. v.). Mahā-Kassapa, one of the most eminent of his disciples, was considered the foremost among the dhutaṅga-practisers (*A*. I, 23). However, in comparison with the methods of self-torture adopted by Jains and Hindu ascetics, these can only be described as mild forms of self-control.

C. W.

ATTĀḶHIDHĀTUSENA-VIHĀRA, a monastery in Ceylon built by king Dhātusena, 455—73 A. C. (*Mhv*. xxxviii, 49).

ATTANAGALLA, known in Pali as Hatthavanagalla, is a vihāra of well-known pilgrimage in the modern village of Huṇupola in the Western Province some twenty to thirty miles north-east of Colombo, Ceylon. It came into repute on account of an incident in the story of king Sirisaṅgabo (*Sirisaṅghabodhi*, 247—9 A.C.) who is traditionally regarded as the local example of bodhisattva virtues. Aware of troubles brewing from an aspirant to the throne and determined to prevent the spilling of blood, he abdicated and, removing himself from Anurādhapura, the capital city, retired into solitude at Attanagalla. His successor was determined to secure himself in his position and therefore proclaimed a price on his predecessor's head. A villager in quest of the fortune alighted on Sirisaṅgabo who was now leading the life of a hermit. The conversation between the two at mealtime disclosed to the recluse the objective of the other, whereupon he revealed himself and, so the story goes, detached his head which he offered to the man. The head was duly taken to the new king but the tragic end of an erstwhile beloved king moved all hearts. Sirisaṅgabo's wife was struck by unutterable grief. She left Anurādhapura, betook herself to the place of the unparalleled self-immolation and gave up her own life at the same spot. Now Goṭhābhaya, the king, was himself struck with remorse. In order to make some sort of recompense, he ordered an impressive cremation to honour the dead couple, after which a thūpa was raised to commemorate them.

The thūpa which was raised on the command of the king was not one of the ordinary kind. It was associated with a *vaṭṭulavimāna*, that is, a structure which both enclosed and covered it. In effect it was of the class known as *cetiya-ghara* or *thūpa-ghara* that is, a thūpa within a house. This is its major archaeological significance.

Further, Goṭhābhaya is reputed to have had relics of the Buddha enshrined in the thūpa and also constructed a two-storeyed building accessory to the thūpa-house. The vihāra had probably begun to flourish from this time onward, for a five-storeyed residence for monks is recorded as having been erected by king Upatissa II (*Hatthv.* 28). But it was pillaged by seekers after treasure and a king by the name of Moggallāna had one built of three storeys.

Much later, in the 13th cent., other notices appear of work done for the establishment: an octagonal image-house, constructed by Pārākramabāhu II, where was placed a stone Buddha image, the construction of a three-storeyed house for a renowned thera named Anomadassī, a funerary cetiya for king Vijāyabāhu III, repairs in general, mention of a large community of resident monks, and so forth.

The resident monks acquired a reputation for inspiring classical works, (one, a history of the establishment, and another on astrology) and continued to flourish until the 16th cent. Then the turbulent Rājasiṃha, king of Sītāvaka, who adoped the Hindu (Śaivite) faith, and the Portuguese, who were at war in the country, almost completely destroyed it. But it was restored in the 18th cent. through the exertions of the last Saṅgharāja of Ceylon, Välivita Saraṇaṅkara.

Some of the remains of these old time structures survived until recently. A few stone pillars of one of them are still in position on the lower terrace where, too, there are stray architectural fragments left over from the several structures of bygone times. But as for the thūpa and its house, which were the most important of all the features at Attanagalla, nothing now remains to show what they had been like. They have been completely displaced by recent work.

See *Mhv.* lxxxv & lxxxvi; *Hatthavanagalla-vihāravaṃsa, Eḷu-Attanagaluvaṃśaya.*

D. T. D.

ATTANTĀPA SUTTA occurs in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 205). The sutta speaks of four types of people living in this world, viz., one who torments himself, one who torments others, one who torments himself as well as others, and one who torments neither himself, nor others. A man who practises rigorous ascetic practices falls under the first category; a man who resorts to all sorts of wicked activities, such as killing, stealing, plundering and way-laying, comes under the second category, a man who practises rigorous ascetic practices, causes the destruction of innocent creatures for sacrificial purposes and inflicts forced labour on servants for the preparations of the sacrifices, falls under the third category; while one who listens to the noble doctrines of the Buddha and follows the path laid down by him to attain the goal of the spiritual life, falls under the fourth and the last category.

W. G. W.

ATTĀNUVĀDA SUTTA occurs in the *Bhaya Vagga* of the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 121-3). The sutta speaks of four kinds of fear, namely, fear of self-reproach, fear of others, reproach, fear of punishment and fear of

woeful states. The sutta explains how people restrain themselves from doing sinful things through fear of one or more of these things.

W. G. W.

ATTAPIYA SUTTA, name given in the *Suttasaṅgaha* (pp. 195 f.), to the *Piya Sutta* (q. v.) of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 71 f.). *Attapiya* means friendliness towards self.

ATTARAGAMA BAṆḌĀRA, an eminent Sinhalese scholar and one of the foremost pupils of Väliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara, the last Saṅgharāja of Ceylon. He was primarily a Pali grammarian, in which field of learning he compiled three works: *Sudhīra-mukha-maṇḍana* (a short treatise on compounds), *Kāraka-pupphamañjarī* (on case relations, with a Sinhala translation) and *Saddamālā* (a comprehensive grammar). The last named work is based on the well known Pali grammar, the *Kaccāyana*, the principal aphorisms of which the author incorporated in his work. It contains 725 rules each of wnich is interpreted into Sinhala, most probably by Attaragama himself. The work was completed in 1780 (in the month of Āśleṣa, Śaka year 1701, according to the Sinhala colophon).

He wrote the Sinhala *Vadankavipota*, a very popular text in the traditional system of education. A medical treatise, entitled *Sārasaṅkṣepa*, in Sanskrit stanzas, is also attributed to him by some scholars.

As the distinguished pupil of one of the greatest literary figures in his world, he himself inspired worthy pupils. He was honoured with the title of Rājaguru, which means royal preceptor.

D.T.D.

ATTA-SAÑÑĀ, one of the four perversities. See VIPALLĀSA.

ATTA SUTTA, six suttas (by the same name) found in the *Magga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 30–37). Self-possession (*atta-sampadā*) is the forerunner of the Eightfold Path. It is the one single condition most useful for the arising of the Eightfold Path. There is no other condition by which the Eightfold Path, if not arisen, can arise or, if arisen, can reach perfection.

The Eightfold Path is based on seclusion (*viveka*), detachment (*virāga*), cessation (*nirodha*) and ends in self-surrender (*vossagga*). The cultivation of it ends in the restraint of passion, in the restraint of hatred and in the restraint of delusion.

C.W.

ATTAVĀDA, the doctrine of a self or soul, as an entity or vital principle, separate from the material and mental phenomena of body and mind.

One of the basic and most characteristic principles of the teaching of the Buddha is his doctrine of 'no-self' (*anattā*, q.v.). As this doctrine is a denial of commonly accepted speculations on individuality (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), a correct understanding of such views is necessary for the comprehensive understanding of this most essential characteristic (*lakkhaṇa*) of the Buddha's doctrine.

There are two kinds of personality belief. First there is the belief in personality as in the existence of an abiding ego-entity or soul, independent of those physical and mental processes which constitute an individual life, and which entity persists even after death. Such a view is called the speculation of eternalism (*sassata-diṭṭhi*) and is the common view of all religions and philosophies which believe in life after death as the continuation of individual existence on spiritual planes, to which this worldy life is only a preparation. The other belief in personality accepts a separate entity or soul as the principle of all physical and mental activity, but such principle does not survive after death, and therefore ceases to exist on the dissolution of life. It is known as the doctrine of annihilation (*uccheda-diṭṭhi*). This latter view has much in common with the philosophical doctrine of noumena and phenomena of the early Greek thinkers, which is accepted by some schools of thought to this very day. The difference between these two views is that between idealism and materialism, or between spiritualism and rationalism, although it must be pointed out at once that not all materialists reject the substance-phenomenon doctrine, neither can the acceptance of annihilation be called rationalistic.

Now, irrespective of this individuality continuing to exist after death or not, the belief in an entity separate from the physical and mental processes is based on various presumptions, classified in four groups of five types each. They were explained by the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā to the layman Visākha in the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, 300) and by the arahant Sāriputta to the householder Nakulapitā in the first sutta of the *Khandha Saṃyutta* (*S.* III, 3 f.). There are, first of all, people who regard the body as being the vital principle or soul of all action (*rūpam attato*); they consider material shape and the self as identical, like the flame and the brightness of a lighted lamp. There are others who believe that the self has a material shape or body (*rūpavantaṃ vā attānaṃ*), just as a tree has a shadow. Again there are others who believe that matter is an inherent

quality of the self (*attani vā rūpaṃ*), as fragrance belongs to a flower. And finally there are some who regard the self as residing in the body (*rūpasmiṃ vā attānaṃ*), as a jewel in a casket.

Within these four groups of views on the position of the self the types vary, when the material body is substituted by the mental impressions called sensations (*vedanā*), or by mental reactions called perceptions (*saññā*), or by mental formations called concepts (*saṅkhārā*), or by the full-grown thought-process called consciousness (*viññāṇa*). When any of these twenty views on self (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*) is adhered to, it is a sign of a diseased mind (*āturacitta*: *S*. III, 4). This censure, of course, is not accepted by the followers of *attavāda* and it will be advantageous to analyse the grounds on which they base their opinions.

But an *a priori* argument, as offered by Ānanda to Channa, as he himself had heard it said by the Buddha to Kaccāyana, will serve an even better purpose: this world generally bases its views on either existence or non-existence. Yet, he who rightly sees the arising of events cannot believe in the non-existence of the world, while he who rightly sees the ceasing of events cannot believe in the existence of the world. Everything exists, that is one extreme view. Nothing exists, that is the other extreme. But, without approaching either extreme, the Tathāgata teaches the middle doctrine that events neither exist as entities, nor non-exist as hallucinations: they arise and cease as processes in dependence on changing conditions (*S*. III, 133–5).

With this in mind, we may now approach some of the grounds on which is based the belief in an eternal spiritual entity, independent of matter, not subject to material changes, referred to as a human ' soul '.

An independent spiritual entity which is not subject to change and which, therefore, survives bodily death in a perpetually continued personality is obviously indestructible and unconditioned. As such, it is a logical absurdity, as it would constitute an individual absolute. But, individuality is essentially relative, i.e., related to other individuals and conditioned by such relationship. Yet, belief in individual indestructibility has always been so strong that throughout the ages, from Vedic times to modern philosophy, the problem has been approached in many ways.

The central idea of the soul-doctrine is that of moral requital which is not always possible in one single life-time. The theory of re-incarnation, according to which the soul passes from life to life to reap the fruits of its deeds, was known perhaps in the 7th or 8th century B. C. Both happiness and misery in each existence are the fruits of good and evil deeds, respectively, performed in earlier lives. Such a theory inevitably leads to the further belief that this succession of life and death cannot have had a beginning; and as the actions of every new life demand another life for their requital, an escape from this process is not possible either. This law of retribution is not controlled by a supreme law-giver and thus the eternal soul theory is not essentially linked with the concept of a God-creator. In fact, Sāṅkhya philosophy, with its realistic view of an infinite number of individual spirits (*puruṣa*), did not find a place for a supreme God-creator.

During the time of the Buddha, too, the eternalist view (*sassata-diṭṭhi*) was beaten out by argumentation (*takkapariyāhata* : *D*. I, 16) and explored in sophistry (*vīmaṃsānucarita*) without the need being felt for introducing a first cause.

From various suttas (e. g., *S*. IV, 25,54) it is clear that the 'mine', the 'I', the 'self' (*etam mama, eso'ham asmi, eso me attā*) was considered as something permanent (*nicca*), blissful (*sukha*) and not subject to change (*aviparināma*). It was also thought that this 'self' was connected with the organs of the senses and with the mind, for the Buddha's argument is based on the analysis of the individual body and mind, and he finds only impermanence, conflict and change, both in body and in mind, which surely (*no h'etam*) is not of the nature of a 'soul'.

The self (*attā*) and what belongs to the self (*attaniya*) were considered incomprehensible (*anupalabbhamāna*), i. e., not to be known or not to be found. And, for this very reason, the Buddha censured the belief in a permanent, lasting, eternal, unchangeable self as total and complete folly (*kevalaparipūra bāladhamma* : *M*. I, 138). The tranquil saint (*santa*) has no views on the existence or the cessation of a soul (*attaṃ vā pi nirattaṃ vā na tasmiṃ upalabbhati* : *Sn*. *v*. 858).

We meet, however, in various texts several terms which might be mistaken for the concept under review, owing to similarity in terminology especially in different translations. There is the vital principle (*jīvitindriya*) which is a physical (*rūpa-jīvita*) phenomenon, the material quality of life, found in the simplest form of living matter, the so-called nine-fold vitality unit (*jīvita-navaka-kalāpa*), comprising the four chief elements of extension (*pathavī*), cohesion (*āpo*), caloricity (*tejo*) and vibration (*vāyo*) the four derived material phenomena of colour (*vaṇṇa*), smell (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*) and nutritiv essence (*ojā*), and finally vitality (*jīvitindriya*). As this principle of vitality is the vital force found even in plant-formation, it is never mistaken for the

vital force of a permanent, intellectual soul. Material food is said to be taken for the purpose of maintaining this life-faculty in the body (*kāyassa jīvitindriyapavattāpanatthaṃ : Vism.* i, § 91, p. 26), thereby showing its dependence on matter. But, there is also its psychic counterpart as one of the seven universal mental concomitants (*sabbacitta-sādhāraṇa cetasika*). Vitality (*jīvitindriya*) infuses mental life in the mental properties which constitute an act of consciousness and binds those properties together in a unit. The breaking up of the body is said to be the interruption of the life-faculty (*kāyassa bhedā' ti jīvitindriyassa upacchedā*; ibid. xiii, § 91, p. 360), proving thereby that there was no confusion in the commentator's mind between a perishable life-faculty and a permanent soul. Although the vital principle has the capacity of maintaining, as water maintains lotuses, it does not cause the occurrence of other phenomena. It does not prolong the presence of other phenomena at the moment of dissolution, because of its own dissolution (ibid. xiv, § 59, p. 378).

Closely connected with the vital principle or the life-faculty (*jīvitindriya*) is, of course, life itself (*jīva*). Makkhali Gosāla, one of the six teachers of heresy, made use of this term as practically synonymous with *satta, pāṇa* and *bhūta* (*D.* I, 53), although elsewhere (*DA.* I, 161; *Jaina Sūtras*, II, xxv) they are differentiated as sentient, insectile, animal and vegetable. But even so, life is not thought of as separate from living, in the same way as the mind (*citta*) is not something separate from the thought-process. The view of life as a separate soul, distinct from the body (*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ : D.* I, 157), as proposed by Maṇḍissa, a *paribbājaka*, and Jāliya, whose teacher always used a wooden bowl, was not accepted by the Buddha, who equally rejected the opposite thesis (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*), as life is neither to be distinguished from, nor to be identified with the body.

This position was not altered in later times ; for when Nāgasena was questioned about consciousness, insight and soul, whether they are different both in letter and in essence, or differ only in the letter, he replied that recognition is the mark of perception (*vijānana-lakkhaṇaṃ viññāṇaṃ*) and discrimination the mark of reason (*pajānanā-lakkhaṇa paññā*), but there is no such thing as a soul (*jīva*) in beings (*Miln.* 86).

That which forms a unit in itself, whereby it is distinct from others, is considered an individual ; and it is this endurance in isolation which gives the individual the status of personality as opposed to a group as an army, or society. In early Buddhist literature the term individual (*puggala*), however, is just an aggregate of thirty-two parts of the body (*D.* III, 105), and may be qualified in various ways such as a human individual (*purisa-puggala*) or a person with a foul mouth, a flower mouth or a honey mouth (*gūtha-bhāṇī°, puppha-bhāṇī°, madhu-bhāṇī-puggala ; A.* I, 128), or a character with one of the six predominant features (*Vism,* iii, § 74, p. 82). But there is no indication that these characteristic features belong to an individual soul.

The vital breath (*pāṇa*) is sometimes taken as symbolising life itself, as when Sakka fleeing from the pursuing asuras told his charioteer Mātali to avoid the birds' nests: let us choose rather to give up our lives to the asuras (*kāmaṃ cajāma asuresu pāṇaṃ : S.* I, 224); but it is never shown as the spirit of man, as in Sāṅkhya and Vedānta literature (*puruṣa, prāṇātman*), the spirit which connects the totality of subtle bodies like a thread (*tarkasaṅgraha :* cp. *Indian Wisdom*, p. 114 by Monier Williams).

It is thus the teaching of a separate and abiding ego-entity (*atta-vāda*) which is consistently avoided and repudiated in Buddhism.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATTAVĀDŪPĀDĀNA, attachment to the belief in an ego, one of the four kinds of clinging. See UPĀDĀNA.

ATTENDANT, literally means one who accompanies, waits or attends upon another. In Pali literature he is often called *upaṭṭhāka*, but occasionally the terms *pacchā-samaṇa* (especially in reference to monks), *anucara, paricāraka* and *sevaka* are also used.

The most famous attendant in Buddhist literature was Ānanda, who was the Buddha's personal attendant for a period of twenty-five years. During the first twenty years after enlightenment the Buddha did not have a permanent attendant, but from time to time various monks looked after him, among them being Nāgasamāla, Nāgita, Upavāna, Sunakkhatta, Cunda, Sāgata, Rādha and Meghiya. Buddhaghosa comments that at times they even disobeyed the Buddha and hence he was not quite satisfied with them. As he grew old the Buddha desired to have somebody as his permanent personal attendant and Ānanda was selected. From that day untill the Buddha passed away Ānanda fulfilled all his duties to the utmost satisfaction of his master (*AA.*I, 286 ff.).

As it has been mentioned in several places in the Pali canon (e.g., *A.* I, 126; III, 189; *Vin.* I, 301–2; *Pug.* 28) a sick monk should generally have an attendant (*upaṭṭhāka*) and the tending of the sick is a praiseworthy act (*Vin.* I, 303). On one occasion, when a sick monk who was suffering from dysentery had nobody to attend upon him, the Buddha himself bathed him with the help of Ānanda and put him on a couch and subsequently admonished the monks, saying that since they had no father or mother who would tend them, they should tend one another, whether it be teacher or fellow-dweller or pupil or fellow-preceptor or fellow-teacher. Not to do this would be an offence of wrong-doing (*Vin.* I, 301–2).

In the *Vinaya Piṭaka* it is said that a preceptor should be attended by one who shares his cell (*Vin.* I, 50), one who shares the cell by his preceptor (*Vin.* I, 53), a teacher by his pupil and a pupil by his teacher (*Vin.* I, 61).

There were also some families that were devoted to the service of monks and ministered to their needs and these were known by the term *upaṭṭhāka-kula*. Thus, for instance, Sāriputta (*Vin.* I, 83), Moggallāna (*Vvu.* 120), Upananda (*Vin.* I, 213), Ajjuka (*Vin.* III, 66), Pilindavacca (*Vin.* III, 67) and Revata (*Vvu.* 149) are said to have had such families. See also UPAṬṬHĀKA.

H. R. P.

ATTENTION, synonymously used with awareness, mental alertness, mindfulness (*sati*), although less appropriate. Attentive awareness is usually concerned with things happening; and unless one's attitude is kept very strictly neutral, one's attention is frequently prejudiced by a certain preparedness and expectation. But *sati* is mindfulness of reaction as a new event. Thus, alertness will be aware of an angry state of mind arising, and that is mindfulness (*sati*), watchfulness. Attention will also be aware of this state of mind, but will rather investigate the source and cause thereof. Thus, 'attention' is to be reserved rather for *sampajañña* which is very frequently linked with *sati* (*D.* I, 63) *Sampajañña* is a kind of deliberate, discriminative knowledge (*pajānāti* : to understand), which makes the mind attentive. In combination, *sati-sampajañña* represent a complementary bracket, alertness and attentive awareness. See SAMPAJAÑÑA, SATI.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬEŚVARA, name of a *suparṇin* (a mythical bird; same as the king of birds, *garuḍa*) in a previous birth of Virūpākṣa, one of the four guardian deities of the world (*lokapāla*). During the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, two suparṇins, called Aṭṭeśvara and Cūḍeśvara, lived in a *kūṭaśālmalī* tree (a fabulous cotton tree with sharp thorns). They were in the habit of chasing after their natural enemies, two nāgas, called Śvāsa and Mahāśvāsa, who lived in the ocean. Often, the two nāgas had to flee to the nether regions to escape from the suparṇins.

One day it happened that these two suparṇins, when chasing after the nāgas, were suddenly forced to retreat by some unknown power. Surprised by this unusual happening, they asked the nāgas about it. The nāgas told them that it was because they had accepted the teachings of Buddha Kāśyapa and had taken refuge in him. At once, the two suparṇins decided to do likewise. Led by the nāgas they went to where the Buddha was, to pay homage to him and to take refuge in him.

On their way they saw the four lokapālas of the time, returning after paying homage to the Buddha, and learned from the nāgas details of their life and office. Thereupon, Aṭṭeśvara and Cūḍeśvara, after paying homage to the Buddha and taking refuge in him, aspired to be born as lokapālas and to be able to realise the truth by hearing the doctrine of the Buddha Śākyamuni. The two nāgas also made the same resolve. Later, Aṭṭeśvara was born as Virūpākṣa and was able to realise the truth by listening to the doctrine preached by Buddha Śākyamuni.

The Buddha related this past story on the occasion of preaching the doctrine to the four guardian deities of the world at the request of the monks, who wished to know what previous good acts had enabled them to be born as the guardian deities of the world and to realise the truth under the guidance of the Buddha (*VinMS.* See *GM.* III, pt. 1, pp. 260 ff.).

S. K. N.

ATTHA, with a Vedic connection *artha*, meaning *reach*, the word has come to mean in Pali the good to be gained; hence, welfare, both in the physical sense of wealth, and in the spiritual sense of the supreme good of arahantship. In its various connections it is not always easy to translate the term uniformly without the use of synonyms. And this has resulted in an abundance of terms, some of which are definitely alien to the 'spirit' (***attha***) of Buddhism.

Fortune and loss (*attha-anattha*) are described in the *Kodhana Sutta* (*A.* IV, pp. 94–8), where an ill-disposed man bemoans the gain of another as loss to himself.

Frequently the meaning is 'the correct sense' as in the *Suvaca* (*sovacassa*) *Sutta* (ibid. pp. 30–1) where Sāriputta gives an explanation of a saying communicated by a deva: "Of this speech so tersely put, the sense in full I understand" (*saṅkhittena bhāsitassa evaṃ vitthārena atthaṃ ājānāmi*). It is this correct sense or truth which is referred to in many places: "I shall learn the truth or correctness of this talk from the Exalted One" (*Bhagavato santike etassa bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānissāmi : D.* I, 178; *M.* I, 84; *A.* IV, 35; *S.* V, 108). But, the idea of purpose is not evident as an ultimate goal. *Paññāyattha* (*A.* IV, p. 3) is not the *goal* of wisdom, which is perceived by one possessed of the seven powers, but real, true wisdom, discerning the real and true nature of things. Neither was the Buddha asked to teach his Dhamma briefly in order that the enquirer might understand the *purpose* of his words, but the *essence* of his teaching (*Bhagavato bhāsitassa attha : A.* IV, 299). The idea of purpose conceived as a goal of striving is foreign to Buddhist teachings, where attainment itself is a negation of all that pertains to the 'I', and where the spirit of striving lies in renunciation, in the removal of hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) and fetters (*saṃyojana*). It is in this realisation that lies the supreme good (*uttamattha : Sn.*324) which is arahantship, and for the sake of which the disciples of the Buddha have left home and gone forth into the homeless state (*yassa c' amhi atthāya agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito : A.* IV, 366). It is this realisation which gives meaning (*attha*) to the life of a recluse; for, understanding the real meaning of life, it becomes senseless to follow the pleasures of the senses; and it is that understanding which puts sense (*attha*) into renunciation.

It is not a hope of attainment, held out as a bait, which motivates the living of a holy life. "The hope of attainment, in this or in a future life, of various experiences is not the reason for which a holy life is lived under the Exalted One, but for the realisation of conflict, its cause, cessation and the method of ceasing" (*A.* IV, 382 ff.). We find in this sutta the word *attha* used in connection with ten different attainments which might be considered by some a goal or a motive for a holy life; but Sāriputta denies all. When he is asked what then is the reason for such a life of restraint, he drops the word *attha* altogether: it is for realisation (*abhisamaya*) of the unrealised.

Although *attha* should never be understood as the goal of striving, it has been used to indicate the result of action, e.g., when it is said that a monk possessing eight qualities, "obtains perfection in action and perfection in result" (*kammasampadaṃ labhati c' atthasampadaṃ*: ibid. 236). And in compounds it has assumed the meaning of right: "doing the right thing" (*atthacariya*) by instilling the ways of trust in an unbeliever, the ways of virtue in an evildoer, the ways of generosity in a miser, the ways of wisdom in a deluded mind (ibid. 364). There is 'well-wishing' (*attha kāma* : ibid. 32) which does not necessarily involve the supreme weal (*uttamattha*), and finally the elementary meaning of 'meaning' in one of the seven types of knowers: he who knows the meaning of the dhamma (*atthaññu* : ibid. 113).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATTHADASSĪ (1), the fourteenth among the twenty-five Buddhas mentioned in the *Buddhavaṃsa* (*Buv.* xv). He was born in this world after Piyadassī Buddha, when the life span of people was a hundred thousand years. Having fulfilled the perfections, he was previously born in heaven and later he took birth in the city of Sobhana in the Sucindhana pleasance as the son of king Sāgara and his chief queen Sudassanadevī. He was so named because on the day of his birth people recovered long-buried treasures. For ten thousand years he remained a householder. The three mansions Amaragiri, Suragiri and Girivāhana were constructed for him. His harem consisted of thirty thousand women headed by the chief queen Visākhā. Prince Sena (Sela in the *Buv.* commentary) was his son.

Having seen the four omens, Atthadassī left the palace on his horse Sudassana and became a monk. It is said that nine crores (*koṭi*) of men also left household life along with him. For seven months he practised penance and then on the fullmoon day of Vesākha he partook of the milkrice that was offered to him by a nāga maiden, called Sucindarā, and spent the daytime in the Sāla-grove. In the evening he spread eight handfuls of kusa grass given to him by Nāgaruci, a nāga, under a campaka tree and, seated there, he attained enlightenment, after which he spent seven weeks in the neighbourhood.

At the request of a Mahābrahmā to preach the doctrine, the Buddha went through the air to the city called Anoma, descended in the park of the same name and there set the 'wheel of Law'

rolling. At its conclusion, a hundred thousand of crores including the nine crores of his followers attained arahantship. Again, he preached and enlightened another one hundred thousand crores while sojourning in the world of the devas. For the third time, he enlightened another hundred thousand crores at the city of Sobhana in the Kapila kingdom.

One day, when king Santa of Sucandaka city gave alms to the Buddha and his disciples for a whole week, the Buddha preached the doctrine to the great assembly. At its conclusion ninety-eight hundred thousand obtained *ehi-bhikkhu* ordination. The Buddha preached the *Pātimokkha* to them. Again, when the Buddha preached to his son Sena, another eighty-eight thousand obtained *ehi-bhikkhu* ordination and attained arahantship. Again, on a third occasion when he preached the doctrine seventy-eight thousand attained arahantship.[1]

During this Buddha's time, the Sakyamuni Gotama Buddha was a sage named Susīma. He offered the Buddha a canopy of flowers brought from the deva world.

Atthadassī Buddha had two chief male disciples, Santa and Upasanta, and two chief female disciples, Dhammā and Sudhammā. Abhaya was his attendant. The two chief patrons among laymen were Nakula and Nisabha and the two among lay-women were Makilā and Sunandā.

Atthadassī was eighty cubits tall and his bodily radiance remained all the time pervading a region of a yojana's extent all round. His life span was a hundred thousand years (*Buv.* xv ; *BuvA.* 215 ff. ; *J.* I, 39).

H. R. P.

ATTHADASSĪ (2), a thera in Ceylon, probably a resident of the Mahāvihāra. He is one of the monks who, along with Buddhamitta and Buddhappiya, requested the compiler of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* to undertake that work (*J.* I, 1 ; *Gv.* 68). Considering that the work was compiled by Buddhaghosa or some other monk soon after his time as suggested by Malalasekera (*Pali Lit. of Ceylon*, p. 125), this monk may have lived about the fifth century A. C.

H. R. P.

ATTHADASSĪ (3), author of the *Bhesajja Mañjūsā*, a medical work in Pali stanzas. He is said to have resided in the Attanagalu-vihāra in Siyanā Korale about the year 1207 A. C. in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (*Ceylon Sessional Papers*, 1881, p. 122). Malalasekera observes that if this information be correct this monk was undoubtedly the chief incumbent of the Pañca-mūla-pariveṇa (*Pali Lit. of Ceylon*, p. 215).

H. R. P.

ATTHADASSĪ (4), one of the mythological kings of Kapilavatthu, mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (iii, 41) as an ancestor of Suddhodana.

AṬṬHAKA (1), one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilatī'ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these pacceka-buddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 217) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHAKA (2), one of the ten celebrated Vedic seers (*isī*) mentioned in the Pali works as the composers and the preservers of the hymns of the brāhmans (s. v. AṄGIRASA). He is generally identified with the seer Aṣṭaka, a son of Viśvāmitra (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) and the author of *Ṛg-veda*, x, 104. It is also suggested that it may be a corrupt reading under which some form of Atri may lurk (*SBE.* XVII, p. 130). Atri, one of the great seers, is the author of a number of Vedic hymns. In astronomy he is one of the stars of the Great Bear. There is a code ascribed to him, called the *Atri-saṃhitā* or the *Atri-smṛti* (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. Atri).

C. W.

AṬṬHAKA (3), three kings by the name of Aṭṭhaka are mentioned in the *Jātakas* :

(i) When Daṇḍaka, having sinned against Kisavaccha, was destroyed with his realm, three of the

[1] Whereas the *BuvA.* gives these figures for the second and the third assemblies, the *Jātaka* I says that these two assemblies contained 88 lakhs each.

subordinate lords within his kingdom, Kāliṅga, Aṭṭhaka and Bhīmaratha, went to consult the bodhisatta Sarabhaṅga on the fate of Daṇḍaka and his fellow-sinners. Their doubts were set at rest, and at the end of Sarabhaṅga's discourse they became free of their sensuality (*kāmarāga* : *J.* V, 135-49). Sakka himself was present at the interview and asked questions of Sarabhaṅga.

The jātaka does not identify Aṭṭhaka with any character in the present story. But the Sanskrit version identifies him with Śāriputra.

(ii) One in a list of several kings who could not get beyond the sense-sphere in spite of their offering great sacrifices (*J.* VI, 99).

(iii) One among several kings who were reborn in Sakka's heaven as a result of diligently waiting upon recluses and brāhmans (*J.* VI, 251). Only this name and Usinnara are common to both lists. Hence it is not possible to say whether he is the same as (ii) above. (See *DPPN.* s.v.).

ATTHAKĀMA VAGGA, the fifth chapter of the *Ekanipāta* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, consisting of ten jātakas (Nos. 41–50) and named after *atthakāmassa*, a word occurring in a verse of its first jātaka (*J.* I, 234–61).

AṬṬHAKA-NAGARA, a city in India, probably close to Vesālī. Dasama, a householder of that city went to Pāṭaliputta for some business and on his further journey met the thera Ānanda at Vesālī who preached the doctrine to him (*M.* I, 349 f.; *A.* V, 342 f.).

H. R. P.

AṬṬHAKANĀGARA SUTTA of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1, 349 f.) recurs as *Dasama Sutta* in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (V, 342–7).

Dasama enquires for any one condition whereby to obtain release, to destroy the cankers, to win peace from bondage. And Ānanda teaches him eleven ways instead of one, which are the four states of mental absorption (*rūpajjhāna*), the four abidings in divine virtue (*brahmavihāra*) and three formless attainments (*arūpajjhāna*).

Through each one of these paths one can develop a higher thought, that even that path is impermanent and by its very nature tends to cessation. It is in that realisation that one may win the destruction of the mental intoxicants and achieve the release of arahantship, or at least by breaking the five lower fetters be reborn in one of the pure celestial abodes, to pass away from there without ever returning to the world of sense-pleasure.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHAKA NIPĀTA, the Book of Eights of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, pp. 149–350), contains ten chapters : on amity (*mettāvagga*), the great chapter (*mahā-v°*,) on householders (*gahapati-v°*), on giving (*dāna-v°*), on the observance day (*uposatha-v°*), on Mahā-pajāpatī, the Gotamid, according to the commentary (but *sa-ādhāna-v°* in the text), on earthquakes (*bhūmicāla-v°*), on pairs (*yamaka-v°*), on mindfulness (*sati-v°*) and on passion (*rāga*) and other conditions, in a highly abridged summary.

The first nine chapters consist of ten suttas each, which are named in a short verse (*uddāna*) at the end of each chapter (*vagga*). The concluding chapter gives the full text of its first sutta alone on which model all the others are to be repeated with varying subjects, making a total of 510 suttas for this recital chapter.

The Noble Eightfold Path (*aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*, q.v.) does not find a place in this Book of Eights.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHAKARAṆA SUTTA, the seventh sutta in the first chapter of the *Kosala Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 74). Pasenadi, king of Kosala, informs the Buddha that while he was in the judgement-hall (*atthakaraṇa* ; Comy. reads *aṭṭha-*) he had heard how eminent nobles and brāhmans, burgesses and men of authority deliberately told lies, because of their worldly desires. The Buddha in his reply says that this base act of theirs would become a source of bane and ill. The sutta which, so far, is in prose concludes with a stanza uttered by the Buddha where he says that people who are greedy and languish in sense-desires would fall into evil states, like fish who have swum into a basket.

H. R. P.

AṬṬHAKA SUTTA, name of the seventeenth and eighteenth suttas of the *Vedanā Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 221 ff.), dealing with feeling.

In the first sutta the Buddha answers six questions on feeling, namely, what they are, what is their origin, their cessation, their satisfaction, the misery they bring and what constitutes refuge

from them. The Buddha also tells the monks that he has seen that the cessation of activities, their mastery and their calming are gradual. Next, he elaborates the last point, namely, their calming which is sixfold and is experienced on the attainment of the six stages—the four mental states pertaining to the Brahma worlds (*rūpajjhāna*), the cessation of perception and feelling (*saññā-vedayita-nirodha*) and arahantship (*khīṇāsava*).

The second sutta does not give the questions but only repeats the answers to the first and the second questions and refers to the first sutta for other details.

The fifteenth sutta of the same chapter of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* is identical with the first of the two *Aṭṭhaka Suttas*, the only difference being that it is preached to the thera Ānanda. The two suttas indirectly give a brief explanation of the Four Noble Truths.

H. R. P.

AṬṬHAKATHĀ, a general term, meaning exposition of the sense, (*attha=attha*, Skt. *artha*), explanation, commentary [1]. Although *Aṭṭhakathā* could refer to all commentarial literature, as it did during the Anurādhapura period (3rd centruy B. C.—10th century A. C.) when it had even a wider application and included all literary works other than the Tipiṭaka, today it is used when referring to the commentaries on the *Tipiṭaka*.[2] They are the expository treatises on the different texts of the Pali canon, each text having its own commentary. Their main purpose being to interpret the Buddha's teachings, they not only explain difficult words grammatically and lexically but also contain explanations and expositions of the Buddha's doctrine. Commentators have often digressed in the course of their explanations and various narratives and episodes have found their way into the commentaries making them rich in material not only for the religious history but also for the secular history of ancient India and Ceylon. The Aṭṭhakathās extant today are the works of Buddhaghosa and other commentators who translated into Pali the then existing Sinhala Aṭṭhakathās which, in turn, were translations from the original Pali.

Tradition regarding the Aṭṭhakathā.

The Ceylonese tradition regarding the Aṭṭhakathā is that they were composed (in Pali, it is to be presumed) at the First Council (*Saṅgīti*) and rehearsed at the two following Councils. They were introduced to Ceylon by Mahinda who also, it is said, translated them into Sinhala. The earliest record of this tradition is contained in the introduction in Buddhaghosa's commentaries.[3] It recurs in the accounts of Buddhaghosa contained in the *Mahāvaṃsa* [4] and the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* [5]. According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*[6] and the *Mahāvaṃsa*[7], the commentaries (the Sinhala version, it is to be inferred) were put into writing in Ceylon along with the Pali canon in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya in the first century B. C. The *Mahāvaṃsa* [8] and *Saddhammasaṅgaha* [9] further state that, at the time of Buddhaghosa, the Aṭṭhakathās (the original

1 *Etthaca, attho kathīyati etāyāti atthakathā, sāyeva aṭṭhakathā thakārassa ṭhakāraṃ katvā dukkhassa pīḷanaṭṭho'ti ādīsu viya*: *Sāratthadīpanī* (Sinhalese edition), p. 17. Also *JRAS*. 1870, (Vol.V, New Series) p. 292.

2 W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Intr. xxvii – xxviii.

3 *Atthappakāsanatthaṃ aṭṭhakathā ādito vasisatehi*
Pañcahi yā saṅgītā anusaṅgītā ca pacchāpi.
Sīhaladīpaṃ pana ābhatā'tha vasinā Mahāmahindena,
Ṭhapitā Sīhalabhāsāya dīpavāsīnaṃ atthāya.
Verses 6 and 7, Intr. in *DA*., *MA*., *SA*., *AA*.
See also verse intr. in *DhsA*.

4 Revata tells Buddhaghosa :
Pālimattaṃ idhānītaṃ natthi aṭṭhakathā idha,
Tathācariyavādāca bhinnarūpā na vijjare.
Sīhalaṭṭhakathā suddhā Mahindena matimatā
Saṅgitattayaṃ ārūḷhaṃ sammāsambuddhadesitaṃ,
Sāriputtādigītañ ca kathāmaggaṃ samekkhiya
katā Sīhalabhāsāya Sīhalesu pavattati.

The text alone has been handed down here (in Jambudīpa), there is no commentary here. Neither have we the deviating systems of the teachers. The commentary in the Sīhala tongue is faultless. The wise Mahinda who tested the tradition laid before the three Councils as it was preached by the Perfectly Enlightened One and taught by Sāriputta and the others wrote it in the Sīhala tongue and it is spread among the Sīhaleas. *Mhv*. xxxvii, 227 – 9.

5 *JPTS*. 1890, p. 53.

6 *Dpv*. xx, 20 – 21.

7 *Mhv*. xxxiii, 100 – 101.

8 See 4.

9 See 5.

Pali) had disappeared in India. It is not known how far this statement was correct, but the original Pali Aṭṭhakathās were not recorded in writing and no trace of them exists today. As will be seen, the Sinhala Aṭṭhakathās put into writing in Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya's time have also disappeared.

This tradition regarding the origin of the Aṭṭhakathā may be accepted with certain modifications. It is hardly conceivable that the original versions of the Pali commentaries as we find them today were fixed at the First Council soon after the death of the Buddha. But it is very likely that certain abstruse points in the doctrine and ambiguous terms were the topics of discussion at the time of the First Council and that definite expositions and meanings to be attached to these were agreed upon. These interpretations would have formed the basis of commentaries of later times. With the development of heretical views and the growth of schisms in the Saṅgha, at the Second and Third Councils, the elders who assembled there would have continued this process of interpretation of the Buddha's teachings. The commentaries that Mahinda is said to have brought to Ceylon, along with the canon, probably consisted of the expositions as laid down at the Third Council which had just been concluded.[10] These were not the work of one single author but of the community of monks. After Mahinda arrived in Ceylon and lived there, he transmitted these in the Sinhala language, and they came to be known as the *Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā*. The Aṭṭhakathā thus introduced by Mahinda received extensive treatment and further development at the hands of the Ceylonese monks, and it was this commentarial literature that Buddhaghosa and others later translated into Pali.

A later tradition contained in the ṭīkās attempts to attribute the commentaries to the Buddha himself.[11] While it would be impossible to think of the present version of the commentaries as *Buddha-vacana*, the origins of the Aṭṭhakathā may well be traced to the time of the Buddha himself. It has been remarked that "the need for an accurate interpretation of the Buddha's words which formed the guiding principle of the life and action of the members of the Saṅgha was felt from the very first, even while the Master was living. Of course, there was at that time the advantage of referring a disputed question for solution to the Master himself and herein we meet with the first stage in the origin of the Buddhist comments."[12] The writer goes on to describe how at the various religious centres of the time serious discussions on matters relating to religion, philosophy, ethics, morals and polity took place and the *raison d'être* of the commentaries is to be traced to these discussions.

The earliest beginnings of exegetical literature can be traced to the canon itself. They are in the nature of answers to questions. There are numerous instances in the nikāyas where the Buddha (and in his absence his leading disciples) are approached for clarification of various doctrinal points. The result is a detailed exposition of the point raised. Examples of such expositions by the Buddha are to be found in the *Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta*[13], *Koṭṭhika Sutta*[14], *Sīvaka Sutta*[15], *Aggivacchagotta Sutta*[16], and *Sallekha Sutta*[17]. The Buddha himself had recognised the ability of some of his disciples to explain in detail what he preached in brief. He had declared Mahākaccāna to be the foremost in this respect.[18] Instances of such expositions by Mahākaccāna are to be found in the *Haliddaka Sutta*[19] and the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*[20]. When Mahā-Kaccāna's explanation is referred back to the Buddha he asks the monks to bear it in mind as the best that could have been given. There are numerous instances of expositions by other disciples, too.[21]

The development of exegetical activity can best be traced in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. First, there were the rules or laws, the *Pātimokkha* which had to be

10 G. P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, pp.90–1.

11 *Na hi bhagavatā abyākataṃ nāma tantipadaṃ atthi. Sabbesaṃ yeva attho kathito. Tasmā Sammāsambuddheneva tinnaṃ piṭakānaṃ atthavaṇṇanākkamo pi bhāsito 'ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. Tattha tattha bhagavatā pavattitā pakiṇṇaka-desanā yeva hi aṭṭhakathā : Sāratthadīpanī* (Sinhalese edition, p.18).

12 B. C. Law, *Life and work of Buddhaghosa*, 1923, p. 49.

13 *M.* III, p. 207.

14 *S.*IV, p. 145.

15 *S.* IV, p. 230.

16 *M.* I, p. 483.

17 *M.* I, p. 40.

18 *A.* I,p. 23.

19 *S.* IV, p. 115.

20 *M.* I, p. 108.

21 Ānanda's expositions are contained in the *Subha Sutta* (*D.* I, p. 204), *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta* (*M.* I, p. 349), *Bāhitika Sutta* (*M.* II, p. 112), *Ghosita Sutta* (*S.* IV, p. 113) and Sāriputta's, in the *Saṅgīti Sutta* (*D.*III. p. 207), *Dasuttara Sutta* (*D.* III, p. 272), *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.* III, p. 248), *Mahāvedalla Sutta* (*M.* I., p. 282).

Bhikkhunī Khemā's explanation is found in the *Avyākata Saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, p. 374) and Dhammadinnā's in the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, p. 299).

observed by the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs. In the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* not only is a verbal commentary of the text of each rule given, but also an account of the incident which led to its promulgation. A still further development is seen in the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*, where much more than a series of offences is found. Passages of commentarial nature and fragments of commentaries can also be traced throughout the nikāyas. The *Udāna* and *Suttanipāta*, for example, contain prose passages which are in the nature of commentaries. The *Atthuddhāro*, the last part of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, is a kind of commentary on one of its sections, the *Nikkhepakaṇḍa*, and is in fact termed *Aṭṭhakathā-kaṇḍa* (commentarial division) in the *Atthasālinī*[22]. The last portion of the *Nikkhepakaṇḍa* itself is worded in the phraseology of a commentary. There is a fragment of a commentary at the end of the *Vibhaṅga*, too. The culmination of this process is reached in the *Niddesa* which is wholly a canonical commentary on the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas* of the *Suttanipāta*. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids,[23] "As these older incorporated commentaries are varied both in form and in method, it is evident that commentaries of different kinds had a very early beginning. And the probability is very great that the tradition is not so far wrong when it tells us that commentaries on all the principal canonical books were handed down in schools of the Order along with the texts themselves." This statement is qualified by the observation that this does not mean that all the commentaries were so handed down in all the schools nor that each of them was exactly the same in each of the schools where it was taught.

Sinhala and Dravidian Commentaries.

Sīhalaṭṭhakathā was the name given to the Sinhala translations of the commentaries Mahinda had introduced to Ceylon.[24] Certain verses were, however, left unchanged in Pali. Although none of the Sinhala commentaries have come down to us, information regarding them can be gleaned from the Pali commentaries which displaced them, and from later works.[25]

22 This has been ascribed to Sāriputta who is said to have compiled it for the benefit of a pupil who could not understand the *Nikkhepakaṇḍa*.

23 *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, Intr. p.xx.

24 See 4.

25 Such as the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, *Saddhammasaṅgaha* and the *ṭīkā*.

The Aṭṭhakathās referred to are: (1) *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* or *Mūla-aṭṭhakathā* also referred to as *Aṭṭhakathā*, (2) *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā*, (3) *Mahā paccariya-aṭṭhakathā*, (4) *Kurundī-aṭṭhakathā*, (5) *Andhakaṭṭhakathā*, (6) *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā*, (7) *Āgamaṭṭhakathā*, (8) *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, (9) *Pubbopadesaṭṭhakathā*, or *Pubbaṭṭhakathā*, (10) *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, (11) *Suttantaṭṭhakathā*, (12) *Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā* (13) *Sīhalamātikaṭṭhakathā*, (14) *Dīghaṭṭhakathā*, (15) *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, (16) *Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā*, (17) *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā*, (18) *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* and (19) *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇassa Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*.

Mahinda would have introduced the traditional commentaries, but during the centuries that followed his arrival commentaries had developed, and at the time Buddhaghosa arrived in the island, i.e., in the early fifth century there were commentaries belonging to different schools. The most important of them and the one on which Buddhaghosa relied most was the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* or *Mūla-aṭṭhakathā*[26], the commentary of the Mahāvihāra (q.v.), the orthodox and traditional school in Ceylon. This is expressly named as the foundation for Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Vinaya[27] and the first four nikāyas.[28] Quotations from it are also found in other commentaries.[29] The *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* belonged to the Uttaravihāra or the Abhayagirivihāra, the school which was the rival of Mahāvihāra. This does not appear to have been even consulted by the Pali commentators as no mention of it is made by them. It is referred to, however, in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* where its variant readings from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* are given.[30] There were also the *Mahāpaccarī* and the *Kurundī Aṭṭhakathā* which, as stated in the *Samantapāsādikā*[31] were also written in Sinhala. According to the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*[32], while the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* was the traditional commentary fixed at the first Council and introduced to Ceylon and translated into Sinhala by Mahinda, the *Mahāpaccarī* and *Kurundī aṭṭhakathā* originated in Ceylon. The *Mahāpaccarī* was so-called because it was composed on a raft in Ceylon, and the *Kurundī* was named after Kurundaveḷu-vihāra in Ceylon where it was

26 These two terms have been used synonymously in the epilogues to Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the first four nikāyas and therefore it may be concluded that they were identical.

27 *VinA*. Intr.

28 Epilogue, *DA*., *MA*., *SA*., *AA*.

29 See *UdA*. p. 399 ; *SnA*. pp. 202, 477; *DhsA*. p. 80; *PugA*. *JPTS*, 1913–14, p.39.

30 pp. 125, 155, 177, 187, 247, 249, 289, 290.

31 See Epilogue.

32 *JPTS*. 1890, p.55.

composed.[33] We do not know to which school they belonged.[34] The *Andhaka-aṭṭhakathā* was very likely written in the Andhaka (Andhra) language. It may have belonged to the Andhaka school of south India as Buddhaghosa more often than not rejects its views.[35] The *Saṅkhepa-aṭṭhakathā* or 'Short Commentary' quoted in the *Samantapāsādikā*, if it is to be accepted as written in south India,[36] was probably also the product of a south Indian school. The *Cullapaccarī* mentioned in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*[37] was probably an abridgement of the *Mahāpaccarī*.

The scope of these different aṭṭhakathās seems to have been varied. The *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* appears to have dealt with all three sections of the canon since it furnished material for commentaries on all three Piṭakas.[38] The *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* was the corresponding commentary of the Uttara-vihāra and probably its scope was as extensive. The contents of these two commentaries were not restricted to the canon, but also dealt with the history of Buddhism and the history of Ceylon.[39]

The *Mahāpaccarī* and *Kurundī aṭṭhakathā* were much more restricted in their scope. Copious references are made from them in the *Samantapāsādikā*[40] and they are quoted once each in the other Vinaya commentary of *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*.[41] In the introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā* they are expressly mentioned among the sources for that work. These references and the fact that they are not quoted in any of the other Pali commentaries would lead one to conclude that they dealt chiefly with the Vinaya. According to the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*[42], the *Samantapāsādikā* was based on the *Kurundī-aṭṭhakathā*, the commentaries on the first four nikāyas on the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Atthasālinī* and *Sammohavinodanī* on the *Mahāpaccarī*. While this would confirm that the *Kurundī* dealt mainly with the Vinaya, it would extend the contents of the *Mahāpaccarī* to the Abhidhamma. The *Andhaka-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Saṅkhepa-aṭṭhakathā* are referred to only in the *Samantapāsādikā* and this would indicate that they dealt with the Vinaya, either solely or as part of their contents.

Apart from these, three other groups of aṭṭhakathās are mentioned as sources of the Pali commentaries. They are the *Āgamaṭṭhakathā*, the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* and the *Pubbopadesaṭṭhakathā* or *Pubbaṭṭhakathā*. The *Āgamaṭṭhakathā* are referred to as sources only in the Abhidhamma commentaries of the *Atthasālinī* (in the introduction) and the *Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā* (in the epilogue).[43] Although they are not referred to in the sutta commentaries, their name would indicate that

33 See also *Sāratthadīpanī* p. 17. In the *Gandhavaṃsa*(*JPTS*. 1886, p. 59) they are described as the works of *Gandhācariyā* who are defined as teachers who came after the *Porāṇācariyā*. The *Porāṇācariyā* are identified with the *Aṭṭhakathācariyā*.

34 Barua in his 'Ceylon Lectures' (p. 85) suggests a connection between the Kurundī and the Jetavanavihāra and the Mahāpaccarī and the Abhayagiri vihāra. But it does not seem probable that Buddhaghosa would have made such extensive use of commentaries of 'heretical' schools when he has ignored the *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* altogether.

35 *VinA*. III, 646–7, 697; IV, 747, 763; V, 970, 1055,1069.

36 Malalasekera (*Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 92) and Law (*A History of Pali Literature*, p. 376) with Mrs. Rhys Davids (*A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, p. xxvii) are of opinion that it was probably of S. Indian origin. The fact that it is not included among the Sinhala commentaries given in the *Samantapāsādikā* epilogue strengthens this view. However, see E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 12, where he suggests that it might have been an abridged version of *Mahāpaccarī*.

37 See *JRAS*. 1870 (Vol. V, New Series) p. 298.

38 See 27, 28, 29.

39 This is clear from the quotations in the *MhvA*. The main source of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is more definitely specified as *Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā-mahāvaṃsa* (*MhvA*. p. 48) and Oldenberg held the view that this formed a historical introduction to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*. (See *The Dīpavaṃsa*, intr. p. 4). Geiger did not agree with him and believed that even if the *Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā-mahāvaṃsa* had its beginnings as a historical introduction to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* it was in fact an extensive monastery chronicle of the Mahā-vihāra (*The Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 64. See also *UCR*. Vol. IV, Oct. 1946, p. 1f. G. C. Mendis, *The Pali Chronicles of Ceylon*). It seems very likely that the work on which the *Mahāvaṃsa* was based had a close connection with the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* for the word often used is plain *aṭṭhakathā*, the Uttaravihāra recension also being referred to as merely *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā*.

40 pp. 299, 317, 783, 789, etc.

41 *Mahāpaccarī*, p. 110; *Kurundī*, p.138.

42 *JPTS*. 1890, p. 56.

However, the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* is to be dated about the fourteenth century and too much reliance cannot be laid on its statements.

43 These two works also contain quotations from the *Āgamaṭṭhakathā* (*DhsA*. pp. 86, 188, 189; *PugA*. p. 193) where the word is also used in the plural.

they probably dealt with the āgamas or nikāyas, apart from abhidhamma. Though these appear to have been very extensive works, they cannot be indentified with the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* as the two are mentioned side by side in the *Atthasālinī*.[44] The *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* is referred to both in the singular[45] and plural[46]. These were followed by Dhammapāla in all his seven commentaries[47] and by Buddhadatta in his *Madhuratthavilāsinī*[48] and in the *Sammohavinodanī*[49]. Different theories have been put forward regarding the nature and identity of the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*[50]. From the above reference it is clear that the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* dealt at least with the sutta and abhidhamma and thus it was a very extensive commentary. The name would suggest that it was also a very old commentary. The fact that *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* and *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* have nowhere been quoted as two separate works and the fact that those commentators following the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathānaya* also add that they were writing in the Mahāvihāra tradition make it very plausible that the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, 'the ancient commentary', was synonymous with the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* which most likely was the oldest commentary.[51] The *Pubbopadesaṭṭhakathā* or the *Pubbaṭṭhakathā*, followed by Upasena and Mahānāma, as mentioned by them in almost identical words in the introduction and the epilogue in their commentaries, the *Saddhammapajjotikā* and the *Saddhammappakāsinī*, would also appear to be only another name for the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*.

References are also made in the body of the Pali commentaries to various specific *aṭṭhakathā*, the names of which would suggest that they dealt with specific sections of the canon. Such are the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, *Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā* and *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā* mentioned in the *Visuddhimagga*.[52] and the *Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā* referred to in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*.[53] The *Suttanta-aṭṭhakathā* also quoted in the *Visuddhimagga*[54] may have been the collective name for these commentaries. Reference is also made to an *Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā*,[55] *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*,[56] a *Sīhalamātikaṭṭhakathā*[57] and a *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇassa Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*.[58] It is not known, whether they were independent commentaries or parts of a major commentary.

It is noteworthy that the commentaries on the four nikāyas with the exception of the *Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā* are mentioned only in the *Visuddhimagga* and not in the corresponding Pali commentaries on the nikāyas. It has been suggested[59] that these four would have been the components of the *Āgamaṭṭhakathā* and that when Buddhaghosa quotes from the *Aṭṭhakathā* in his commentaries on the nikāyas, he would be quoting not from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* but from the corresponding Sinhala commentary. This, however, would limit the quotations from *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* only to those instances where it is specifically named. But the paucity of references to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* in these commentaries (with the exception of *Samantapāsādikā*) does not support such a view. It would seem more likely that these commentaries individually specified were all sections of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, or in the alternative were drawn from it, and thus by the word *aṭṭhakathā* in the Pali commentary would be indicated the corresponding commentary of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*. On the same analogy, the *Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā*, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, *Sīhalamātikaṭṭhakathā* and *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇassa-Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* were probably also parts of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* rather than independent commentaries. '*Aṭṭhakathā*' in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, too, would clearly refer to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* as the word is used side by side with *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā*.

The *Visuddhimagga* also refers to the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* sometimes in the singular[60] and sometimes in the plural.[61] It has been suggested that there

44 p. 86.

45 See 59.

46 *VbhA*. epilogue.

47 See prologue and epilogue.

48 See epilogue.

49 See prologue and epilogue. A quotation from the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* (singular) is also contained in *CpA*. p.15.

50 H. Oldenberg, *Dīpavaṃsa* – Intr. W. Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 43 ff. E. W. Adikaram, op. cit. pp. 22–3. B. M. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 76. B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, 1946, p. 53.

51 See 32. This view is strengthened by the fact that the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-mahāvaṃsa* (whose close connection with the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* has already been noted, see 39), is alternatively referred to as *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* (*MhvA*. p. 36).

52 *Majjhima-aṭṭhakathā*, pp. 72, 184, 547.
Saṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā, pp. 387, 432.
Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā, p. 315.

53 p. 87.

54 p. 272.

55 *Vism*. p. 547.

56 *J*. 62.

57 *PsA*. p. 159.

58 *VamA*. p. 83.

59 Adikaram, op. cit. p. 13.

60 p. 272.

61 p. 72.

may have been more than one commentary on the Vinaya and that the most important of them would have been called the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*.[62] This view is plausible as the commonest cause of disagreement in the Saṅgha was over the interpretation of the Vinaya rules and this could naturally have given rise to several aṭṭhakathās on the Vinaya.

The different Sinhala aṭṭhakathās have been cited often in the Pali commentaries as authority for particular views, but they do not always speak in the same voice. However, they appear to disagree on matters of detail rather than on major doctrinal points. The *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccarī* and the *Kurundī* are constantly quoted in the *Samantapāsādikā* and less often the *Andhaka-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Saṅkhepa-aṭṭhakathā*. Sometimes the *Mahāpaccarī* and the *Kurundī* agree with each other[63] and sometimes they differ.[64] Often the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* differs from one or other of the other commentaries.[65] There are occasions when the *Mahāpaccarī* and the *Kurundī* differ from each other as also from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*.[66] At times they agree with each other but differ from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*.[67] In other instances the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* agrees with one but they both differ from the other.[68] The *Saṅkhepa-aṭṭhakathā*, though it often follows the view of the *Mahāpaccarī*, occasionally differs from it.[69] Although Buddhaghosa generally accepts the view of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, there are times when the *Mahāpaccarī* and the others are preferred to it.[70] Most often the *Andhaka-aṭṭhakathā* stands by itself and its view, when not corroborated by the other aṭṭhakathā, is rejected.[71]

In the *Atthasālinī*, a difference in view between the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Āgamaṭṭhakathā*[72]; and in the *Visuddhimagga* between the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* and the *Suttantaṭṭhakathā*[73] and *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*[74] is recorded. But all these differences relate to details. Likewise, differences in the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* are recorded in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*.[75]

62 See 59.
63 pp. 616, 664.
64 pp. 544, 789.
65 pp. 360–61, 377, 863, 1203.
66 pp. 817–18, 1167.
67 p. 627.
68 pp. 536–7.
69 p. 494.
70 pp. 319, 617.
71 pp. 646, 647, 697, 970, 1055, 1069.
72 p. 86.
73 p. 272.
74 p. 72.
75 p. 249.

The commentaries continued to be expanded and developed upon, even after they were recorded in writing in the first century B. C. The period of growth and development can be fixed from the incidents and historical events referred to in the commentaries. Buddhaghosa does not bring the events down to his day, so that it may be assumed that the last of the events recorded in his commentaries were also found in the Sinhala originals. The fact that stories about India, which can be dated (with very few exceptions of references that could be expected of a writer in Ceylon)[76], relate to a period not later than Asoka in the third century B.C.[77], would incidentally confirm the tradition that the commentaries were introduced to Ceylon by Mahinda. The events after that are, in the main, set in Ceylon. Of the kings of Ceylon, events in whose reigns are discussed, the latest is Vasabha (67—111 A.C.).[78] Moreover, it has been shown[79] that in the introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā*[80] Buddhaghosa in his list of Vinaya teachers from Mahinda up to 'the present day' (*yāva ajjatanā*) does not include theras who lived after the 1st century A.C. This would indicate that the Sinhala commentaries, in the main, ceased to develop after this time. However, it cannot be concluded that they took the final shape at this time, for there are occasional references to events and persons even after this date, e.g., to Rudradāman, second century A.C.[81] and Mahāsena (275–301 A.C.).[82] There may have been sporadic additions down to the time of Buddhaghosa.

The Sinhala commentaries, which may be regarded as the earliest literary works in Ceylon, have been lost and no trace of them now exists. It has not been ascertained when exactly they disappeared. In the *Buddhaghosuppatti* it is stated that when Buddhaghosa completed his task of translating the commentaries into Pali, the Saṅgharājā caused the works of Mahinda to be piled up and burnt.[83] But there is evidence for the existence of these commentaries long after this date

76 See 81.
77 Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, Intr. p. xx.
78 *VinA*. II. 471; *DA*. I, 291; II, 635; *MA*. II, p. 869.
79 Adikaram, op. cit. p. 87.
80 I. p. 62.
81 *VinA*. p. 297.
82 ibid. p. 519.
83 Gray's edition, p. 60.

and this episode may be considered as one more of the legends in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*. The references in the *Mahāvaṃsa* to the recitation of the canon together with the commentaries[84] would not prove the existence of the Sinhala commentaries at these periods, as *aṭṭhakathā* could equally refer to the Pali commentaries. However, quotations from the Sinhala aṭṭhakathā in the works of later authors would prove their existence at the time these books were written, and they would appear to have been available till about the thirteenth century.[85] It is not known how or when they finally disappeared. Just as Pali replaced Sinhala as the literary language at this time, so the Sinhala commentaries were superseded by the Pali commentaries which in addition were used more extensively. Buddhaghosa himself says, in the introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā*,[86] that the commentary written in Sinhala was of no benefit to the bhikkhus outside Ceylon and therefore he was rendering it into Pali.

Other sources of the Pali Commentaries.

Apart from the specific quotations from the different aṭṭhakathā, Buddhaghosa makes use of several other authorities which show a close connection with the aṭṭhakathā. In fact, it is quite possible that some of them were found incorporated in the Sinhala commentaries. The various authorities cited are a clue to the philosophical and literary activity of the time and it would have been only surprising if the commentaries had remained static.

Two terms closely connected with aṭṭhakathā were *Aṭṭhakathikā* and *Aṭṭhakathācariyā*. "Those who studied and handed down the aṭṭhakathās were known as the *aṭṭhakathikās*.[87] By the other term were generally understood the teachers (*ācariyā*), responsible for the compilation of the aṭṭhakathās. Buddhaghosa holds the aṭṭhakathācariyas in high esteem and says that they knew the intentions of the Buddha and that, therefore, their word should be taken as authority." [88] The views of these aṭṭhakathācariyas are scattered throughout the commentaries. Quotations from them are given, often in prose and sometimes in verse.[89] The opinion of the ācariyas[90] is also sometimes quoted. This referred to the opinion of great teachers like Mahāpaduma.[91] The authority of *Ācariyānaṃ samānaṭṭhakathā* (similar expositions of the teachers) is often cited as opposed to the views of the Vitaṇḍavādins (unorthodox sectarians).[92]

The commentaries contain numerous quotations from the Porāṇā (ancients), most often in verse[93] but sometimes in prose[94], which for the most part are introduced with the words *tenāhu porāṇā*. The frequency of these quotations and the manner in which they are introduced show that they formed a very important and authoritative source of the commentaries on all the three Piṭakas. It is not known whether Buddhaghosa found them already included in the Sinhala commentaries. Closely associated with the Porāṇas were the Porāṇācariyā and the Pubbācariyā whose views are also contained in the Pali commentaries.[95] There were also the Porāṇakattherā[96] whose opinions are regarded with less authority than the foregoing. The relationship between these has not been definitely established

84 xli, 58 ; lx, 8 ; xci, 27.

85 The *Dhampiyā-aṭuvāgāṭapadaya* a work dated in the tenth century A.C. contains quotations from these commentaries in the original Sinhala (pp.136, 148, 149). In the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, a work assigned to a period before the eleventh century A.C. the author says in the introduction that he is following the method of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*. There is evidence that the Sinhala commentaries were available also to the author of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* which has been dated by Malalasekera in the eighth century or ninth century A.C. (*MhvA*. intr. p. cix) and by Geiger between 1000 and 1250 A.C. (*Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa* p. 34). The author of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* has quoted from the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*, *Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvaṃsa*, the *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*, *Uttaravihāramahāvaṃsa*, *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā* and *Dīpavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*. These were all commentaries in Sinhala. *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, too, may be taken as referring to the Sinhala commentary on the Vinaya, as the *Samantapāsādikā* has been separately quoted. The *Pālimuttaka Vinayavinicchaya Saṅgaha* dated in the twelfth century A.C. contains quotations from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccarī* and the *Kurundī* (pp. 2, 4–Sinhala edition, B.E. 2450). The *Sārasaṅgaha* which was probably written in the thirteenth century refers to a statement found in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* (p. 32, Sinhala edition, 1898) which cannot be traced in the *Samantapāsādikā*. This would indicate that the statement was taken from the Sinhala *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, unless it was contained in the *Samantapāsādikā* of the author's time.

86 Verses 8–9.

87 *KhpA*. p. 151.

88 Adikaram, op. cit. pp. 14–15.

89 *MA*. pp. 59, 225 ; *SA*. III. pp. 13, 138, 185 ; *AA*. II, p. 53 ; *KhpA*. p. 110 ; *UdA*. p.55 ; *PsA*. pp. 521, 532 *VbhA*. p. 350.

90 *AA*. II, p. 18 *Eke ācariyā vadanti.*

91 See *VinA*. I, p. 283.

92 *AA*. V, p. 85 ; *ItA*. II, p. 6 ; *VbhA*. pp. 9, 51, 319, 459.

93 *Vism*. pp. 152, 206 ; *VinA*. I, p. 62 ; *DA*. III, p. 757 ; *MA*. I, p. 46 ; *SA*. II, p. 43 ; *AA*. I, p. 105 ; *ApA*. p. 101 ; *DhsA*. p. 84, etc.

94 *Vism*. I, p. 20 ; *DA*. II, p. 491 ; *MA*. I, p. 105 ; *UdA*. p. 23 ; *PsA*. pp. 431, 676 ; *DhsA*. p. 400 etc.

95 Porāṇācariyā, Pubbācariyā (*Vism*. p. 523).

96 *Vism*. p. 99 ; *AA*. II, p. 26 ; *VbhA*. p. 254.

and various views have been expressed. Some have identified the Porāṇā with the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* while others do not agree with this.[97]

The Pali commentaries have also made fairly wide use of the traditions handed down by the Bhāṇakas (q.v.). Differences in views between the different Bhāṇakas have been recorded.[98] As in the case of the quotations from the Porāṇā it is not known whether the views of the Bhāṇakas were already found in the Sinhala commentaries or, alternatively, in what form they were available. There are also references to the different views held by the Vinayadharas and the Suttantikas.[99] The view of the Ābhidhammikas is also recorded.[100] The derivation of words by the Akkharacintakas is given with the alternative derivation of the Aṭṭhakathācariyas.[101] Parasamuddavāsī monks, presumably Indian, have also had their share of contribution to religious discussion. Their views are recorded in the *Papañcasūdanī*.[102] Apart from these opinions of groups of monks and teachers, the individual views of certain eminent bhikkhus, who had a specialised knowledge of the canon, have also found their way into the commentaries. They were, undoubtedly, greatly respected bhikkhus, for their views to have assumed such importance. Among the individual opinions recorded are those of Dīghabhāṇaka Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva[103], Tipiṭaka Cūḷābhaya[104], Tipiṭaka Cūlanāga[105], Tipiṭaka Mahā-Dhammarakkhita[106], Moravāpīvāsī Mahādatta[107] and Mahāsiva thera[108].

Buddhaghosa has also quoted from definite texts. The most frequent and copious quotations are from the canonical texts themselves and are found throughout the commentaries. The extra-canonical Pali works quoted are the *Milindapañha*[109], *Peṭakopadesa*[110], *Nettippakaraṇa*[111] and the *Dīpavaṃsa*[112].

Pali Commentaries.

The Pali commentaries are to be dated from the first half of the fifth century A.C.[113] According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* account (chap. 37), Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon in the time of king Mahānāma (406–28 A.C.). Buddhaghosa is the only commentator known to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and all the commentaries are attributed to him, but this is undoubtedly an exaggerated account of his achievements. Buddhaghosa was no doubt by far the greatest commentator and the author of the most important commentaries, but there were others who continued the task of translating the Sinhala commentaries begun by him. Buddhadatta was an elder contemporary of Buddhaghosa. The most important commentator after Buddhaghosa was Dhammapāla, the author of seven commentaries on books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* whose talent and ability were almost equal to that of Buddhaghosa. He was followed by Upasena, Mahānāma and others.[115] The period of the later commentators

97 See Oldenberg, *Dīpavaṃsa* intr.; Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*; Law, *Life and Works of Buddhaghosa* –Foreword; Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 92. *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*–Intr. pp. lxi f.; Adikāram, op. cit. pp. 16 – 22.

98 For differences in views held by (a) the Dīghabhāṇakas and the Majjhimabhāṇakas, see *Vism.* p. 286; *VinA.* II, p. 428; *DA* I, p. 10, (b) the Majjhimabhāṇakas and Saṃyuttabhāṇakas, see *Vism.* p. 431), and (c) the Dīghabhāṇakas and Saṃyuttabhāṇakas on the one hand and the Majjhimabhāṇakas on the other, see *Vism.* p. 275; *VinA.* II, p. 413; *PsA.* p. 493). The Aṅguttarabhāṇakas' views are also occasionally cited (*Vism.* I, pp. 74–7; *AA.* II, p. 208). The other bhāṇakas referred to are the Ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka (*VinA.* III, p. 644), Dhammapadabhāṇaka (*DhpA.* IV, p. 51; *DhsA.* p. 18), Jātakabhāṇaka (*VinA.* p. 789; *KhpA.* p. 151; *SnA.* p. 186; *VbhA.* p. 484) and Mahā-Ariyavaṃsabhāṇaka (*SA.* III, p. 182). The word *Mahākhuddakabhāṇaka* occurs in the Burmese edition of the *Manoratha pūraṇī*, instead of *Mahājātakabhāṇaka*. See *AA.* II, p. 249.

99 *Vism.* p. 72; Suttantiya thera's view: *VinA.* p. 454. Dhammakathika's view: *PugA.* p. 224.

100 *ApA.* p. 83.

101 *KhpA.* p. 110; *PsA.* p. 532.

102 *MA.* IV, p. 94.

103 *SA.* III, p. 281.

104 *SA.* III, p. 277; *PugA.* p. 190.

105 *SA.* III, p. 277; *PugA.* p. 190.

106 *PugA.* p. 190; *DhsA.* pp. 267, 278, 286.

107 *DhsA.* pp. 230, 267, 284, 286; *PsA.* 405; *VibhA.* 81.

108 *DhsA.* p. 405; *PsA.* 80.

109 *Vism.* pp. 283, 438; *MA.* I, pp. 118, 253; *DhsA.* pp. 112, 114, 119, 120, 122, 142.

110 *Vism.* p. 141; *PsA.* p. 181; *DhsA.* 165.

111 *MA.* I, p. 31.

112 *VinA.* I, p. 75; *KvuA.* pp. 3–5.

113 See 116.

114 See, however, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 220.

115 The author of the *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā* is not known. The theory of (a) Culla–Buddhaghosa as the author of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (see discussion in Malalasekera, op. cit. 96 f.) and of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, *Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā*, and *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā* (see Barua, op. cit. pp. 88 ff. and Law, *Buddhaghosa*, 1946, p. 60) and (b) Buddhaghosa III as the author of the *Samantapāsādikā* and *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (see Barua, loc. cit.; Law ,loc. cit.) has been postulated.

cannot be definitely ascertained, but it may be surmised that the Pali commentaries, begun in the first half of the fifth century, were completed by the end of the next century. [116]

A list of the Pali commentaries with their authors is given below.

Individual commentaries and commentators are discussed elsewhere under sepa- rate heads.

Buddhaghosa's name has here been marked with an asterisk, where his authorship had been generally accepted but doubts have been expressed in recent times.

	Canonical text	*Commentary*	*Author of Commentary*
		Visuddhimagga	Buddhaghosa
Vinaya	Vinaya Piṭaka	Samantapāsādikā	Buddhaghosa*
	Pātimokkha	Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī	Buddhaghosa*
Sutta	Dīgha Nikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	Buddhaghosa
	Majjhima Nikāya	Papañcasūdanī	Buddhaghosa
	Saṃyutta Nikāya	Sāratthappakāsinī	Buddhaghosa
	Aṅguttara Nikāya	Manorathapūraṇī	Buddhaghosa
	Khuddaka Nikāya		
	(1) Khuddakapāṭha	Paramatthajotikā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa [117]
	(2) Dhammapada	Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa [117]
	(3) Udāna	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
	(4) Itivuttaka	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
	(5) Suttanipāta	Paramatthajotikā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa [117]
	(6) Vimānavatthu	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
	(7) Petavatthu	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
	(8) Theragāthā	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
	(9) Therīgāthā	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
	(10) Jātaka	Jātakaṭṭhakathā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa [117]
	(11) Niddesa	Saddhammapajjotikā	Upasena
	(12) Paṭisambhidāmagga	Saddhammappakāsinī	Mahānāma
	(13) Apadāna	Visuddhajanavilāsinī	Not known [118]
	(14) Buddhavaṃsa	Madhuratthavilāsinī	Buddhadatta
	(15) Cariyāpiṭaka	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
Abhidhamma	Dhammasaṅgaṇī	Atthasālinī	Buddhaghosa*
	Vibhaṅga	Sammohavinodanī	Buddhaghosa*
	Kathāvatthu Puggalapaññatti Dhātukathā Yamaka Paṭṭhāna	Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā	Buddhaghosa*

116 This period has not been generally accepted. See Barua, op. cit. p. 93; *UCR*. Vol. III, Nov. 1945, pp. 77 f.; Law, op. cit. pp. 26, 29, 61, 77; A. P. Buddhadatta in *UCR*. Vol. II, Nov. 1944, pp. 77 f.

117 See references in 115 and
Winternitz, op. cit. pp. 196–7;
Burlingame in *HOS*. Vol. 28 intr.;
Bapat & Vadekar, *Atthasālinī*, intr.;
A. P. Buddhadatta in *UCR*. Vol. II, Nov. 1944 p. 77f.

118 See colophons in the commentaries and *Gandhavaṃsa*, *JPTS*. 1886. pp. 59, 68. The *Gandhavaṃsa* also ascribes the commentary on the *Apadāna* to Buddhaghosa.

The chronological order in which the different commentaries were compiled cannot be definitely ascertained because of mutual references in the works. However, this is not so in all cases and some works are clearly presupposed by others. The *Visuddhimagga* was undoubtedly Buddhaghosa's first work, for, while it does not refer to any of his other works, it is frequently quoted in them. [119] Of the two Vinaya commentaries, the ***Samantapāsādikā*** was written before the ***Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī***. The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* was the first of the nikāya commentaries and next came the ***Papañcasūdanī***. Of the commentaries on the Abhidhamma, the ***Atthasālinī*** and the *Sammohavinodanī* were the earliest. The *Sammohavinodanī* is referred to (without any counter references) in the ***Papañcasūdanī***, ***Sāratthappakāsinī*** and ***Manorathapūraṇī***. The earliest commentary of the ***Khuddaka Nikāya*** was perhaps the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. The ***Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*** was written before the *Thera-Therīgāthā* commentaries and the *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* and ***Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā***. Of the last two, the *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* came earlier. The *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā* was among the last of the commentaries.

While these Pali commentaries drew their material from the Sinhala and Dravidian commentaries, they were not *verbatim* translations of them. This is quite evident from the manner in which the Pali commentaries have been compiled. Such expressions as *Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ sāraṃ ādāya*, *Mūla-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ sāraṃ ādāya*, *Porāṇaṭṭhakathānaṃ sāraṃ ādāya* (having taken the essence of ....) in the epilogues of certain commentaries [120] where the source has been indicated, would suggest that the Pali commentaries were not mere translations of the corresponding Sinhala commentaries. The work of Buddhaghosa and others appears to have been to make a critical study not only of the different Sinhala and Dravidian commentaries but also other sources of material, such as the canon and various traditions and opinions, and., to make a new commentary in Pali in the light of all the material available. The commentatorial interpretation is often compared with the canonical, and where it disagrees it is rejected.[121] Even the narratives and episodes in the Pali commentaries do not always seem to have been taken from the Sinhala commentaries. Burlingame has discussed[122] how stories in the commentaries, including prose stories in the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, are to a great extent not translations from the Sinhala but borrowings from and adaptations of pre-existing Pali material. Sten Konow has pointed out [123] that while some of the narratives in the Ceylonese commentaries and the chronicles are of Ceylon origin, others can be traced to a distinct Indian origin. Buddhaghosa's quotations from the *Dīpavaṃsa*, a work generally dated after the Sinhala commentaries [124], would show that he was not merely translating the original commentaries, but was making use of other available material, too, in compiling his own commentaries.

But, not much original thought is shown in the Pali commentaries. Buddhaghosa does not appear to have had a free hand in his works. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* account, Buddhaghosa did not come to Ceylon on an invitation and as such he probably had to follow the instructions of the Mahāvihāra elders. In the majority of the commentaries, in the epilogue, the commentators have pledged their allegiance to the Mahāvihāra tradition. Under the circumstances, not much originality is to be expected of the Pali commentators. In the introductory verses to the *Samantapāsādikā* Buddhaghosa gives the method he adopts in his work: " In commencing this commentary, I shall, having embodied therein the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the *Mahāpaccarī*, as also in the famous *Kurundī* and other commentaries, and including the opinions of the elders, perform my task well............ From these (Sinhala) commentaries after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions and without over-stepping any Pali idiom (I shall proceed to compose)..........." It is in the introductions to the nikāya commentaries that he sheds further light: " And now rejecting the Sinhala language, adopting the graceful language that accords so well with the order of the

119 The *Mahāvaṃsa* account (ch. 37) that the *Atthasālinī* was written before the *Visuddhimagga* cannot be accepted.

120 *DA., MA., SA., AA: Sā hi Mahā-aṭṭhakathāya sāram ādāya niṭṭhitā....: Mūlaṭṭhakathāsāraṃ ādāyā mayā imaṃ karontena......*

VbhA.: Porāṇaṭṭhakathānaṃ sāraṃ ādāya sā ayaṃ niṭṭhaṃ.

121 *Vism.* p. 315; *VinA.* V, p. 970; *YamA. JPTS.* 1910–12, p. 83.

122 *JAOS.* 38, 1918, p. 267.

123 *Aus Indiens Kultur*, Festgabe für Richard von Garbe, 1927, pp. 33 f.

124 On the other hand, according to G.C. Mendis' date of the *Dīpavaṃsa* (*UCR.* Vol. IV, Oct. 1964, pp. 1 f.) these quotations could have already been included in the Sinhala commentaries.

text, not contradicting the faultless conclusions of the Elders of the priesthood who dwell at the Great Monastery................ and to the end that religion may long endure, I proceed to expound the meaning of my text, omitting all unnecessary repetitions."

It is quite clear that he was confined in his writings to the Mahāvihāra tradition and also that not all the material in the Sinhala commentaries has been included in the Pali commentaries. An example of this is found in the *Samantapāsādikā*, where Buddhaghosa says that the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* contained detailed accounts on certain subjects, but he does not proceed to include them.[125] Apart from expressing his opinion on rare occasions where there was no proclaimed opinion, with the note *ayaṃ pana me attano mati*, Buddhaghosa does not seem to have added any original material of his own. This is clear from his list of the Vinaya teachers up to 'the present day' (*yāva ajjatanā*) in the *Samantapāsādikā* (a reference already noted) which he does not bring up to his day but stops at the first century A. C. apparently as he found in Sinhala commentaries. This might also explain, why he has not referred to such an important event as the bringing of the Tooth Relic to Ceylon. The Sinhala commentaries which were closed before this event would not have referred to it and thus it did not find a place in the Pali commentaries either. The fact that image worship, which had become quite common in Buddhaghosa's time, is hardly mentioned in the Pali commentaries, too, is probably to be explained in the same manner.[126]

There are different derivations of the same word in different contexts[127] and some show the commentator's proficiency in the Sanskrit language[128] while there are etymological errors in others.[129] The Sinhala and Dravidian commentaries would have received treatment at the hands of teachers both learned and otherwise and these inconsistencies are probably to be attributed to them. These found their way into the Pali commentaries and Buddhaghosa possibly did not consider it his responsibility to correct them. His task was not to write original commentaries but to render the existing ones into Pali, making use of all the available material. Buddhaghosa's work was that of an editor-translator, but he seems to have performed his task so efficiently and with such discretion and authority, that now he is regarded more or less as the author of the commentaries.[130]

In the course of the development of the Sinhala *Aṭṭhakathā*, certain deviations from the canonical literature are to be noticed and these are repeated in the Pali commentaries.[131] Firstly, there were instances where the *Aṭṭhakathā* contained readings different from the text, though in some instances the differences were very slight. Such instances are found in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*.[132] There are marked differences, however, in the *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*, which contains some stanzas not found in the text and omits others found in the text.[133] These instances are so many that it has been suggested[134] that the *Buddhavaṃsa* commented upon is not the text as we have it today and that it has received many additional verses in Ceylon. There are also instances where the commentatorial view differs from that of the text.[135] More frequent are instances where the canonical material has been elaborated upon. This is particularly noticeable in the biographical accounts of the Buddha. The narratives in connection with the conception and birth of the Sakyamuni contained in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[136] and the *Acchariyabbhuta-dhamma Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[137] appear in their respective commentaries in a greatly detailed and exaggerated form.[138] The four guardian gods who, in the canonical accounts, protect

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125 *VinA.* II, pp. 473-4.

126 See W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 125f.

127 *Janetasmiṃ : SA.* I, p. 219, *Janetasmiṃ'ti janatasmiṃ pajāyāti attho: SA.* II, p. 247. *Janetasmim'ti janite : pajāyāti attho* (A. P. Buddhadatta, *Aṭuvā parikṣaṇaya hā Aṭuvāgāṭapadaya*, p.4).

128 *Indriyaṭṭho* in *Visuddhimagga*. See Adikaram, op. cit. p. 3.

129 *Dosinā* in *Dosinā ratti* in *DA.* I, p. 141, defined as *dosāpagatā* when it is the Pali form of Sanskrit *jyotsnā* (moonlight). See Adikaram, op. cit.

130 Rahula, op. cit. Intr. p. xxiv.

131 In this paragraph A.P. Buddhadatta-*Aṭuvāparīkṣanaya hā Aṭavākathāvastn*, pp. 3ff. and Adikaram, op. cit. chap. 4 have been made use of.

132 *J.* I. p. 488 ; II, pp. 241, 299 ; IV, p. 236; V, pp. 95, 273, 276; VI, p. 36.

133 See Adikaram, op. cit. p. 34.

134 loc. cit.

135 In the *Cūḷassapura Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* I, p. 284) all the castes, Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa, Vessa and Sudda are treated as suitable for recluseship. In the commentary on the *Cūḷahatthipadopama Sutta* (*MA.* II, p. 204), however, an attempt is made to show that the *gahapati* are most suitable for ordination, as both the Khattiyas and Brāhmaṇas suffer from a sense of pride because of their high birth and high learning, respectively. For other examples see *UdA.* p. 171 and *VbhA.* pp. 27, 28.

136 *D.*II, pp. 1 f.

137 *M.*III, pp. 118 f.

138 *DA.* II, pp. 407 f. ; *MA.* IV, pp. 167 f.

the bodhisatta at conception are increased to 40,000 in the commentary. The extra details are sometimes given under the heading *sambahulavāra* (manifold section) which the commentator states has not come down in the text.[139] Sometimes, an attempt is made to give the stamp of the authority of *buddhavacana* to the new material in the commentaries with a note that it was said by the Buddha, though it has not been included in the text.[140] A new subject that is discussed in the commentaries is the *pañca-antaradhānāni* (five disappearances) that would follow at the end of the Sāsana.[141] Certain terms, too, acquired in the commentaries distinct derivations unknown to the canon.[142]

Differences are also seen between the different commentaries themselves. These no doubt have been taken over from the Sinhala and Dravidian commentaries. The Pali commentators themselves have pointed out some of them.[143] The inconsistencies in the derivations of words (sometimes in the same commentary) have already been noted. There are numerous instances where accounts of the same episode in the different *aṭṭhakathā* differ as regards details.[144] Sometimes differences between the commentaries are seen in the definition of words.[145] However, all these disagreements are with regard to details and no major discrepancies are found.

Most commentaries have been given special names, like *Samantapāsādikā*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* etc., while a few are merely named after the work they comment on, such as the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. All the commentaries have a prologue in verse, followed often by an introduction in prose of varying length (which in the *Samantapāsādikā* and *Atthasālinī* runs to several pages), and an epilogue, followed by a colophon, indicating authorship. In Buddhaghosa's commentaries to the first four nikāyas, the prologue is almost identical and the epilogue also contains similar verses. Dhammapāla's works, too, show little variation in the prologue and epilogue. Verses in common also occur in these sections in the commentaries of Upasena and Mahānāma.

In the prologue, the author usually pays homage to the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, gives a brief note on the text he is commenting on and proceeds to give the method he proposes to adopt in translating. Excerpts from Buddhaghosa's works have already been quoted. Often the source of the work and the tradition followed are indicated in either the prologue or the epilogue of the commentary. In addition to this is sometimes disclosed the name of the person at whose request the work was undertaken. In the epilogue, too, is often stated why the work has been so named. Additional information, such as the name of the reigning king (usually referred to by title only) and the place where the work was compiled, is contained in the epilogues of certain works.[146] The colophons (which are worded in almost identical language) give some meagre information about the author.

The prose introduction generally gives a literary history of the work, though much more than this is discussed in the longer introductions. In the commentary proper the commentators appear to have followed a fairly systematic method. The work is dealt with section by section, e.g., *sutta* or *gāthā* as the case may be, to which very often a special introduction is given on how, when and by whom it was spoken and on the places and persons named in it.[147] The text is then commented upon, every word or phrase considered doubtful being explained philologically and exegetically. In certain commentaries like the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, the actual exegesis of the words of the text is restricted to only a few paragraphs while the introduction is very long and forms the bulk of the commentary. In the explanation of a word,

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139 Under *Sambahulavāra* is also included in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* a fabulous account of the various signs that could be seen on the soles of the bodhisatta's feet (*DA*. II, pp. 445 f.).

140 *DA*. I, p. 238 ; *SA*. I, p. 201 : ' *idaṃ pi kira Bhagavatā vuttaṃ eva, Pāḷiyaṃ pana na ārūḷham* ; *DA*. II. p. 636 : ' *idaṃ Pāḷiyaṃ ārūḷhaṃ ca anārūḷhaṃ ca sabbaṃ Bhagavā avoca.*

141 *AA*. I, pp. 89 ff.

142 For instance the term *nibbāna* which in the canon is connected with *nibbāti* (*S*. II, p. 85 ; *Sn*. p. 235) and *nibbuta* (*M*. I, p. 487) and has the significance of ' blowing out', is in the commentaries explained as *ni* + *vāna*, ' absence of craving' (*SA*. I, p. 196 ; III, p. 112 ; *ItA*. I, p. 164).

143 *UdA*. p. 101.

144 According to the *Papañcasūdanī* (II, p. 187), at the birth of Siddhattha, all five brāhmans predicted that he would become Buddha, whereas Kondañña alone made this prediction in the *Manorathapūraṇī* (I, p. 144).

145 The word *gopo* in *DhpA*. I, p. 157 and *SnA*. p. 23.

146 King referred to in the *Samantapāsādikā*, *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, *Saddhammappajjotikā*, *Saddhammappakāsinī*. Place where the work was compiled given in the *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā*.

147 In the words of the commentators : *Yenā yatha yadā yasmā vuttā gāthā ayaṃ imaṃ vidhiṃ pakāsayitvāssā karissām' atthavannananti* : *SnA*. p. 2. *Kena bhāsitaṃ kattha bhāsitaṃ kasmā bhāsitam'ti vuccate*: Prose intr. in *VvuA*. and *PvuA*.

the various interpretations as also the various derivations are given. A striking example is the eightfold derivation of the word 'Tathāgata' found repeated in many commentaries.[148] The different views of the derivation of proper names are also recorded.[149] Sometimes, the word is broken up into different letters and a fanciful interpretation is given.[150] In the course of explanation, similes are used to make the meaning clearer. To illustrate a point, factual examples are given. It is in the course of such explanation that so much extraneous matter has crept into the commentaries. In illustration of a point, often the commentator is not satisfied with one example but gives a series of them as in the case of the explanation of *saṃsaggajāta*, occurring in several commentaries, where instances of many bhikkhus who had come to grief are given.[151]

It has already been discussed how the different views of various authorities, like the *Aṭṭhakathās*, the *Porāṇas* and the *Bhāṇakas* have been quoted. There is a passage in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[152] where the relative values of the authorities, *sutta, suttānuloma, ācariyavāda* and *attano-mati*, are discussed. *Ācariyavāda* is identified with *Aṭṭhakathā*. Of these, *sutta* is the most authoritative and should not be rejected, for it would be like rejecting the Buddha himself. The other three are to be accepted only if they agree with 'sutta'. In the *Atthasālinī*, the reader is warned about the reliability of a statement which is not supported by the text or commentary.[153] Sometimes the different versions are introduced as the *Pāḷinaya*, or *Pakaraṇanaya* and *Aṭṭhakathānaya*.[154] At times, the alternative interpretation is introduced without naming the sources as, for instance, *aparo nayo* or *keci vadanti* or *apare ....'ti*.[155] Quotations from texts often from the canon are also given without naming the source with the words *vuttaṃ hi etaṃ* (it has been said).[156] Later commentaries have borrowed from the earlier ones.[157] Very often the reader is referred to explanations in the earlier works.[158] Repetitions are also avoided by such expressions as *sesaṃ uttānattham eva* (the rest is clear in meaning).[159] However, in spite of these attempts at cutting down repetitions, numerous instances are found in the commentaries where various narratives and episodes are repeated sometimes in the same wording, sometimes slightly differently.[160] As has been pointed out earlier, in the definitions and derivations of words and the narratives common to different commentaries too, slight deviations are also noticed.

In language, style and method the *Aṭṭhakathā* show an advance on canonical commentaries and post-canonical works like the *Nettippakaraṇa, Peṭakopadesa* and *Milindapañha.* "In place of the archaic, stilted sometimes halting sutta speech, almost puritanical in its simplicity......" we find in the commentaries ".... a language rich in its vocabulary, flexible in its use, elegant in structure, often intricate in the verbiage of its constructions and capable of expressing all the ideas that the human mind had then conceived. Sonorous, long-winded sentences took the place of the direct simple composition of the suttas."[161] Striking examples of such involved and long sentences, with protracted similes, are found in the *Samantapāsādikā*[162] and the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*[163]. The commentarial language can also be distinguished from the canonical

148 *DA*. I, pp. 59 ff.; *MA*. I, pp. 45 ff.; *SA*. II, p. 287; *UdA*. pp. 128 ff.; *ItA*. I, 117; *NdA*. I, pp. 177 f.; *PsA*. pp. 207 f.; *BuvA*. p. 15; *PugA*. p. 234. Derivations of 'Tathāgata', though less than 8 are also given in *KhpA*. p. 196; *PvuA*. p. 64; other examples *sūkaramaddava* : *DA*. p. 568; *UdA*. p. 399. *bhūta* : 7 meanings given at *MA*. I, p. 31.

149 Sāvatthi : *MA*. p. I, 59; *KhpA*. p. 110; *UdA*. p. 55; *PsA*. p. 532: Ukkaṭṭhā: *MA*. I, p. 10; Jetavana : *PsA*. p. 532.

150 Pasenadi : *Paccataṃ parasenaṃ jināti'ti Pasenadī* (*UdA*. p. 104) *Bāla* : *balanti ananti ti bālā*. *KhpA*. p. 124.

An example of a peculiar derivation is *acchariya* on *UdA*. pp. 127–8.

151 *MA*. II, p. 145; *SnA*. pp. 70 f.; *NdA*. III, pp. 111 f.; *ApA*. pp. 156 f.

152 pp. 567 f.

153 *Aṭṭhakathāsu pana anāgatattā vīmaṃsitvā gahetabbā*, p. 99. *DA*. p. 73.

154 *Pāḷinaya* : *DhkA*. p. 3. (*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, *SHB*. Vol. XXVIII); *Paṭṭhāna-A*. p. 381 (*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, *SHB*. Vol XL).
Pakaraṇanaya : *DA*. p. 754.
Aṭṭhakathānaya : *Vism*. p. 433; *DA*. p. 760; *MA*. I, p. 245; *AA*. I, p. 113; *PugA*. p. 171.
Ācariyanaya : *PugA*. p. 174.
The definition of a word according to Vinayapariyāya, Abhidhammapariyāya and Suttantikapariyāya is given in *Vism*. p. 72.

155 *Aparo naye* : *DhsA*. pp. 117, 118, 120 *Keci vadanti* : *DhsA*. p. 312; *apare'ti* : *DhsA*. p. 312.

156 *Vism*. p. 285.

157 *Pātimokkha-A*. has borrowed from *Vin A*.
NdA. has borrowed from *Vism*., *SnA*. and *VbhA*.
ApA. Nidānakathā from the Nidānakathā of *J*. and corresponding portions of *BuvA*. also from *DhpA*., *SnA*., *ThagA*., *J*.

158 *Vin A*. V, pp. 953, 1025; *DA*. p. 1000; *MA*. II, p. 30; *SA*. I, p. 15; II, p. 285; *CpA*. pp. 3, 16; *ItA*. I, 12; II, p. 85.

159 *SnA*. II, p. 517, 507; *ApA*. p. 400; *PaṭṭhānaA*. p. 375 (*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, *SHB*. Vol. XL). *Sesam uttānaṃ eva* : *SnA*. II, p. 508, 509. *Sesaṃ vuttanayaṃ eva* : *SnA*. I, 365; *KhpA*. p. 144; *ApA*. p. 199.

160 See 151.

161 Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 103.

162 *Sādhu bhante 'ti kho Rājā Ajātasattu..bhikkhusaṅghassa ārocāpesi : niṭṭhitaṃ bhante mama kiccan 'ti* : *VinA*. pp. 10–11 (repeated in *DA*. I, p. 9)
or *VinA*. pp. 43–4. *Imāhi iddhīhi.... nāma akāsi.*

163 *Sakala dasasahassīlokadhātu.... paramasobhaggappattā ahosi* : *J*. I, p. 51.

language in its use of unusually long compounds and certain peculiar abstract formations.[164] But, the language and the style of all the commentaries are not uniform, varying with the auther and also with the contents and subject matter dealt with. It is precisely for this reason that Buddhaghosa's authorship of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* is doubted, because of the difference in language and style from the works which are undoubtedly his.

The commentaries reflect the capabilities of their authors. Buddhaghosa is the author of the most important commentaries and is undoubtedly the commentator *par excellence*. Dhammapāla comes very close to him and, had he not come after Buddhaghosa, he might have written the commentaries on the greater works that Buddhaghosa did. They both show considerable talent, "great learning, much exegetical skill and a good deal of sound judgment."[165] There is much in common between Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. They hold "very similar views,......they have the same method of exegesis; they have reached the same stage in philological and etymological science and they both have the same lack of any knowledge of the simplest rules of the higher criticism."[166] The works of the other commentators that followed are inferior to the works of the two great commentators.

Contents : Doctrinal.

The contents of the Aṭṭhakathā are, as only to be expected, related to the texts they are interpreting and much information regarding the subjects dealt with in the texts is to be found in the commentaries, which greatly aid the understanding of the texts. Words of doubtful meaning are clarified and explained in detail. This is particularly seen in the Abhidhamma commentaries which contain dissertations of certain Abhidhamma concepts like *khandha, āyatana, dhātu* (dealt with more especially in the *Dhātukathāpakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, pp. 3 ff.) and the *paccaya*, towards the elucidation of which the bulk of the *Paṭṭhānappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* is devoted. The philosophical ideas contained in the canon are found in a more intelligible and systematic form in the commentaries. In the words of Mrs. C. Rhys Davids when she speaks of Buddhaghosa ".... to me his work is not only highly suggestive, but also a mine of historic interest. To put it aside is to lose the historical perspective of the course of Buddhist philosophy."[167]

Other Contents.

While a very few commentaries, like the *Dhātukathāpakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* and the *Paṭṭhānappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, strictly adhere to the subject of the text and contain no digressions, most commentaries have, in the course of their explanations, incorporated various episodes, narratives, fables and legends, whereby the commentators have unknowingly given us much information on the social, philosophical and religious history of ancient India and Ceylon. Much geographical data and glimpses of political history are also contained in them. While some commentaries like the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* and Dhammapāla's *Paramatthadīpanī* are rich in material for the social and economic history of Buddhist India, most of Buddhaghosa's commentaries and the later ones, while containing material relating to India, throw a flood of light on the religious and secular history of Ceylon for centuries after Buddhism was introduced into the island. The history of Buddhism of Ceylon, the development of the monastery, the growth of worship and ritual and the history of the Saṅgha can all be traced from the information furnished in them.

India. *Religious.* The aṭṭhakathā greatly supplement the scattered canonical information regarding the life of the Buddha. In several commentaries biographical accounts are found, the most important of them being in the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. The *Buddhavaṁsaṭṭhakathā*[168] gives a list of places where the Buddha stayed during the first twenty years of his preaching before he settled down at Sāvatthi. The *Samantapāsādikā*[169] refers to the Buddha's three visits to Ceylon. The origins of the Buddha legend, which can be traced in the canon, developed in the commentaries. An attempt is made in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* to make the Buddha supernatural, when he is made to appear as not being subject to the signs of old age.[170] Accounts of previous Buddhas are contained in the

164 Examples of long compounds : *massukaraṇakesasaṇṭhāpana aṭṭhapāna aṭṭhapadaṭṭha* (*J*. II. p. 5).

Bhiṅkārapaṭigaha - uluṅkadabbikaṭacchupāti - taṭṭakasarakasamuggaṅgārakapallakadhumakaṭacchu (*PātimokkhaA*. p. 36). Examples of abstract formations : *jānanatā*, *KhA*. p. 144, *PātimokkhaA*. p. 124. *ananuññātata* : *PātimokkhA*. p. 114.

165 Malalasekera, op. cit. p. 115.

166 *ERE*. Vol. IV, pp. 701 f.

167 *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, Intr. p. xxi.

168 *BuvA*. p. 3. This information is also found in *AA*. II, pp. 124–5.

169 I, p. 89. This account differs from the account in *Mahāvaṃsa* in that Adam's Peak is not mentioned among the places visited.

170 *SA*. III, p. 244. Incidentally this is reminiscent of the view of the Lokottaravādins.

Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā. While the *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, and sections of the *Manorathapūraṇī* directly deal with the biographies of the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs in the Buddha's time, material about the Buddha's leading disciples and lay followers is scattered throughout the commentaries. The *Navaṅgasatthusāsana* (the ninefold division of the canon) has been explained in many works.[171] The six heretical teachers are also referred to.[172] The formation of schisms in the Saṅgha, the growth of the eighteen schools as also the six post-Asokan schools are dealt with and their views discussed in the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*. The ten heretical sects in Asoka's time are named.[173] Views of the unorthodox sectarians, referred to as Vitaṇḍavādins, are found throughout the commentaries.[174] The development in the Saṅgha of specialist monks, the Vinayadharas and Dhammakathikas, and their disputes are recorded.[175] The two ideals for the bhikkhu, the *ganthadhura* (duty of study, chosen by those who are young) and the *vipassanādhura* (duty of meditation, chosen by those who enter the Saṅgha in their old age) are mentioned.[176] The *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* are the main source of material for the Buddhist idea of heaven and hell.

Social and Economic. Much of the social and economic life of the people of ancient India can be reconstructed from the information found in such commentaries as the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* and *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*. There were villages of particular castes like the *Brāhmaṇagāma* and the *Caṇḍālagāma*,[177] and sometimes various craftsmen grouped themselves in villages (*vaḍḍhakīgāma*, *kammāragāma*),[178] or at times in streets (*dantakāravīthi*, *rajakavīthi*, *pesakāravīthi*).[179] Some villages were very large.[180] Slavery existed and the usual price quoted for a slave is 100 kahāpaṇas.[181] There is evidence of polygamy. Often a man with a barren wife takes another in the hope of issue.[182] Frequent references are made to courtesans.[183] A woman was so religious that she hired the village courtesan to attend on her non-Buddhist husband for a fortnight while she was engaged in religious activity.[184] People often gathered at festivals some of which continued throughout the night.[185] Women used perfume, wore garlands and jewellery.[186] Sometimes men, too, used ornaments, perfume and garlands.[187] There were high roads from Kusinārā to Pāvā,[188] from Pāṭaliputta to the old north west frontier[189] (now West Pakistan), and traders plied in caravans encountering much danger.[190] The more enterprising among them engaged in trade overseas.[191] Two of the ancient ports were Bhārukacca and Gambhīra.[192] The *seṭṭhi* was an important person in the village.[193] The existence of guilds (*seṇi*) is indicated.[194] Coins and measures used are also mentioned.[195] In certain districts in South India the dead were not cremated but buried and after a period the bones were dug up, washed and smeared with scents.[196] Takkasilā was the great centre of learning which drew students from distant places.[197]

171 *VinA*. I, p. 28; *DA*. I, p. 23; *AA*. III, p. 5; *CpA*. prose intr., *DhsA*. p. 26.

172 *MA*. II, pp.233–4; *AA*. II, p. 28; III, p. 174; IV, p. 93.

173 *VinA*. I, pp. 60–61.

174 *MA*. II, p. 404; *AA*.V, p. 85; *ItA*. II, p. 6; *CpA*. p. 158; *DhsA*. pp. 3, 8, 90, 92, 241; *VbhA*. pp. 9, 51, 319, 459.

175 *MA*. II, p. 393; *DhpA*. I, 53 f.

176 *DhpA*. I, pp. 8, 154; IV, p. 37.

177 Brāhmaṇagāma: *VvuA*. p .45. Caṇḍālagāma: *VvuA*. p. 105.

178 Vaḍḍhakīgāma: *J*. II, p. 18; IV, p. 159. Kammāragāma: *J*. III, p. 281.

179 Dantakāravīthi: *J*. I, pp. 302 f.; II, pp. 320 f.. Rajakavīthi: *J*. IV, p. 82; Pesakāravīthi: *J*. III, p. 49.

180 *Sahassakuṭiko kammāragāmo*: *J*. III, p.281. *kulasahassanivāso mahāvaḍḍhakīgāmo*: *J*. IV, p. 159.

181 *J*. I, pp. 224, 299.

182 *DhpA*. I, pp. 45 f. *PvuA*. p. 31.

183 *VvuA*. pp. 67, 76, 81; *J*. III, p. 59.

184 *VvuA*. p. 67; *PsA*. p. 671.

185 *VvuA*. p. 63; *DhpA*. I, p. 190.

186 *VvuA*. p. 157.

187 *VvuA*. p. 295; *J*. III, p. 507.

188 *J*. IV, p. 19.

189 *J*. III, p. 365.

190 *J*. I, p. 108.

191 *J*. II, p. 128; IV, pp. 159, 196, 466.

192 *J*. IV, p. 137.

193 *J*. I, pp. 120–2; IV, p. 63; V. p. 185.

194 *J*. I, p. 267.

195 *VinA*. II, p. 297; III, p. 702; *SA*. I, pp. 152, 153.

196 *DA*. I, pp. 84 f.

197 *J*. I, p. 159; II, pp. 85, 277, 282; *DhpA*. IV, p. 66.

Political. Information regarding tribes like the Vajjis and the Licchavis [198] and kings, contemporaneous with the Buddha, like Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu and Pasenadi, [199] are found scattered. References are also made to later kings, like Asoka and Rudradāman.[200]

Geographical. Accounts of places in India, like the Himālayas, the Anotatta Lake, and rivers like the Ganges are contained in certain works.[201]

Ceylon. *Religious.* Buddhaghosa's commentaries are very rich in material about the religious conditions in Ceylon. The Bhāṇakas, who had originated in India as the reciters of the various sections of the canon, developed in Ceylon into different schools of interpretation. Much information is available regarding the more illustrious monks such as Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya, Tipiṭaka Cūḷābhaya, Maliyadeva, Dīghabhāṇaka Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva, Tipiṭaka Cūḷanāga and others, [202] who came to be regarded as authorities on the canon. Accounts of diligent monks who strove and attained arahantship in spite of difficulties [203] and, in other instances, monks who were deluded that they were arahants but were found out, [204] are also mentioned. According to the commentaries, at one time arahants were very common in Ceylon.[205] Accounts of monks who yield to temptation and fall off their religious life are also met with.[206] An instance of a dispute between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri faction over a point in the Vinaya is recorded.[207] In the prologue of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, reference is made to a bhikkhu of the Mahīsāsaka school. There was a disagreement between the Paṃsukūlikas and Dhammakathikas as to whether learning (*pariyatti*) or practice (*paṭipatti*) was more important and it was decided in favour of *pariyatti*.[208] As seen from this reference, the ascendancy of *Sutta* over *Vinaya* took place after the disturbance in the country and the dangers the religion faced in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya. There were various religious centres, such as Cetiyapabbata and Cittalapabbata.[209] The development of the idea of worship can be traced. The sacred Bodhi-tree and the Mahāthūpa became objects of popular worship.[210] Great festivals were held at the Mahāthūpa to which people came from distant places, beautifully dressed.[211] Instances are related where the offering of flowers at the cetiya is rewarded with birth in heaven [212] and the joy of a monk experienced after sweeping the courtyard of the cetiya leads to arahantship. [213] Offerings of lighted lamps to the cetiya are also referred to.[214] The destruction of a cetiya or bodhi-tree was a grave crime. The bodhi-tree was held very sacred and a branch could be cut only under very special circumstances.[215] The preaching of the Dhamma was common.[216] The preaching of the *Ariyavaṃsa* drew crowds from far and near.[217] Another festival was that of Giribhaṇḍapūjā.[218] The efficacy of chanting of parittas is discussed.[219] The

198 Vajjis : *DA.* II, pp. 516, 519.
Licchavis : *MA.* II, p. 20.
Sakyas : *DA.* I, pp. 258 – 60.

199 Bimbisāra : *VinA.* II, p. 297 ; *AA.* I, pp. 100, 405.
Ajātasattu : *VinA.* I, p.10 ; *DA.*I, pp. 134 ff. ; II, p. 516.
Pasenadi : *DhpA.* III, p. 78 ; *Ud A.* p. 104.

200 Asoka : *VinA.* I, p. 41 ; *DA.* II, p. 612; *MA.* III, p. 276; *AA.* III, p. 244 ; V, p. 45.
Rudradāman : *VinA.* II, p. 297.

201 Himālayas : *AA.* IV, pp. 107 f.; *SnA.* II, p. 437.
Anotatta: *AA.* IV, pp. 107 f.; *SnA.* II, p. 437.
Ganges : *AA.* IV, p. 110.

202 Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya : *VinA.* p.474 ; *DA.* p.430 ; *MA.* I, p. 79 ; IV, p. 97.
Tipiṭaka Cūḷābhaya : *VinA.* III, p. 591 ; *DA.* pp.442, 530; *MA.* I, 230, IV, p. 94 ; *AA.* I, p. 26.
Maliyadeva : *MA.* V, p. 101 ; *AA.* I, 38 f.
Dīghabhāṇaka Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva : *DA.* pp. 375, 430, 805, 881, 883.
Tipiṭaka Cūḷanāga : *VinA.* III, pp. 699, 892 ; *MA.* I, p. 230 ; *AA.* I, p. 26.

203 *MA.* I, pp. 257 f.; *ApA.* pp. 145 f.

204 *MA.* I, pp. 184 f.; IV, p. 97.

205 *Imasmiṃ yeva dīpe ekavāraṃ puthujjana bhikkhu nāma nahosi : DA.* p. 898 ; *MA.* IV, p. 115.
Sīhaladīpe yeva tesu tesu gāmesu āsanasālāya na taṃ āsanaṃ atthi, yattha yāgum pivitvā arahattam patta bhikkhu n'atthīti : MA. I, p. 257 ; *SA.* III, p. 186.

206 *MA.* II, p. 145, repeated in *SnA.* pp. 70 f.; *NdA.* III, pp. 111 f.; *ApA.* pp. 156 f.

207 *VinA.* III, pp. 582 f.

208 *AA.* I, pp. 92–3.

209 Cetiyapabbata : *MA.* II, p. 398 ; *VbhA.* p. 473.
Cittalapabbata : *MA.* I, p. 185 ; *VbhA.* p. 445.

210 *MA.* III, p. 244.

211 *MA.* I,p.253, repeated in *SA.* III, p. 183 ; *VbhA.* p 348.

212 *MA.* IV, pp. 125, 234 ; *ÀA.* II, 17, 231 f.; *VbhA.* p. 439.

213 *VinA.* VII, pp. 1335–6.

214 *DhsA.* p. 156.

215 *MA.* IV,p. 111, repeated in *AA.*II,pp. 6 f.; *VbhA.* p. 427.

216 *AA.* II, pp. 249 f. Sometimes *bana* preaching went on throughout the night : *AA.* I, p. 39 ; *VbhA.* p. 348.

217 *MA.* I, p. 79 ; *AA.* II, p. 249.

218 *DA.* II, p. 535 ; *MA.* II, p. 398 ; *AA.* I, p.22.

219 *VinA.* II, pp. 472, 476 ; *DA.* III, pp. 969–70 *SA.* I, pp. 341–2 ; *AA.* II, p. 9.

bringing of the collar bone relic to Ceylon is related,[220] but no mention is made of the tooth relic. Reference is also made to images containing relics,[221] but no image houses are mentioned. An account of how the relics would disappear at the end of the *sāsana* is contained in several commentaries.[222] The changes in the life of the monk and the development of the monastery can also be traced. The original rules were relaxed and the monk could practise medicine under certain circumstances[223] (Vasabha's queen was cured by a medicine prescribed, though not directly, by Mahāpaduma).[224] Monasteries could hold land,[225] and sometimes slaves were given to monasteries by kings.[226] Incidentally, slaves could not be ordained unless they were freed.[227] In Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's time there were many learned bhikkhus'[228] while in Saddhātissa's time there was general laxity in the Saṅgha.[229] Accounts of various deities, like Sakka, Vissakamma and Yama are to be found.[230] References to other religious practices are also made.[231]

Social and Economic. There is much less information regarding social conditions in Ceylon than those of India. Glimpses of village life can however be obtained.[232] A list of household utensils and articles used is found in the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī.*[233] There were rest halls in ancient Ceylon.[234] Instances of extreme piety among the laity are recorded.[235] At least one street, named after a caste (*kevaṭṭavīthi*), is mentioned.[236] The king employed an officer to read out his edicts.[237] There were also highly learned people among the laity.[238] People engaged in cattle breeding[239] and worked in sugar mills.[240] There were tax-collectors employed by the king.[241] Coins and measures in use are discussed.[242] A port often referred to is Jambukola.[243] Communications between India and Ceylon were kept up. Ceylonese monks went to India in times of difficulty[244] or in search of knowledge [245] and Indian monks came to Ceylon on pilgrimage.[246] In fact, they too have made their contribution to commentarial literature.[247]

Political. The piety of kings like Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa, Bhātiya and Kūṭakaṇṇa is often discussed.[248] Other royal figures like Mahānāga, Coranāga, Vasabha and Mahāsena are referred to.[249] References are also made to political figures, like the Tamil minister Dīghajantu.[250] Historical events, such as the revolt of brāhman Tissa and the famine in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya are also recorded.[251] At this time, the Saṅgha experienced much suffering. The *Mahāniddesa* was known only

220 *VinA.* I, pp. 83 f.

221 *MA.* IV, p. 111, repeated in *AA.* II, pp. 6 f.; *VbhA.* p.427.

222 *MA.* IV, p. 117; *VbhA.* pp. 432 f.

223 *VinA.* II, pp. 469 f.

224 *VinA.* II, p. 471.

225 *VinA.* III, pp. 678 f.; IV, p. 755.

226 *VinA.* V, p. 1001.

227 loc. cit.

228 E.g., Maliyadeva, Dhammadinna, Dhammagutta.

229 *AA.* I, p. 23; *VbhA.* p. 473.

230 Sakka : *DA.* II, pp. 609 f.; *DhpA.* III, p. 269; *J.*I, p. 60; *VbhA.* pp. 352, 445.
Vissakamma : *DA.* II, p. 613; *AA.* II, p. 236.
Cattāro Mahārājāno : *J.* I, pp. 51, 80; *VbhA.* p 352.
Brahmā Sahampati : *VbhA.* p. 352.
Yama : *MA.* IV, p. 234; *AA.* II, p. 230.

231 *Sivaliṅgādipūjanatthāya* : *VinA.* III, p. 626.

232 Soon after Tissa's revolt there were 7000 families in Kālakagāma : *VbhA.* p. 448.

233 pp. 135 f.

234 *MA.* I, p. 257; *SA.* III, p. 186.

235 *MA.* I, p. 146.; *AA.* II, p. 61.

236 *MA.* III, p. 272.

237 *MA.* I, pp. 193 f.

238 *VinA.* II, p. 582.

239 *AA.* II, p. 61.

240 loc. cit.

241 *VbhA.* p. 441.

242 *VinA.*III, p. 702.

243 *VinA.* I, pp. 91, 98; VII, p. 1336; *VbhA.* pp. 389, 446.

244 *MA.* I, p. 145; *VbhA.* pp. 445 f.

245 *VbhA.* p. 389.

246 *VinA.* VII, p. 1336. An instance of how a brāhman came from Pāṭaliputra to see a monk in Ceylon whose reputation had spread even in India is given in *AA.* II, p. 246.

247 *MA.* IV, p. 94.

248 Duṭṭhagāmaṇī : *AA.* II, pp. 212 f.
Saddhātissa : *MA.* II, p. 294; *SA.* III, pp. 24 f.; *AA* II, p. 30; *VbhA.* p. 473.
Bhātiya : *VbhA.* p. 440.
Kūṭakaṇṇa : *VbhA.* p. 452.
Kaniṭṭhatissa : *VinA.* III, p. 582.

249 Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya : *VbhA.* p. 448.
Mahānāga : He went abroad with his brother : *VinA.* I p. 473; *DhsA.* p. 399.
Vasabha : *DA.* II, p. 635; *MA.* IV, p. 97.
Mahāsena : *VinA.* III, p. 519.

250 *MA.* IV, p. 234; *AA.* II, p. 230.

251 *SA.* II, p. 111; *AA.* I, p. 92; *VbhA.* pp. 445 f.

by one bhikkhu and he happened to be immoral.[252] Bhikkhus fled to the Malaya district and many of them died of starvation. Others went to India and returned only after the famine.[253]

Geographical. A number of places in Ceylon,c entres of learning, like the Mahâvihāra, the most important of them, and others like Tissamahārāma, Tulādhārapabbata, Kāladīghavāpi-dvāra-vihāra and Maṇḍalārāma,[254] shrines, like Mariccavaṭṭī-vihāra, Nāgadīpa, Kalyāni[255] and villages, like Vattakālaka and Setambaṅgaṇa[256] are mentioned.

The commentaries record instances of additions to the canon in Ceylon. In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[257] it is said that the verses beginning with '*aṭṭhadonaṃ cakkhumato sarīraṃ*' in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* were added in Ceylon. According to the *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā*[258] the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* did not comment on the last two verses of the *Kokālika Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*. It has been suggested that this may indicate that these two verses were added in Ceylon.[259] There is also an instance where a sutta is given a new name in the commentary.[260]

The aṭṭhakathā occupy a very important place in the literature of Ceylon, as also in Buddhist literature. The Sinhala commentaries, which are now lost, may be said to have been the earliest literary works of the Island. The Pali aṭṭhakathā were among the earliest works in Pali to be written in Ceylon.[261] Buddhaghosa and his successors gave an impetus to the Pali language and paved the way for the literature that followed. The Sinhala aṭṭhakathā provided the material for much of the literature in Ceylon. Of the two chronicles, the *Mahāvaṃsa* (if not also the *Dīpavaṃsa*)[262] was directly based on the Sinhala aṭṭhakathā and many of the later works were to a greater or lesser extent dependent on them. The influence of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* is seen on Western literature as well as on Burmese literature.

The aṭṭhakathā are very important for the study of Buddhism. They are essential for a proper understanding and critical study of the texts. They are indispensable for a knowledge of the development of the doctrine and the history of Buddhism and the Saṅgha. These aṭṭhakathā, which are exegetical treatises on the canonical texts, were themselves commented upon in sub-commentaries called the ṭīkā (q.v.). The ṭīkā were in turn followed by further sub-commentaries, called *anuṭīkā*. At least one of them, the *anuṭīkā* on the *mūlaṭīkā*, was still further commented upon in the *madhuṭīkā*.

L. R. G.

AṬṬHAKA VAGGA, the fourth of five vaggas of the *Suttanipāta* (*Sn.* 151-189). Sixteen suttas are included in this section, namely, ***Kāma Sutta, Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta, Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka Sutta, Suddhaṭṭhaka Sutta, Paramaṭṭhaka Sutta, Jarā Sutta, Tissa Metteyya Sutta, Pasūra Sutta, Māgandiya Sutta, Purābheda Sutta, Kalahavivāda Sutta, Cūḷaviyūha, Mahāviyūha, Tuvaṭaka, Attadaṇḍa Sutta*** and ***Sāriputta Sutta.***

This vagga belongs to the oldest strata of the Pali canon and it had an independent existence prior to its being incorporated in the ***Suttanipāta.*** This fact is amply proved by the many references

252 *VinA.* III, p. 695.

253 *VbhA.* pp. 445 ff.

254 Mahâvihāra : *DA.* II, p. 578 ; *DhpA.* IV, p. 74 ; *VbhA.* p. 446.
Tissamahārāma : *DA.* II, p. 581 ; *AA.* I, p. 40 ; *VbhA.* p. 445.
Tulādhārapabbata in Rohaṇa : *Vism.* p. 96.
Kāladīghavāpi-dvāra-vihāra : *MA.* II, p. 141.
Maṇḍalārāma : *MA.* I, p. 66.

255 Mariccavaṭṭivihāra : *MA.* II, p. 145 ; *ApA.* p. 128.
Nāgadīpacetiya : *MA.* II, p. 398 ; *VbhA.* p. 457.
Kalyānimahācetiya : *MA.* III, p. 249
Kajarāgāmamahāvihāra : *AA.* I, p. 37.

256 Vattakālakā : *DhsA.* p. 116.
Setambaṅgaṇa : *DhsA.* p. 399.

257 *DA.* II, p. 615.

258 p. 447.

259 Adikaram, op. cit. pp. 11–12.

260 The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (Sutta No.26 of the *Majjhima Nikāya*) is called *Pāsarāsi Sutta* in the commentary.

261 They are not the earliest, the *Dīpavaṃsa* having been compiled earlier.

262 It had been generally accepted that the *Dīpavaṃsa* was based on the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, but this has been disputed and a new theory put forward by G. C. Mendis in *UCR.* Vol. IV, Oct., 1946, p. 12 'The Pali Chronicles of Ceylon'.

to this vagga in canonical works such as the *Vinaya* (I, 196), *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (III, 9, 12) and *Udāna* (59). The *Mahāniddesa*, itself a canonical work belonging to the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, is a commentary on the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga.* A considerable length of time must have lapsed from the date of writing the *Mahāniddesa*, to have it included as an authoritative work in the canon, when the canonical works were finally agreed upon; and the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* should have come into existence at least a few generations earlier and hence the great antiquity of this vagga.

There is a Sanskrit sūtra by the title of *Arthapada Sūtra* (q.v.), consisting of sixteen sūtras which correspond to the suttas of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* N. A. Jayawickrama in his *A critical analysis of the Pali Sutta Nipāta* (ch. 3) mentions that *Arthavargiyāni sūtrāṇi* is referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* (20.35), *Arthavargīya* in the *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and in several other Buddhist Sanskrit works, and opines that these refer to the Sanskrit version of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga.*

The entire vagga is addressed to the *muni*, an individual on the path to spiritual perfection. The suttas purport to show how the *muni* should look at the world and what attitude of mind he should develop with regard to religious disputes and arguments with other religious sects. At the outset it is said that the *muni* should avoid all pleasures of the senses, even as one discards a serpent, for sense pleasures can lead a man astray and destroy all his chances of attaining the goal of the religious life (*Kāma Sutta*). Having avoided sense pleasures, he has to do something more. Since the goal of the religious life is something to be realised within oneself through a systematic process of self-culture, the *muni* should always keep aloof from philosophical disputes; for the disputants always argue, not to understand something by discussion, but to uphold their own theses, and when they fail in this, they become annoyed and then even come to blows.

The majority of the suttas indirectly criticise the various religious sects prevalent at the time, which emphasised external formalism and rituals, logic and argument, to prove the truth of their various theories.

With regard to the meaning of the title of the vagga there is difference of opinion. Lord Chalmers in his translation of the *Suttanipāta* renders the title *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* in English as the 'Book of Octads' (*aṭṭhaka* = *aṣṭaka*). He also translates the *Guhaṭṭhaka, Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, Suddhaṭṭhaka* and *Paramaṭṭhaka* as 'Octad of the den', 'Octad of malice', 'Octad of purity' and 'Octad of perfection', respectively. He has taken *Aṭṭhaka* to mean Octad (eight), because the four suttas, which have *Aṭṭhaka* as part of their titles, contain eight stanzas each (*HOS.* Vol. 37, pp. x, 185, 193). N. A. Jayawickrama (loc. cit.) says that this is a misnomer and that *Aṭṭhaka* in this case means 'meaningful' (*arthaka*) as it is given in the Sanskrit version of this vagga. He continues to say that the word *attha* together with the secondary sufix *ka* (*atthaka*) may have changed into *aṭṭhaka* with the influence of western Prakrit which has a tendency to cerebralise dentals following an *r*. In compounds *artha* becomes *aṭṭha* in Pali, e.g., *arthakathā* = *aṭṭhakathā*.

So there is no difficulty in deriving *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* from *Arthaka Varga* to mean 'the section on meaningful (things)'. This interpretation appears more reasonable, since Sanskrit sources, referring to this section, also call it by that name.

See ARTHAVARGĪYA SŪTRA.

W. G. W.

ATTHAKULA SUTTA, on the profit of the family, the fourth sutta of the *Abhiññā Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 249). It gives four causes why the wealth of some rich people does not last long and four causes why the wealth of some others does. The first four causes are that they do not seek for lost wealth, do not repair what is decayed, then eat and drink to excess and put immoral men or women in authority. The second four causes are the opposite of the first four. This sutta is evidently meant chiefly for laymen.

H. R. P.

AṬṬHAMA, one of the five hundred pacceka-buddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilatī'ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these pacceka-buddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 217) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHĀNA JĀTAKA (No. 425, *J*. III, 474–8), a story related by the Buddha to a monk about the ingratitude and untrustworthiness of women.

Long ago, the son of Brahmadatta, the king of Bārāṇasī, and the son of his treasurer were great friends. When the king died, his son succeeded him and so did the treasurer's son Mahādhana succeed the treasurer. The young treasurer used to visit the beautiful courtezan of the town, and he always took with him a thousand pieces of gold. Once, night fell while he was having some important discussion with the king, and he had no time to go home to bring the money. He had, therefore, to go empty-handed to the courtezan. She was angry when she knew that he had no money with him and would not accept his promise to pay her double the next day. Her attendants took him by the neck and chased him out of the premises. Greatly humiliated the treasurer left the town and going into a forest became an ascetic.

When the king came to know what had happened, he summoned the courtezan and threatened to kill her if she did not bring the treasurer back. With great difficulty she succeeded in tracing the whereabouts of the ascetic, who accepted her apologies but positively refused to revert to the lay life.

W. G. W.

AṬṬHĀNA-PARIKAPPA SUTTA, mentioned in the *Atthasālinī* (*DhsA*. 336) by way of reference. The four *mahābhūtas* (elements) would change their nature much more easily than it would be possible for a disciple with deep faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha to be reborn in hell. Malalasekera (*DPPN*.) suggests that this reference is to the sutta no. 75 of the *Tika–nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 222). There, the Buddha addressing Ānanda says that the correct way to show compassion to one's friends and others, who approach one for advice, is to make them take refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha and kindle in them great faith and devotion. When that is done, the possibility of changing the nature of the elements is much greater than the possibility of such beings being born in hell. In the *Atthasālinī*, Buddhaghosa quotes this sutta while discussing the four *mahābhūtas*, in order to show that, though the *mahābhūtas* may change their various forms, their essential nature would never change.

W. G. W.

AṬṬHĀNA VAGGA, chapter on the 'impossibilities', in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 26 ff.). It lists twenty-eight impossibilities such as that there cannot be two Buddhas or two world rulers at the same time ; a person with right view cannot regard any phenomenon as permanent or kill his mother or father. The discourse is preached to the monks by the Buddha while staying near Sāvatthi, at the Jeta Grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park.

H. R. P.

AṬṬHAṄGIKA-MAGGA, usually referred to as *ariya–aṭṭhaṅgika–magga*, the Noble Eightfold Path. It is the road of moral living, the path of righteousness, having eight constituents dealing with spiritual training, mental development and moral conduct. As a whole it is the final of the Four Noble Truths (*ariya–sacca*), which after the diagnosis of the conflict (*dukkha–sacca*) and the discovery of its origin (*samudaya–sacca*) and its cessation (*nirodha–sacca*), proceeds to find out the method that leads to the cessation of conflict (*dukkha–nirodha–gāminī–paṭipadā*).

This road was first indicated by the Buddha in his first sermon after his enlightenment, the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* (*Vin. Mahāvagga*, I, 9), preached to his former five companions, as the middle course (*majjhimā paṭipadā*) between the two extremes of addiction to the pleasures of sense and addiction to self-torment. This path, he claimed, makes for vision of the knowledge of the truths (*MA* I, 104), it conduces to the calming of the passions and corruptions (*AA*. III, 360; *SA*. III, 297), to insight–knowledge (*abhiññā*), awakening (*sambodha*) and deliverance (*nibbāna* : *Vin*. I, 9).

In the first sermon, the Buddha spoke to five ascetics who were at that moment not even followers of his. To them he showed, therefore, the right path with right understanding, right action, etc. which thence became stereotyped as the Noble Eightfold Path. Subsequently, however, in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (*M*. III, 74), when many of his followers had progressed from right understanding to perfect insight, the Buddha made a distinction where the right Eightfold Path appears to be motivated in view of merit (*puññābhāgiya*) and therefore clings to rebirth (*upadhivepakka*) and is still intoxicated with desire (*sāsava*) ; and where the perfect Path which is not intoxicated with desire (*anāsava*) and which is transcendent (*lokuttara*), i.e., the path of sainthood (*ariya·magga*), is not an eightfold, but a tenfold path. It is the

learner's course (*aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgata-sekha-paṭipadā*) which has eight components, whereas the course of perfection has ten (*dasaṅgasamannāgata-arahā hoti*). In the latter one, right concentration (*sammā-samādhi*) leads further to perfect insight (*sammā-ñāṇa*) and to perfect deliverance (*sammā-vimutti*), the end of the Noble Path.

It is worth noting that the Noble Eightfold Path has not found a place in the Book of Eights (*aṭṭhaka-nipāta*) of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, whereas the ten states of perfection, which are utterly pure and clear (*parisuddha, pariyodāta*) and which constitute the perfect path, are fully dealt with in the same text in the Book of Tens (*dasaka-nipāta : A.* V, 237–47).

On the first occasion we are given a mere outline of the path, a bare enumeration of its eight sections, as right understanding (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), right intention (*sammā-saṅkappa*), right speech (*sammā-vācā*), right action (*sammā-kammanta*), right mode of living (*sammā-ājīva*), right endeavour (*sammā-vāyāma*), right mindfulness (*sammā-sati*) and right concentration (*sammā-samādhi*). Elsewhere, this path is called the method for the realisation of certain conditions (*paṭipadā etesam dhammānaṃ sacchikiriyāya : D.* I, 156–7) for the sake of which the brethren lead a religious life; and those conditions are more sublime than heavenly pleasures, for they culminate in the realisation, in this present life, of that emancipation of mind and heart, which is arahantship.

When the Buddha, therefore, spoke of his teaching as the middle path, he did not try to reconcile the two extremes of materialistic self-indulgence (*kāma-sukhallikānuyoga*) and idealistic self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*), but avoiding both (*ubho ante anupagamma*) he taught the path that leads to the cessation of conflict, which produces virtue and insight, and which leads to the tranquillisation of deliverance and the supreme insight of enlightenment. This course (*paṭipadā*) covers man's moral life (*sīla*), his power of concentration (*samādhi*) and his understanding of the truth (*paññā*).

Viewed from this triple aspect the eight sections of the path fall into these three categories : (*a*) Right speech (*sammā-vācā*), right action (*sammā-kammanta*) and right mode of living (*sammā-ājīva*) are the sections dealing with moral conduct (*sīla*). (*b*) Right endeavour (*sammā-vāyāma*), right mindfulness (*sammā-sati*) and right concentration (*sammā-samādhi*) are the sections of mind-control and mental culture (*samādhi*). (*c*) Right understanding (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) and right intention (*sammā-saṅkappa*) lead to insight (*paññā*) into the truth.

I. **Right Understanding** (*sammā-diṭṭhi*). Yet, although understanding leading to insight seems to form the achievement of the goal of the journey on this road, it is mentioned first to enable one to have a view of the goal from the outset. For, unless the path is known, progress thereon cannot be assured. If the goal is self-seeking, either in indulgence or in asceticism, the path will naturally be understood in terms of self; and then the misconception of individuality (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*) or self-delusion will form the most decisive step on the wrong path. Thus, where misconception of individuality (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*) is the first and most formidable fetter (*saṃyojana*), preventing even the entry on the path of holiness (*sotāpatti*), the right understanding of the real nature of that 'self' is sure to lead to the deliverance of such delusion, which is the realisation of the actual truth. Actuality is the complex nature of existence, the unreality of the phenomenal world, the conflict in the mental world between the universal process of change and the desire for stability; it is the conditionality of events in their arising as well as in their cessation. Thus the right understanding of actuality in the complex nature of existence is the understanding of relativity and conditionality without a supernatural cause or absolute first beginning. The unreality of the phenomenal world should be understood as its unsubstantiality, egolessness, the total absence of any kind of essence or soul or entity supporting the constantly changing phenomena. The actuality of the conflict in the mental world should be understood as 'thought in action' and not as a faculty of thinking: it is thought without a potential thinker. By conditionality of events should be understood their origination and cessation in dependence of conditions which merely offer the opportunity for the arising or ceasing of an effect, without causing the effect by necessity.

Thus, it is said in the *Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Suttanta* (*D.* II, 312) that right understanding is the understanding (*ñāṇa*), i.e., conviction through insight, and not mere knowledge, of the Four Noble Truths, of the universality of conflict (*dukkhe ñāṇa*) in whatever is complex (*saṅkhāra*), the internal cause of conflict (*dukkha-samudaye ñāṇa*) which is craving (*taṇhā*), of the cessation of such conflict (*dukkha-nirodhe ñāṇa*) through the cessation of its cause, and of the course that leads to the cessation of this conflict (*dukkha-nirodha-gāminiyā paṭipadāya ñāṇa*).

In answer to a question of someone from the Kaccāyana clan the Buddha replied that while people usually base their understanding either on existence or on non-existence (*atthitañceva natthitañca*), one with right understanding of the arising

of world-events does not subscribe to the view of annihilationism (*lokasamudayaṃ kho Kaccāyana sammappaññāya passato yā loke natthitā sā na hoti*), while he who with right understanding sees the actual passing away of world-events does not subscribe to the view of the eternalists (*lokanirodhaṃ kho Kaccāyana yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya passato yā lcke atthitā sā na hoti* : *S.* II, 17 ; III, 135).

To possess right understanding is said of him who sees impermanence (*aniccanti passati*) in the physical and mental aggregates (*rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhārā, viññāṇa*). Through such right understanding he experiences weariness with worldly life, and through the destruction of passionate delight his mind is set free (*nandirāgakkhayā cittaṃ vimuttaṃ* : *S.* III, 51 ; IV, 142).

The most comprehensive exposition of right understanding may be found in the *Sammā-diṭṭhi Sutta* (*M.* I, 46-55) where Sāriputta discourses on the subject in great detail. It is the comprehension of what is wrong and right (*akusala, kusala*), namely, killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, lying, slander, harshness, gossip, covetousness, aversion and delusion, and the ten opposite virtues which abstain from these evils; it is the comprehension of the root conditions (*mūla*) thereof, which are greed, hate and delusion resulting in evil actions, and the absence thereof resulting in good actions. Such comprehension will make one free from all addiction to lust (*rāgānusayaṃ pahāya*), will remove all inclination to repel the unpleasant (*paṭighānusayaṃ paṭivinodetvā*), will abolish all attachment to the latent tendency which considers the 'I' as a separate and abiding entity (*asmītidiṭṭhimānānusayaṃ samūhanitvā*), will expell all ignorance (*avijjaṃ pahāya*), and thereby become the cause of the arising of true knowledge (*vijjaṃ uppādetvā*) which is the end of all conflict here and now (*diṭṭhe va dhamme dukkhass'-antakaro hoti*).

Further, a monk may be said to have right understanding if he comprehends the entire process of nutrition (*āhāra*), its arising, its cessation and its working, i.e., nutrition of the physical body, nutrition by which the external impinges by contact (*phassa*) on the internal, nutrition which feeds volition (*manosañcetanā*) and nutrition which is mental (*viññāṇa*).

And Sāriputta continues his discourse, the *Sammā-diṭṭhi Sutta*, explaining that right understanding also means the comprehension of the Four Noble Truths of conflict (*dukkha*) which is found in birth and death, in all the experiences of the five groups of physical and mental aggregates of clinging (*pañc'upādānakkhandhā dukkhā*); comprehension of the cause of conflict (*dukkha-samudaya*) which is craving for sense-pleasures (*kāma taṇhā*), craving for existence (*bhava-taṇhā*), or craving for annihilation (*vibhava-taṇhā*); comprehension of the cessation of conflict (*dukkha-nirodha*) which is the giving up (*cāga*), the renunciation (*paṭinissagga*), the release (*mutti*), the detachment (*anālaya*) from all craving, and comprehension of the method leading to the ending of conflict (*dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadā*) which is the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*).

Right understanding, moreover, includes the comprehension of the origination, the process and the cessation of old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*), of birth (*jāti*), of becoming (*bhava*) which is the process of existence, of clinging (*upādāna*), of craving (*taṇhā*), of sensation (*vedanā*), of contact (*phassa*), of the six sense-spheres (*saḷāyatana*), of the mentality-corporeality combine (*nāma-rūpa*), of consciousness (*viññāṇa*), of karmic formations (*saṅkhārā*), of ignorance (*avijjā*) and of the mental intoxicants (*āsava*) of sensuality (*kāma*), rebirth (*bhava*) and ignorance (*avijjā*). To this extent does a noble disciple attain right understanding (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), his outlook is upright (*ujugatā' ssa diṭṭhi*), he possesses complete confidence in the Dhamma (*dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgato*), he is one who has mastered the true Dhamma (*āgato imaṃ saddhammaṃ* : ibid. p. 55).

All this is the right understanding of the goal which is deliverance from all delusion. It is the first kind of knowledge, called the general knowledge of things as composite (*sammasana-ñāṇa*), and it includes the understanding of the three characteristics of impermanence, conflict and soullessness (*anicca, dukkha, anattā*). They have to be seen as one, for he who perceives sorrow but not the intrinsic transciency and insubstantiality of the conflict, has nothing but the pain thereof without the hope of deliverance.

From the realisation of the true nature of things right understanding will develop insight into the process of nature. The knowledge of composite things as waning and waxing (*udayabbaya-ñāṇa*) is not a mere observation of growth and decay in nature, but it is the right and complete understanding that there is nothing but a process of becoming, which is the understanding that becoming is ceasing (*bhaṅga-ñāṇa*). Though this step should follow quite logically, yet it is a difficult one for many who in the very fact of becoming find all their delight.

But when becoming and ceasing are seen as two aspects of one process, then the reaction of insight into what is to be feared (*bhaya-ñāṇa*) will arise naturally. Fear should lead to understanding of the danger (*ādīnava-ñāṇa*) which is inherent in clinging to mere processes of cessation; it should also lead to understanding of the reasons to be disgusted with such an empty show (*nibbidā-ñāṇa*).

With this is reached insight in the real nature of the path, for now theoretical knowledge is producing the fruit of practical understanding, which is necessary to proceed on the path. A desire to be set free and the knowledge thereof (*muñcitukāmyatā-ñāṇa*) will grow out into recontemplation (*paṭisaṅkhā-ñāṇa*), that is contemplation of the same three characteristics of transiency, disharmony and insubstantiality, but with the increased insight as seen from a higher plane. With a view on the goal they constituted earlier mere general knowledge, but with the intensified view on the path to the goal they become more specified. Thus, insight of indifference to the activities of this life (*saṅkhār'ūpekkhā-ñāṇa*) will be a natural consequence of this disgust and deeper understanding, where evenmindedness (*upekkhā*) is not due to lack of interest, but to the lack of self-interest.

With this is reached insight in the delusive nature of action, that "though there is a road, there is no traveller" (*maggam atthi, gāmako na vijjati*); and there is no doer of a deed (*kammassa kārako n'atthi: Vism.* xix, § 20, p. 517). It is the knowledge which qualifies for the path of holiness (*anuloma-ñāṇa*); for, with this understanding is broken the first fetter of self-delusion (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), which transforms the worldling (*puthujjana*) into a noble one (*ariya*), the average person into a winner of the stream (*sotāpanna*), the stream of holiness which finally leads to the ocean of Nibbāna.

II. **Right Intention** (*sammā-saṅkappa*). Understanding and misunderstanding, morality and immorality, approval and disapproval in general, depend largely on the angle from which they are being looked at. It is the view one takes (otherwise called the intention), which makes the difference. Actions in themselves are neutral, and largely mechanical reactions; but the intention of an action makes it good or bad.

There is a difference between purpose and intention, and it is that difference which makes it possible to have right intentions, while the same cannot be said about purpose. For, a purpose is always the desired effect or expected result. In other words, a purpose is always something in the future, and that makes it ideal and non-actual. And what is not actual cannot be said to be good. Intentions, on the other hand, are not outward views, but inwards bendings of the mind. Purpose and intention, therefore, differ both in the nature of the action and the object. A purpose is set up beforehand and becomes the goal of striving, while an intention may be spontaneously arising according to the mind's inclination, thereby leaving the action untainted by craving, producing a pure action (*kriyā*).

While developing right understanding (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), thoughts must also be properly co-ordinated and directed by right directions (*sammā-saṅkappa*). Co-ordinated thinking is the real meaning of the word *saṅkappa*, which indicates harmonious thinking without isolated or selfish thought. Still, not all co-ordinated thought is rightly co-ordinated. There is volitional intention (*cetanā*) in every physical, vocal or mental act; it is a general mental factor (*sabba-citta-sādhāraṇa-cetasika*) which occurs in any mental state. Therefore, intention is not always the same as desire, though sometimes it may be so.

Intention is the driving force which, if evil, will make an act evil, if good, it will make an act good, while without it there would be merely mechanical reactions. Intentions, therefore, have a creative power in them, which may be for good or for bad. Hence not all intentions, but only the right ones, find a place in the Noble Eightfold Path. A rightly co-ordinated intention is one without selfish views which would make it isolated, narrow and not in harmony with the full process of nature or with progress on the path to the goal as realised by right understanding. It is, therefore, an individual disinterestedness with regard to particular actions, as the view is taken of the whole. Hence, the Buddha spoke of right intentions as views of renunciation (*nekkhamma-saṅkappa: D.* II, 312), views of good-will (*avyāpāda-saṅkappa*) and views of harmlessness (*avihiṃsā-saṅkappa*). Only a detached view, therefore, can be a right intention, as only in detachement the mind can turn away from worldly pursuits and selfish purpose, and be directed on the Noble Path.

III. **Right Speech** (*sammā-vācā*) is placed first of the sections classified under right conduct (*sīla*), for if the tongue is well controlled, all conduct will be curbed. It is first of all the observance of the fourth precept which a Buddhist undertakes to

observe by abstaining in the fullest sense from lying words (*musāvādā veramaṇī*). That includes not only lies, but all efforts made to injure the good name of somebody else (*pisuṇā vācā*) by circulating bad reports through slander, by openly advancing some serious untrue charges through defamation, or by maliciously misrepresenting another's words or deeds through calumny. It includes further all kinds of harsh language (*pharusā vācā*), vulgar, abusive, quarrelsome or invective language. But, reproachful words, directed to persons deserving reproach and used by persons whose duty it is to correct them, would not be harsh language, as long as it is consistent with decency and propriety of speech. Wrongful language includes finally even vain talk or gossip (*samphappalāpa*) in connection with which the Buddha admonished his monks: When you are gathered together, monks, there are two things to be done: either talk about the Dhamma or observe a noble silence (*sannipatitānaṃ vo bhikkhave dvayaṃ karaṇīyaṃ : dhammī vā kathā ariyo vā tuṇhībhāvo : M.* I, 161). Mahā Moggallāna explained this ariyan silence as the attainment of the second stage of mental absorption (*jhāna*) when all mental babbling ceases with the ending of reasoning (*vitakka-vicārānaṃ vūpasamā : S.* II, 273).

But the abstinence or refraining from these various types of wrong speech is only the negative aspect of right speech. Even so, for many it is already much to be sincere in this negative way. Some are not true, because they do not know the truth. In their wrong belief and constant refusal to be enlightened they miss the goal because they refuse to see the path. Their ignorance is blindness through delusion. Few are not true because they do not want to be true. That, of course, is sheer wickedness. It is intentional untruthfulness of which the Buddha said that he who can tell a deliberate lie is capable of committing any crime. A bodhisattva in all the many lives of his preparation for the highest enlightenment may commit all kinds of evil deeds, but he will never utter a deliberate lie; for that would make him turn his back to the goal in his search for truth. And again, there are many who are not true because they do not know how to be true. It is their ignorance of the path, while conventional life in the world is so hypocritical that they are not even aware of the insincere lives they are living. For many of them, untruth has become a necessity for living.

But one who walks on the path " speaks the truth, is devoted to the truth, reliable and worthy of confidence....He never knowingly speaks a lie, neither for the sake of his own advantage, nor for the sake of another person's profit, nor for the sake of any gain whatsoever. What he has heard here, he does not repeat there, so as to cause dissension there.... Thus he unites those that are divided; and those that are united he encourages. Concord gladdens him, he delights and rejoices in concord; and it is concord that he spreads by his words. He avoids harsh language and speaks such words as are gentle, soothing to the ear, loving, going to the heart, courteous, dear and agreeable to many. He avoids vain talk and speaks at the right time in accordance with facts, speaks what is useful, speaks about the Dhamma and the discipline; his speech is like a treasure, at the right moment accompanied by arguments, moderate and full of sense. His is called right speech " (*A.* V, 267).

To be able to speak not only with sincerity but with truthfulness, one has to live the truth for oneself. For, then alone is one able to declare from one's own experience : ' So it is ', without relying on the fickle and fallible authority of others. Right speech of this kind leaves a deep mark of conviction on a susceptible audience. The effect may be of the nature of a shock, but, it will be a salutary awakening; for the tongue of the wise is health.

IV. **Right Action** (*sammā-kammanta*). In the purest sense there is only one kind of action deserving the name of right action (*sammā-kammanta*), and that is the kind of action which does not deviate from the right path with secondary or ulterior motives. An action which is done with the purpose of obtaining something to which that act is related in the same way as an instrument is associated with the material which it is going to shape, such an action is not a pure action but a means to an end. Whether there are ends *and* means, or whether ends *are* means, is largely dependent on the misinterpretation of action.

An action which is operative under a predominating control such as an ulterior motive is not a pure action, is not efficient in itself as it serves another's purpose. Any such action, which may be good (*kusala*) or evil (*akusala*) from a utilitarian viewpoint, is a reproductive action (*janaka kamma*) with a willed effect (*vipāka*). It is a means to an end, and, therefore, not complete in itself. It is the end in view which gave the impetus to, and which became identified with, the means. In this sense, the end was the means, i.e., the condition (*paccaya-hetu*) which made the action reproductive.

But this is not so, if considered from another viewpoint that the means is merely instrumental to the effect without causing it in the ultimate sense;

it may be fertilising but not producing it, unintentional and incidental. Such an action is done in a mechanical or purely reactionary way; and here the means and the end are not identical in any way.

Neither of these can be called right action. For an action, the end of which has become the motive of its arising, is incomplete in itself; it is projected into the future by purposeful striving. And the action, in which the end is dissociated from the means in a purely reactionary way, is a mechanical action.

There is still another possible combination in which the means becomes the end, e.g., in some people who make of the act of eating, which is a means of preserving life, the chief purpose of existence: they live to eat, instead of eating to live. They confuse the instrumental conditions (*nissaya*) with the principal condition (*uttama hetu*). It does not require any explanation to understand that this, too, cannot be right action. And yet it is this type of action which is most frequently indulged in, not only in its more gross forms such as the slaughter of cattle for the sake of taste-satisfaction or the violation of another's marital rights for the sake of one's own gratification, but also in more refined and generalised actions which may even be legalised, such as capital punishment. All such actions are misfitting means towards a wrong end. And abstinence therefrom becomes in a way right action.

Meritorious actions (*puñña kamma*) are also good to some extent; but as they lead to and are intended to lead to rebirth which is a continuation of the conflict, they are means to an end, and, therefore, incomplete in themselves.

A right action in the fullest sense is beyond merit and sin, and it has in it so little of what is usually meant by activity that it can only be conceived and observed in negations: abstinence from killing (*pāṇātipātā veramaṇī*), abstinence from stealing (*adinnādānā veramaṇī*), abstinence from wrong gratification of the senses (*kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī*). For, the rightness of an action does not depend on the activity itself, but on the mental attitude. Any action which is done for the purpose of acquiring merit may be a good action (*kusala kamma*), and under the proper conditions it may produce a good effect (*kusala vipāka*), but that does not make it a right or perfect action (*sammā-kammanta*). An action which is done for the purpose of acquiring merit or for the sake of obtaining a happy rebirth may be skilful (*kusala*) towards the attainment of the desired end, but in the ultimate sense it is a mere reaction, because the view of the expected reward was the motive and the driving force, to which stimulus the so-called good deed was a reaction. Such actions are not complete; they are performed physically in the present, but they are enacted mentally in the future. Hence they are not completely actual and not actually complete or perfect.

Good actions, therefore, like evil actions, are reproductive, and their effects are likewise called good and evil, respectively; but as the continuation of the process of self-delusion is at the same time continuing the conflict, the difference between good and evil is only one of degree. The Buddha compared man's actions with a raft wherewith to cross a stream; having reached the other shore, the raft is left behind, however useful it has been. "Not only evil deeds, but also good deeds must be left behind" (*kullūpamaṃ vo bhikkhave ājānantehi dhammā pi vo pahātabbā, pag-eva adhammā : M.* I, 135).

In the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (*M.* III, 74) the Buddha makes the following distinction in a twofold right action: right action that has a share in merit (*puññā-bhāgiya*) and which therefore clings to rebirth (*upadhivepakka*), is still intoxicated (*sāsava*) with desire, and does not appear to be very perfect; the other is right action which indeed is perfect (*ariya*), not intoxicated with desire (*anāsava*), transcending (*lokuttara*), and this forms part of the path (*maggaṅga*). The first type is good action, for it abstains from killing, from stealing, from indulgence, but with a motive. The second type is perfect action, pertaining to the path, because the restraint is a development of perfect thought (*ariyacitta*), of a thought free from intoxication (*anāsavacitta*).

A right action then must be a pure, a perfect, a complete action, an action performed entirely in the present, physically and mentally, and thus a fully actual action. Inducement by reward, restraint by fear of punishment, obedience in response to legal obligation, can never form a basis for right action. But to abstain from killing out of respect for life, to abstain from stealing out of respect for property, to abstain from gratification of the senses beyond their physical needs out of understanding that they will develop a psychological greed if indulged in beyond that limit, — those are right actions, for they have the fulness of motive and effect in themselves. They are not mere means, but ends in themselves. Hence they do not project themselves into a further process (*vipāka*), as they are not reactions themselves but intelligent actions. Such right actions are pure actions which do not lead to conflict, because in their simplicity they are

not complex; they do not lead to rebirth, because they are non-causal (*kriyā*). They may be called inoperative, as they have neither moral (*kusala*) nor immoral (*akusala*) significance; hence they are also called indeterminate (*avyākata*) and actions of mere doing (*kāraṇamatta*). As all other actions have the tendency of reproductivity and, therefore, may lead to rebirth if other conditions are favourable, this is the only action which, spontaneous in its arising from the understanding of a need, does not lead to the implications and complications of greed and conflict, which will thus completely solve the problem and lead along the Noble Eightfold Path to the final deliverance of Nibbāna.

V. **Right Living** (*sammā-ājīva*) is the earning of one's livelihood by no wrong means. Wrong means do not include wrong actions such as theft. These have been dealt with and are included in right and wrong action. But there are other actions such as buying and selling, which are perfectly justified in themselves, and which yet become wrong means of livelihood, if the articles for sale are going to be harmful. Thus the living by the sale of deadly weapons, of meat and fish, of intoxicants, of poison, of contraceptives, of pornographic literature and obscene pictures, of white slavery for the purpose of prostitution, or any kind of exploitation which is living on the labour of others while withholding from them a decent living wage,—cannot be called right livelihood (*sammā-ājīva*).

And that is about all that the average man knows of this very important and practical part of the Noble Eightfold Path. One should, however, enquire deeper to find out what has brought about these wrong means of livelihood. If people sell meat and liquor, is it not because there is a demand for those commodities? Shops and markets are not charity institutions; they are run for the purpose of making profit, which, however, can only be expected by catering for the demand. Thus, the root of wrong livelihood does not lie with the salesman, who takes his opportunity together with the risk, but with the wrong living of his customers. If some do the slaughtering, it is because others want the meat. If some women are prepared, frequently constrained by circumstances, to offer their body indiscriminately for hire, it is because there are so many men who want sexual satisfaction without the bondage of a married life; or because a hypocritical society has outlawed an unfortunate girl for a mishap in her unexperienced youth. Wrong livelihood then is conditioned by wrong living. It is greed, lust, selfishness, desire for power in many, which stimulates the acquisitiveness in a few who make a profit by wrong livelihood. Our inner demands, therefore, have created the outer opportunity.

Right living is, therefore, not only a life which is harmless (*ahiṃsā*), but a life which is free from greed and selfishness, which is not isolating itself in self-satisfaction, which is not opposing itself to others by comparison, or placing itself above others by judgment. Right living is a life of simplicity, which, however, is not the same as renunciation. Not the fewness of possessions makes a life simple, but the freedom from possessions. True simplicity does not necessarily give up all possessions but it is not possessed by them. Right living is a life without acquisitiveness, without specialisation, without rights and privileges which are all expressions of self-deluded isolation. And when there are no rights, there are no duties either.

Such is the freedom of right living which arises in the understanding that all complex is a conflict (*sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā*), that rights and duties arise from opposition, that all opposition is delusion. And with that understanding come also contentment, happiness and fulness of life. Then life does not mean any more the manner of living; it ceases to be a toy thrown about by the ups and downs of circumstances; for, then it will have transcended all pettiness, all phenomenality, all misery and conflict, all isolation, opposition and delusion. And that indeed is right living on the Noble Eightfold Path.

VI. **Right Effort** (*sammā-vāyāma*). Energy and effort, though frequently interchanged as synonyms, have a very different meaning originally. Energy is the capacity to produce force; it is inner work (en-ergy), mostly a latent ability which requires a suitable environment, such as an impelling condition, to become an active operation. It is not activity itself, but the power to work. Hence, one speaks of static or latent energy, which, however, is merely potential and not actual. Only when it operates actually, it obtains value. It is like an account in a bank from which moneys may be withdrawn for actual purchases. Energy, therefore, is more of the nature of a characteristic, and as such it is classified as a mental factor (*viriya cetasika*).

Effort (*vāyāma*), on the other hand, is an outgoing strength (ex fors) and the actual calling forth of the inner force (en ergy). In appearence it is like a means to an end, for, effort is required in any attempt to reach the goal. But as in right understanding (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) the end calls for spontaneous action which is the means without a purposeful projection beyond the immediate need, so right

effort (*sammā-vāyāma*), as an endeavour to reach the end of the Noble Eightfold Path, does not extend itself beyond removing those obstacles on the path which have arisen (*pahānappadhāna*) or better still preventing them from arising (*samvarappadhāna*); or trying to bring about favourable conditions (*bhāvanappadhāna*) or improving the same (*anurakkhaṇappadhāna* : cp. *D.* II, 312). Obstacles which will have to be removed (*pahāna*) are attachments to sense pleasures and antagonistic dispositions, which each in their own way make the mind selfish and isolated. Evil sources which should be prevented to pollute the pure atmosphere on the Noble Path are the different forms of evil company. This may be in the form of so-called friends who with their wrong example might exercise an evil influence, or in the form of pictures, books, films and songs, which produce an evil effort on the mind. Even certain tastes and smells have a tendency of weakening a person's determination. Thus, by guarding the senses (*saṃvara*) and by protecting and restraining the faculties of body and mind one exerts right effort (*A.* II, 16). Thus far the aspects of preventing and curing. On the other hand, right effort has also its positive applications in the culture (*bhāvanā*) of the various factors contributing to enlightenment (*sambojjhaṅga*). Favourable conditions which may be a help on the path are the cultivation of mindfulness (*sati*), the spirit of investigation (*dhamma-vicaya*), inner energy (*viriya*), sympathetic interest (*pīti*), peacefulness of mind (*passaddhi*), concentration (*samādhi*) and a balanced disposition of evenmindedness (*upekkhā*) in the vicissitudes of life. For, such dispositions are based on dispassion (*virāganissita*), lead to cessation (*nirodhanissita*) and end in self-surrender (*vossaggapariṇāmi* : loc.cit.) And if those conditions have already been brought about, they should be furthered and promoted (*anurakkhaṇa*) with right effort, by means of recognition-with-understanding (*saññā*) the grim facts of actuality, be they a skeleton or a decomposing corpse.

It should be noted that in all these four kinds of supreme effort there is nothing of purposeful striving. All right effort is entirely focussed on the present moment in order to solve the problem of the actual conflict. In purposeful striving there may be a resemblance of effort in an attempt to reach a goal; but such goal is never present, and hence the problem and the conflict are not actual. Such attempts, then, are more of the nature of a trial in the sphere of experiment. But right effort has nothing vague or experimental about it, as the purpose is well defined and understood by right insight (*sammādiṭṭhi*). "The purpose of the holy life is neither gifts, nor honours, nor a good name, which are leafy twigs in a tree; neither is it excellence in regulated behaviour, which may be compared with a branch in that tree; neither the bliss of concentration which is equal to the bark; nor yet penetrating insight which is like green wood. The purpose of a holy life, its heart and its goal, which is like the heart-wood of a tree, is the fixed and unalterable deliverance of the mind (*Mahā-sāropama Sutta : M.* I, 192–7).

VII. **Right Mindfulness** (*sammā-sati*) is the most efficacious instrument to success in any sphere of work, because mindfulness means awareness and attention. It is not an instrument with a specific purpose, but assists any action to perform with greater accuracy. Thus, it can be applied to any action, physical or mental, moral or immoral. Awareness and attention will focus the thought on the work at hand and prevent distraction which is the usual cause of misapplication of energy, of accidents and failure.

Right mindfulness is a kind of direct experience which does not rely on thoughts or feelings of another person, or of tradition, or of conventional society. It is an awareness of the component parts of an action: its motives, its agencies, its constituents, its material, its background, its foundation, even the source of its origination. For all that together forms the action which is the 'I'. Right mindfulness is not concerned with the outer world as such. The outer world as the world of experience is only a reflected world. It is in one's own action that one has to solve the conflict arising from contact (*phassa*) and sensation (*vedanā*), from reaction (*saññā*) and ideation (*saṅkhārā*), which forms the conscious process (*viññāṇa*) of karmic action. Thus the Buddha's way of meditation is not a method of filling a certain period of the day with beautiful thoughts, emotional sentiments or inspiring truths. His method is the method of analysis (*vibhajja*) through mindfulness (*sati-paṭṭhāna*), about which he said that it is 'the only path that leads to purity of life, to the complete overcoming of anxiety and complaint, to the annihilation of conflict and sorrow, to the attainment of the goal, the realisation of Nibbāna' (*M.* I, 63).

This method of right mindfulness is fourfold. (1) It is to be mindful of the body's actions such as breathing (*ānāpāna-sati*), of its reactions (*sati-sampajañña*), its postures as a whole (*catuririyāpathā*), its formation of parts (*paṭikkūla-manasikāra*),

its composition of material qualities (*dhātu-manasikāra*) and its stages of corruptibility (*navasīvathikāya*). (2) It is to be mindful of feelings and sensations (*vedanānupassanā*), to be aware of their arising, reflecting on them as just feelings, without attachment to the pleasant ones, without aversion for the unpleasant ones, without neglecting the neutral ones. It is to be independent from them, whether they originate from an external condition or from an inner disposition. (3) It is to be mindful of thoughts (*cittānupassanā*), seeing their roots of lust (*rāga*), hate (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*), detachment (*vīta-rāga*), placidity (*vīta-dosa*) or comprehension (*vīta-moha*); seeing the character of those thoughts as recollected or distracted, attentive or fugitive, lofty or lowly, liberated or fettered; considering them one and all as just thought (*atthi cittam*). (4) It is to be mindful of mental states (*dhammānupassanā*) associated with the five hindrances (*pañca nīvaraṇāni*) of sensuality, ill-will, sloth, worry and perplexity; to be aware of the arising of those mental states, of their continuance and of their ceasing. It is to be mindful of the mental states connected with the five factors of clinging to existence (*pañc'ūpādānakkhandhā*), i.e., matter, sensation, perception, differentiation and consciousness; or belonging to the six spheres of sense-organs and sense-objects (*saḷāyatana*); or to the seven factors of wisdom (*satta sambojjhaṅga*), namely, mindfulness, investigation, energy, rapture, repose, concentration and equanimity; or belonging to the Four Noble Truths, always reflecting on the actual nature of events and experiences: 'This is conflict, and this is its cause; thus it ceases, and this is the path that leads to its solution'.

It is said that whoever would practise those four methods of mindfulness, if only for seven days, may expect to reap one of these two fruits: the perfect insight of arahantship in this life itself, or at least the state of no-more-return to this world (*anāgāmi : D.* II, 315).

Right mindfulness, then, leads to insight, because it is awareness of the true nature of an action. Awareness is knowledge without assertion or comparison, without denial or acceptance; for, all these judgements are the expressions of the reflecting self, which distorts the view in isolating itself from the conditioning environment. It is the delusion of self which approves or disapproves of certain feelings. But by mere attentiveness, watchfulness, awareness and mindfulness, those feelings will be perceived as sensuous reactions to the environment. The understanding of this action-reaction-process (*udayabbaya-ñāṇa*) will overcome all misconceptions about individuality (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), whereby the root-cause of the conflict will have been removed. Then no thoughts will arise such as: I feel pain or pleasure; but simply: this is feeling (*atthi vedanā*); no thoughts as: I am freed; but simply: this is a liberated thought (*atthi vimuttaṃ cittaṃ*); no thoughts as: this is my body; but simply: such is matter, its origin and dissolution (*iti rūpaṃ, iti rūpassa samudayo, iti rūpassa atthagamo*).

Thus right mindfulness solves the problem of conflict, just because it has no purpose of its own. For, while it is through purposeful volition that opposites are created as the cause of all conflict, pure mindfulness avoids all such complications by merely seeing things as they are.

VIII. **Right Concentration** (*sammā-samādhi*). There is frequently a great deal of confusion about the words meditation, concentration and contemplation. The last term 'contemplation' is etymologically and actually associated with the word 'temple', originally used for the open space for the observations of the Roman augurs who from those consecrated places watched the phenomena in the sky to predict therefrom some future events. Contemplation as watchfulness would, therefore, not much differ from mindfulness (*sati*), as both are essentially kinds of observation.

Meditation, too, is a form of attention and reflection. Hence the different forms of spiritual exercises (*kammaṭṭhāna*), such as recollection of the virtues of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*), reflection on death (*maraṇānussati*), analysis of the four elements (*catudhātuvavaṭṭhāna*) or contemplation of a device as a clay disk (*paṭhavī-kasiṇa-maṇḍala*), are forms of meditation or mental culture (*bhāvanā*). When they have passed their preliminary stage (*parikamma*), they will cease to be exercises of meditation (*sati*) and approach to concentration (*upacāra-samādhi*). It is thus through the preliminary mental culture that one-pointedness (*ekaggatā*) develops into mind-concentration.

In its undeveloped state concentration is present in any thought as the mental factor (*cetasika*) of one-pointedness of mind (*cittass'ekaggatā*), but then it is a mere intellectual element without any ethical significance, to be compared with the consciousness of an amoeba; it is the germ of concentration. Both one-pointedness and concentration have, therefore, something in common, viz., the bringing together of the powers of attention in one central point. Concentration, then, is called 'the power of individualising, developed by

practice' (Shwe Zan Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, Introductory Essay, p. 54), for it focusses the attention on one point, whereby distracting influences are kept at a distance. This is the checking of the five hindrances (*pañca nīvaraṇāni*), when full ecstasy (*jhāna*) may occur, which is truly right concentration (*sammā-samādhi*).

The path which leads to the different states of mental absorption (*jhāna*) and to the checking of the hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) is called the path of calm or tranquillity (*samatha*), because it lulls the passions. But control or tranquillisation is still far from overcoming or uprooting. In this respect the mental culture along the way to tranquillisation (*samatha-bhāvanā*) cannot be the culmination of right concentration and the attainment of the final goal of the Noble Eightfold Path. This can only be reached by that kind of meditation which is insight (*vipassanā*).

It is of great interest to note that the Buddha in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (*M.* III, 76), which was quoted already previously in connection with good action and perfect action, refers to the eight components of the path as the learner's course (*aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgata sekha paṭipadā*), the course of perfection consisting of ten (*dasaṅgasamannāgata-arahā hoti*). The two further constituents of perfection are right insight (*sammā-ñāṇa*) which originates from right concentration (*sammā-samādhi*) and perfect deliverance (*sammā-vimutti*), the end of the path.

Mental culture through insight (*vipassanā-bhāvanā*) has only three kinds of contemplation, each of which may lead to emancipation. These three forms of contemplation have as objects the three characteristic marks (*lakkhaṇa*) of all component things, namely, the mark of impermanence (*anicca*), of disharmony (*dukkha*) and of insubstantiality (*anatta*). But they are so intrinsically linked together, that they form only different aspects, each one implying the other two. But according to the prominence given to anyone of these aspects the process of emancipation (*vimokkha*) is named emancipation by the concept of the void (*suññatā*), of the signless (*animitta*) and of the undesired (*appaṇihita*), which are the three gateways (*mukha*) through which release is effected.

Release through the gateway of the void (*suññatā*) means the emancipation of mind through the contemplation of the insubstantiality (*anattā*) of all things, of the soullessness of all beings, of the emptiness of all phenomena. Release through the channel of the signless (*animitta*) means the emancipation of mind through the abandonment of the sign of hallucination (*vipallāsa*). The hallucination meant here is the perception (*saññā*), the concept (*citta*) and the opinion (*diṭṭhi*), which erroneously discern impermanent things (*anicca*) as lasting. The 'sign' (*nimitta*) then is the appearance of permanence, which is a hallucination, abandoned in emancipation. Release through the avenue of the undesired (*appaṇihita*) is the emancipation of heart and mind, brought about by not hankering after things as a result of the contemplation of the conflict (*dukkha*) arising from craving. This right meditation (*sammā-samādhi*) which is truly insight (*vipassanā*) leads to emergence (*vuṭṭhāna-gaminī*), because it invariably leads to the path of holiness, the stream of deliverance (*sotāpatti*), ending in the emancipation of Nibbāna, the goal of the Noble Eightfold Path. It is in this Path that has been shown the way to bring about an end of the conflict. It is a path of understanding and practice, whereby the truth can become known (*sacca-ñāṇa*), its function understood (*kicca-ñāṇa*), so that its accomplishment may be realised (*kata-ñāṇa*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHAṄGIKA-MAGGA SUTTA (*S.* IV, 367) speaks of the Noble Eightfold Path as the path that leads to the unconditioned Nibbāna (*asaṅkhatagāmi magga*), and each of the eight sections is said to be founded on singleness of heart (*viveka-nissita*), based on dispassion (*virāga-nissita*), grounded in cessation (*nirodha-nissita*) and ripening into total surrender (*vossaggapariṇāmi*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHAṄGIKA SUTTA mentions both the wrong (*micchā*) and the right (*sammā*) sections of the Eightfold Path (*aṭṭhaṅgika magga*), but no particular stress is laid on their connection with the Path. The sutta forms a part of the chapter on courses of action (*Kammapatha-vagga*) in the *Dhātu Saṃyutta* (*S.* II, 168), and it is pointed out that the elementary nature (*dhātu*) introduces a set of conditions, whereby beings of like nature flock together and meet, those of wrong views with similar minded ones, those of evil intentions, those who use bad language, etc., with those of like nature. Likewise, the good-natured ones will, by their very nature (*dhātuso*), associate with their likes, they of right views with those of right views, etc.

The *Aṭṭhaṅgika Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 220) pursues more or less the same theme. The unworthy man (*asappurisa*) with wrong views, wrong intentions, etc., becomes still more unworthy by encouraging others to be like him; whereas the worthy man who pursues the right eightfold path increases in worthiness by encouraging others to walk the same path of virtue and insight.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHA-PARIKKHĀRA, the eight requisites of a Buddhst monk.

See PARIKKHĀRA.

ATTHA-PAṬISAMBHIDĀ (Skt. *artha-pratisaṃvid*), discriminating knowledge (*paṭisambhidā*) (1) of effects produced by causes (*attha*) and (2) of objective meanings, of the things signified by the terms (*attha*). It is one of the four types of discriminating knowledge, the possession of which leads one to the imperturbable state (*akuppaṃ* *A.* III, 119).

The term *attha* in the compound presents a problem since it has been given two interpretations that appear to be contradictory. The *Milindapañha* (p. 339) interprets it as condition or cause (*hetu* or *kāraṇa*), whereas the *Vibhaṅga* (p. 293) and the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 372) interpret it as effect or result (*paccayasambhūta*), produced by causes. These two interpretations are, in fact, not contradictory when the doctrine of conditionality in Buddhism is taken into consideration, according to which an effect turns to be a cause and *vice versa*. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* which does not define the term uses it in the sense of objective meaning, and gives some examples.

In the *Vibhaṅga* (293 ff.) *attha* means the fruit or effect produced by a cause, things that are born, become, brought to birth, produced or made manifest; the knowledge of these things is *attha-paṭisambhidā*. Of the Four Noble Truths, the first and the third are effects (*attha*), whereas the second and the fourth are causes (*dhamma*). Suffering (*dukkha*) and cessation of suffering (*nirodha*), therefore, are effects, because they are the products of the cause of suffering (*samudaya*) and the path (*magga*) leading to the cessation of suffering, respectively.

Buddhaghosa in agreement with the *Vibhaṅga* says that *attha* is briefly a term for the fruit of a cause. " But in particular ", says he, " five things should be understood as *attha*, i.e., (1) anything conditionally produced (*paccaya-sambhūta*), (2) Nibbāna, (3) meaning of what is spoken (*bhāsitattha*), i.e., the meaning of the words of the Buddha preserved in the form of *sutta, geyya* etc., (4) kamma result (*vipāka*) and (5) functional consciousness (*kriyā*); the knowledge of these things is called *attha-paṭisambhidā* (*Vism.* 372 ff.). Nibbāna in this context is the same as *nirodha* of the *Vibhaṅga.* As *vipāka* and *kriyā* are things conditionally produced, they come under the category of *paccaya-sambhūta*, the first item. These four categories may, therefore, be considered as *dukkha* and *nirodha* of the *Vibhaṅga*. The only thing which Buddhaghosa adds to the *Vibhaṅga* explanation is *bhāsitattha,* meaning of the things signified by the words of the Buddha.

It is in this sense that the term is used in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. It gives twenty-five factors in one place (*Ps.* I, 88 ff.) and five main factors applied to thirty-six things in another place (*Ps.* II, 150 ff.) as *dhamma* and describes the objective meaning of those factors as *attha.*

The twenty-five kinds of *attha* are the objective meanings of the five spiritual faculties (*indriya*), five spiritual powers (*bala*), seven constituents of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*) and the Noble Eightfold Path (*magga : Ps.* I. 88 ff.).

The five kinds of main *attha* are the objective meaning of the five aspects of realisation, namely, the objective meaning of vision (*dassanaṭṭha*), of knowledge (*ñātaṭṭha*), of insight (*pajānanaṭṭha*), of wisdom (*paṭivedhaṭṭha*) and of light (*obhāsaṭṭha*). These five kinds of *attha* are applied to twelve factors, i.e., the Four Noble Truths, the four applications of mindfulness and the four bases of psychic power. These twelve factors have three aspects each in their realisation, which is effected in the five aspects given above. The twelve factors, with three aspects each, amount to thirty-six. The objective meanings of these thirty-six are called *attha.* When the five kinds of main *attha* are applied to these thirty-six kinds of *attha* we obtain one hundred and eighty kinds of *attha* in all.

The Four Noble Truths have twelve aspects: (1) the fact of suffering, (2) the fact that suffering is to be understood, and (3) the fact that it has been understood; (1) the fact of the arising of suffering, (2) the fact that it is to be put away, and (3) the fact that it has been put away; (1) the fact of the cessation of suffering, (2) the fact that it must be realised, and (3) the fact that it has been realised; (1) the fact of the path leading to the cessation of suffering, (2) the fact that it must be cultivated and (3) the fact that it has been cultivated. The objective meaning of those twelve is *attha.* When the objective meanings of the five aspects of realisation (*attha*) are applied to these twelve kinds of *attha,*

we obtain sixty kinds of *attha* in the case of the Four Noble Truths.

In like manner we get sixty kinds of *attha* in the case of the four applications of mindfulness. As in the case of the Four Noble Truths, the four applications of mindfulness, too, have three aspects each; namely, (1) the fact of it, (2) the fact that it must be cultivated, and (3) the fact that it has been cultivated. The computation is made in the same way as it is made in the case of the Four Noble Truths.

The same method is applied to the four bases of psychic power with the result that there are sixty kinds of *attha* here, too.

All these are *attha*, the objective meaning of certain things described as *dhamma*. The knowledge of *attha* as well as the diversity of and the distinction between various kinds of *attha* is *attha-paṭisambhidā* (*Ps.* I, 88). The emphasis here is not so much on the knowledge of *attha* as on the knowledge that distinguishes between various kinds of *attha*, the knowledge of the diversity of *attha*.

Thus, according to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *attha* is the objective meaning of *dhamma* ; it is to cover this, perhaps, that Buddhaghosa included *bhāsitattha* in his explanation of *attha* (*Vism.* 372). So the distinction made in the *Vibhaṅga* that effects are *attha*, whereas the causes that produce them are *dhamma*, seems to be ignored in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*.

Thus we have two meanings attached to the term *attha*, namely, (1) the effects produced by causes, and (2) the objective meanings, i.e., the things signified by terms. The *Vibhaṅga* gives the first meaning while the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* uses the term in the second meaning. The *Visuddhimagga* explanation, which incorporates the two as the meanings of *attha*, may be considered an attempt at reconciling the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* explanations.

Buddhist Sanskrit texts are more or less unanimous in defining *artha-pratisaṃvid*. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* defines it as the reflective, absolute and irrevocable knowledge of all phenomena in all their characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) with regard to the extent and manner of their existence (*Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, the Sanskrit Manuscript Add. 1702 of the Cambridge University Library, p. 100[a]). The *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, too, uses the same word *lakṣaṇa*, and adds "which name belongs to which meaning" (*Sūtrāl.* 139).

By this *pratisaṃvid* a bodhisattva knows the division of all phenomena in the past and the future, and understands their origin and disappearance. He knows the difference of meaning and acquires the practical wisdom relating to the elements or substrates of sensory existence, sense-organs and their objects, the truths and the formula of dependent origination. He knows the distinctive features of the several *yānas*, and also the divisions and distinctions of the scheme of the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*) in the career of a bodhisattva. He understands the details and characteristics of various times and objects. He knows separately the inclinations, the ruling principles and the resolves of the eighty-four thousand different types of beings and understands the word of the Buddha (*Dbhs.* 77-8).

See PAṬISAMBHIDĀ.

U. K.

AṬṬHAPUGGALA SUTTA. Two identical suttas by this name, one following the other, occur in the *Sa-ādāna Vagga* of the *Aṭṭhaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 292, 293). Both suttas in identical terms enumerate eight individuals who are worthy of offerings, gifts, etc., who deserve salutation and who are unique fields for meritorious activities. They are: the stream entrant (*sotāpanna*) and the one who strives to realise the fruit of stream entry; the once-returner (*sakadāgāmin*) and the one who endeavours to realise the fruit of once-returning; the non-returner (*anāgāmin*) and the one who strives to realise the fruit of non-returning; the arahant and the one on the path to arahantship.

W. G. W.

AṬṬHASADDA JĀTAKA (No. 418; *J.* III, 428-34), related at Jetavana by the Buddha to the king of Kosala. The incident which led to the relating of this jātaka is identical with that of the *Lohakumbhi Jātaka* (No. 314).

One night the king of Kosala had heard the cries of four inhabitants of hell who had been princes in Sāvatthi in their previous existence. They had been misconducting themselves with the wives of their neighbours and had died near Sāvatthi. After death they were born in four iron cauldrons (*lohakumbhi*) and suffered there for sixty thousand years. When they came up to the top of the cauldrons they wanted to put an end to their suffering and uttered loud cries one after another. The king who heard their cries was terrified and sat up till dawn. Then, when the brāhmans came to inquire after his health, he told them about the cries he had heard. The brāhmans said that the cries portended evil and the remedy could be brought about only by offering a fourfold sacrifice (*catukka-yañña*) of every living creature. When the king agreed,

they dug a sacrificial pit (*yaññāvāṭa*), fastened the victims to their stakes and were very happy at the thought of enjoying fish and flesh and of acquiring great wealth. At that time queen Mallikā came to the king and asked him why the brāhmans went about so full of joy. When the king told her the story the queen suggested that he should consult the Buddha before proceeding further. The king did so, and the Buddha explained to him what the cries were and that the same cries had been heard by kings of the past as well. Then at the request of the king, the Buddha related the story of the past.

Once the bodhisatta was born in a brāhman family and having studied at Takkasilā, distributed all the wealth among the people after the death of his parents. He became an ascetic and practised mystic meditation (*jhānābhiññā*). Later, he came to the dwelling places of men in search of salt and seasoning and lived in the royal garden in Bārāṇasī. The king of that city had heard in his sleep eight sounds, namely, the sounds of a crane, a female crow, an insect, a cuckoo, a deer, a monkey, a gnome (*kinnara*) and a pacceka-buddha. The following day he consulted the brāhmans and they said that a sacrificial offering should be made. The king agreed and while they were preparing for the sacrifice, a young pupil of the oldest brāhman said to his master, that they should not kill so many creatures. All the brāhmans were against his suggestion and did not give their ear to it. Thereupon, the young brāhman left that place, met the bodhisatta in the royal garden and asked him to prevent the king from making that sacrifice. When the bodhisatta said that he knew the significance of those sounds, the brāhman youth informed the king about it. Approached in turn by the king, the bodhisatta said that there was no danger connected with those sounds. He also said that the first sound was made by a crane dying of hunger and asked the king to set it free from starvation. The female crow had cried, because the chief groom of the elephant-stable had been constantly destroying her nest along with the nestlings everytime when he entered and left the stable. He asked the king to prevent it from happening in future. As to the cry of the insect, he said that it had eaten the fig-wood of the palace roof, and since it could not eat the harder wood, it cried through hunger. The cuckoo which was in the palace cried because he wanted to get back to the forest. The fifth noise was made by the deer who cried because of separation from its mother. The monkey made the sixth sound, because he was fond of the society of female monkeys. The gnome, which made the seventh cry, had remembered the loving words which were uttered to him by his mate. On the suggestion of the ascetic all of them were set free by the king. The last cry was made by a pacceka-buddha who had just passed away in the royal park, and he requested the king to perform the funeral rites. Having thus explained the significance of the eight sounds, the ascetic preached righteousness to the king and exhorted him to diligence.

Having thus related the story of the past, the Buddha said that there was no danger at all to him from those sounds and told him to stop the sacrifice, which the king did. Thereupon, he identified the characters, by saying that the king in the earlier life was Ānanda, the pupil was Sāriputta and the ascetic was the Buddha himself.

I. K.

ATTHASĀLINĪ, Buddhaghosa's reconstruction, in Pali, of the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī-pakaraṇa* of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, as handed down in Sinhala at the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura in Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Sāsanavaṃsa* say that he wrote this work at Gayā in north India before he came to Anurādhapura (*Mhv.* xxxvii, *v.*225; *Sāsv.* p. 31). This, however, cannot refer to the work as we have it. For, in that work, he frequently quotes from and refers to another work which he certainly wrote after his arrival in Ceylon, namely, the *Visuddhimagga*, and once or twice he refers to the *Samantapāsādikā*, which he wrote also in Ceylon.

The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (*JPTS.* 1890) has two apparently inconsistent statements which suggest a solution. The first (p. 53) is that he wrote, at the vihāra at Gayā, a work called *Ñāṇodaya* (Uprising of Knowledge), and a commentary on the *Dhamma-saṅgaṇī*, called the *Atthasālinī*, and began to write a commentary, called the *Parittaṭṭhakathā*. Then it was that he was urged to go, and actually did go, to Ceylon to obtain better materials for his work. The second (ibid. p. 56) is that, after he had arrived there and had written seven other works, he then wrote the *Atthasālinī*. When the same author makes two such statements as these, and in close conjunction, he may well mean to say that a work already written in the one place was revised or rewritten in the other.

Dhammakitti, the author of the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, adds the interesting fact that Buddhaghosa in revising his *Atthasālinī* relied, not on the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* in Sinhala, but on another commentary in that language called the *Mahā-paccari*.

Buddhaghosa himself says in the introductory verses to the *Atthasālinī* :

" Being besought
By Buddhaghosa, bhikkhu pure in deed
And virtue, of subtle insight without taint,
What Abhidhamma from the first hath meant
I shall expound, in many figures shown
And searched at all times by the greatly wise.
The ancient Commentary thereof was sung
By the first Council, Mahākassapa
Their leader, and later again by seers.
Mahinda brought it to the peerless isle,
Ceylon, and in their tongue they wrote the book.
Rejecting from that ancient scroll the speech
Of Tambapaṇṇi, I shall here inscribe
On the palmyra-leaf the faultless tongue
That disobeys no rule of holy script,
Illuminate the minds of those who dwell
In the Great Minster, suffering nor taint
Nor base commixture of the heresies,
True meaning of the Abhidhamma show,
And satisfy the wise with chosen words
From expositions of the Sutta-lore."

(*The Expositor*, I, pp. 2-3)

It would be most interesting if the book as we have it had been written at Gayā in north India, or even if we could discriminate between the portions written there and the additions and alterations made in Ceylon. But this we can no longer hope to do. The numerous stories of Ceylon theras occurring in the book are almost certainly due to the author's residence in Ceylon. And we cannot be certain that these and the reference to his own books written in Ceylon are the only additions. We cannot, therefore, take all opinions expressed in the book as evidence of Buddhist opinion as held in Gayā.

At the very outset of the work, the author gives an introductory chapter called the *Nidānakathā* (which has no direct bearing upon the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*) where he deals with various questions, both literary and philosophical. His dissertation on literary subjects helps us to a great extent in fixing the chronology of the texts of the vinaya, the sutta and the abhidhamma. He says that the commentary on the abhidhamma was recited in the first Buddhist council held immediately after the demise of the Buddha and was rehearsed in the succeeding councils. Mahinda brought it to Ceylon and it was translated into Sinhala.

The author defines abhidhamma as that which excels all other dhammas in qualities. The chief difference between suttanta and abhidhamma is that in the suttanta the five aggregates are classified partially, while in the abhidhamma this classification has been done according to three methods, namely, the suttanta classification, the abhidhamma classification and catechism. He says that the suttanta classification is incomplete and defective.

He next deals with the abhidhamma books themselves which are seven in number and records that the very nature of the *Kathāvatthu*, the seventh book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, makes its position untenable in the classification itself, for it dates from the incidents connected with the third Buddhist council held during the reign of Asoka. But Buddhaghosa, relying on the traditional number seven in the abhidhamma classification and, showing the internal defects of *Mahādhamma-hadaya* or *Mahādhātukathā* as the possible substitutes for the *Kathāvatthu*, holds that the latter falls within abhidhamma texts particularly because Moggaliputta Tissa, who presided over the third council followed the contents and methods of the Buddha who himself foresaw this book.

The author then gives a table of contents of each of the seven abhidhamma books and a history of the first abhidhamma subjects as emanating from the Buddha himself. To Sāriputta he attributes the origin of the number and order of the books. He quotes many poetical passages as introductory explanations of the *Vinaya*, the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭakas*.

He says that the abhidhamma is intended for those who think that " There is I ", " This is mine " and who fail to understand that the ultimate self is merely a collection of things. The main purpose of the abhidhamma is, according to him, to draw a distinction between mind (*nāma*) and matter (*rūpa*) and to train one in higher and metaphysical understanding.

The author justifies the belief that the three piṭakas are the words of the Buddha himself, for those bhikkhus who are well practised in vinaya arrive at the three kinds of knowledge (*tevijjā*) while those who are well versed in the sutta arrive at the six kinds of super-knowledge (*chaḷabhiññā*) and the bhikkhus well cultivated in the abhidhamma arrive at four analyses (*catupaṭisambhidā*).

He then explains why each of the nikāyas is so-called. The first one is called *Dīgha* because it contains 34 long suttas. The second one containing 152 suttas is called *Majjhima* because they are of medium length. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* contains 7762 suttas in kindred groups, while the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* contains 9557 suttas in numerical order.

The *Khuddaka Nikāya*, according to the nikāya-classification, contains all the words of the Buddha except those included in the other four nikāyas; thus the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, too, are included in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.

According to the piṭaka-classification, the four nikāyas are the same as in the nikāya classification, but the fifth, *Khuddaka Nikāya*, contains fifteen books only, such as *Khuddakapāṭha*, *Dhammapada*, etc., and excludes the five vinaya texts and the seven abhidhamma texts which are separate piṭākas.

Then follows an enumeration of the nine *aṅgas* and 84,000 units of texts (*dhammakkhandha*).

Thus, the author says, the abhidhamma is a nikāya (*Khuddaka Nikāya*) by nikāya-classification, a piṭaka (*Abhidhamma Piṭaka*) by piṭaka-classification, and *aṅga* (*Veyyākaraṇa*) by aṅga-classification, and holds it as the word of the Buddha.

The Ābhidhammikas claim to be the best expositors of the doctrine. But the abhidhamma is a field for the Buddha and not for others. The author quotes the elder Tissabhūti who, while seeking to trace the origin of the abhidhamma at the place of the great enlightenment, quoted the *Padesavihāra Sutta* where the Buddha viewed with intuition all his qualities and possessions.

A comparison is made of the introductory portions of both the sutta and the abhidhamma. The author says that, unlike the sutta, which has one, the abhidhamma has two introductions: the one dealing with the life and equipment of the Buddha and the other with the events just before the preaching of the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*.

The author further traces the history of abhidhamma teaching in Ceylon. According to him, abhidhamma was taught by the Buddha. It contains the exact words of the Buddha and was handed down along an unbroken line of teachers until the third Buddhist council.

Then, he gives the story of the bodhisatta from the time of his birth as Sumedha up to the preaching of abhidhamma in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven after the enlightenment. The story closely follows the *Jātaka Nidāna*.

The commentary proper comes next. It gives the meaning of the terms that occur in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. In some places word-for-word explanations are given which seem tedious but are certainly useful to students of Buddhism.

The author, following the scheme of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, divides the book into four chapters namely, the *Cittuppādakaṇḍa*, on the arisings of consciousness, the *Rūpakaṇḍa*, on material qualities, the *Nikkhepakaṇḍa*, which is a summary ; and the *Aṭṭhakathākaṇḍa*, containing commentarial notes.

The first chapter, after commenting on the table of contents (*mātikā*), deals with all the psychological phenomena under three main divisions, namely, the wholesome states of mind (*kusalā dhammā*), unwholesome states of mind (*akusalā dhammā*) and indeterminate states of mind (a part of the *avyākatā dhammā*).

While discussing the various aspects of the mind, the author comes to the question of consciousness (*viññāṇa*) and makes a very important contribution to the theory of consciousness in Buddhism. The whole psychology of consciousness was a dynamic psychology, a psychology of movements rather than a psychology of states. Its vocabulary was a vocabulary of flux. Thought was a pathway (*vīthi*), a process (*pavatti*), a running (*javana*) or a current (*sota*). See VIÑÑĀṆA.

The second chapter comments on the terms of material qualities (*rūpa*) which come under the *avyākata* group. The third chapter is a summary of the contents of the first two chapters ; and the fourth, the commentarial chapter, is a digest or condensed paraphrase of the third chapter. It is called the commentarial chapter because it elucidates the meaning of the three piṭakas. Tradition attributes the authorship of this chapter to Sāriputta. The author says that it was compiled by Sāriputta with the object of making clearer the contents of the *Nikkhepakaṇḍa* to a pupil who could not otherwise understand it.

In the present work, it is not the aim of Buddhaghosa to expound any particular doctrine ; he is only concerned with explaining the meanings of terms that occur in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. In doing this he has freely scattered the gems of his knowledge at every opportunity, and has thus enhanced the value of the work. His views on the theory of consciousness are a good example. The word-definitions which may be very tedious are all-important to the student of Buddhism who must know the meaning of conceptual terms before he can grasp ultimate truths. Thus one has to wade through the word-definitions in this book before getting to the depths of its thought.

The *Atthasālinī* is translated into English, under the title *The Expositor*, by Pe Maung Tin for the Pali Text Society.

U. K.

ATTHASĀLINĪ ATTHAYOJANĀ, a work in Pali prose, explaining the difficult words and phrases that occur in the *Atthasālinī*, the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, the first book of the Pali *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It is useful to students of abhidhamma in understanding the text of the *Atthasālinī*. The author, following the scheme adopted in the *Atthasālinī*, divides his work into five sections, i.e., the introductory talk (*nidāna kathā*), the arising of consciousness (*cittuppādakaṇḍa*), matter (*rūpakaṇḍa*), summary (*nikkhepakaṇḍa*) and the commentarial chapter (*aṭṭhakathākaṇḍa*).

The work is not very important from the point of view of its subject matter.

According to its concluding verses, the work is written by a monk named Ñāṇakitt' who lived at the Panasārāma monastery, situated to the north-west of the city of Abhinavapura (New City) and built by a king of Ceylon. There is no clue to the identity either of this king, or the Panasārāma, or the Abhinavapura. But tradition says that Parākramabāhu the Great of Polonnaruva, who ruled Ceylon in the twelfth century, caused the Panasārāma monastery to be built in the Lava territory known as Haribhuja, a colony of Thailand; and that it was in this monastery that the *Atthasālinī Atthayojanā* was written.

U. K.

ATTHASANDASSAKA (var. Atthasandissa) name and designation of an arahant thera. In the time of Buddha Padumuttara he was a brāhman, named Nārada. Pleased with the sight of the Buddha, who appeared with a great following of bhikkhus, he uttered three verses in praise of the Buddha. This good act had the result of delivering him from birth in woeful states for a hundred thousand kappas. A hundred and thirty kappas ago he was born as a *cakkavatti* (world-ruler) named Sukhitta (*Ap.* I, 168).

The commentary repeats this account with further detail. Nārada was an accomplished young man but, not being attracted by a household life, he went to the Himālayas. It was when Buddha Padumuttara came to the Himālayas that he sang his praises in three verses. After death he was reborn in the brahma realm. In this Buddha-age he was born into a noble clan. Once he listened to the Buddha preach and, gaining faith in him, became a bhikkhu. In due course he attained arahantship (*ApA.* 436).

He is probably to be identified with Nāgita thera of the *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā* (I, 193).

L. R. G.

AṬṬHASATA SUTTA, a discourse which gives a method of classifying the one hundred and eight feelings (*S.* IV, 231):

Two feelings: bodily and mental; three feelings: pleasant, painful and neutral; five feelings: controlling powers of pleasure, pain, joy, grief and indifference; six feelings, born of the six sense-contacts; eighteen feelings in six ways, i.e., six sense-contacts giving attention to joy, grief and indifference; thirty-six feelings: six forms of joy born of six sense-contacts concerned with the worldly life and six forms of joy concerned with renunciation, six forms of grief concerned with worldly life and six forms of grief concerned with renunciation, six forms of indifference concerned with worldly life and six forms of indifference concerned with renunciation; one hundred and eight feelings: those thirty six feelings of the past, the same of the present and the same of the future.

U. K.

ATTHASSADVĀRA JĀTAKA (No. 84), a birth-story regarding the paths to welfare, preached by the Buddha at Jetavana with reference to a seven-year old boy who was very intelligent. Once this boy, who was very much interested in spiritual development, asked his father about the paths to that goal, and since the father could not answer the boy's question, he took him to the Buddha, who told them that the child in a previous birth had put the same question to his father, who was none else than the bodhisattva, and the child was told:

" Seek health, the supreme good; be virtuous;
Hearken to elders; from the scriptures learn;
Conform to truth; and burst attachment's bond—
For chiefly these six Paths to Welfare lead " (*J.*I, 366).

W.G.W.

ATTHAVASA VAGGA, the seventeenth chapter of the *Duka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I,98-100). It has five sections dealing with the aims (*atthavasa*) behind the injunctions of the Buddha to the monks regarding the practice of the precepts (*sikkhāpada*), calmness (*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*). Most of these aims are in connection with

the Order of monks. They are generally given in pairs to suit the title *Duka Nipāta*, ' Book of Twos '.

H. R. P.

AṬṬHA-VIMOKKHA, the eight stages of emancipation, are frequently referred to and enumerated in the Pali texts (*D.* II, 70, 111 ; III, 226, 288 ; *A.* IV, 306 ; *Ps.* II, 38-40 ; *Vbh.* 342-3) and commentaries (*DA.* II, 70, 512-13), and also in Sanskrit texts (*Avś.* 208 ; *Sdmp.* 150, 180, 202 ; *Mhm.* 1510-18). They roughly correspond to the nine attainments (*samāpatti*) which include the four (or five) states of mental absorption (*jhāna*) in the spheres of form (*rūpa-jhāna*) and the four immaterial attainments, sometimes referred to as absorption in the immaterial spheres (*arūpa-jhāna*). The stages of ' emancipation ' would refer to the active process of liberation, while ' attainment ' obviously indicates the process completed in its successive stages.

The eight stages of emancipation fall into two groups. The first three constitute a gradual emancipation from the world of sense (*kāma-loka*), whilst the mind still dwells in the fanciful forms of the spheres of fine material (*rūpa-loka*). Thus, the first stage of emancipation from the domination of the senses is still very limited, as ' one perceives corporeal forms '. The first state of mental absorption in the spheres of form (*rūpa-jhāna*) being dominated and sustained by logical application of mind (*vitakka-vicāra*), one may be inclined to draw the parallel between that state and the first stage of emancipation which is the awareness of form while being conscious of oneself (*rūpī rūpāni passati*). It is in logic that order and the beauty of sequence are discovered, subjectively.

The contemplation of form and order external to oneself (*ajjhattaṃ arūpasaññī eko bahiddhā rūpāni passati*) surpasses the mental application of logic and gives rise to a kind of spiritual joy of appreciation (*pīti*), which is the second state of absorption and the second stage of emancipation, where the mind is free from the self-made rules of logic.

The third stage of emancipation is characterised by the abstract concept of beauty (*subhan t'eva adhimutto hoti*), which by now has transcended all forms and colours, all patterns and ideals, and has thereby transcended the ecstasy of joy (*pīti*), leaving room only for the material feeling of well-being (*sukha*) and of one-pointedness of mind (*ekaggatā*) of the third and fourth stages of mental absorption in the material sphere (*rūpa-jhāna*). By now the mind is completely emancipated of all forms, concepts of form and their sensory reactions (*sabbaso rūpasaññānaṃ samatikkamā paṭighasaññānaṃ atthaṅgamā*) and is ' free ' to enter the next four stages of emancipation which correspond with the four immaterial attainments or states of absorption in the immaterial spheres (*arūpa-jhāna*), viz., the attainment of the sphere of infinite space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*), of boundless thought (*viññāṇañcāyatana*), of no-thing-ness (*ākiñcaññāyatana*) and of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (*n'eva-saññānāsaññāyatana*).

By passing wholly beyond this sphere, one attains the eighth emancipation and abides in the cessation of perception and sensation (*saññā-vedayita-nirodha*). In this suspension of all sensory, conscious and mental activities is reached the highest attainment before the realisation of Nibbāna. It can only be attained in the meditative process of an anāgāmin or an arahant.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AṬṬHIKA SUTTA deals with the benefits occurring from meditating on skeletons (*S.* V, 129-31). It results, in this very life, in higher knowledge (*aññā*) or in attaining the state of non-return (*anāgāmi*). It conduces to great peace from bondage (*yogakkhema*), to stirring up of the mind (*saṃvega*) and to pleasantness of living (*phāsuvihāra*).

U. K.

ATTHI-NU-KHO-PARIYĀYA SUTTA (*S.* IV, 138) explains how a monk could affirm that he has won insight. A monk, beholding an object with the eye, recognises it with the eye of wisdom whether or not it produces in him lust, malice or delusion. It is the same with the other sense experiences, too. This is the method by following which a monk could affirm insight, i.e., through understanding with the eye of wisdom (*paññāya disvā veditabbā*) and not through belief, or inclination, or hearsay, or argument, or reflection, or speculation.

U. K.

ATTHI-PACCAYA, the 'presence' condition, one of the twenty-four relationships or modes of conditionality in which mental and physical phenomena and occurrences are related to, and dependent on, one another. *Atthi-paccaya* refers to any phenomenon—whether it is prenascent (*pure-jāta*) such as the physical eye organ in respect

of eye consciousness, or co-nascent (*saha-jāta*) such as the simultaneous arising of indispensable conditions which are inseparably associated, e.g., the four principal physical elements (*mahā-bhūta*)—on whose presence the occurrence of other phenomena is dependent.

Other examples of this relationship are the mutual conditionings of the four mental aggregates, viz., sensation (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), ideations (*saṅkhārā*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*); and the association of corporeal or mental phenomena, which form the mind-object (*dhamma-dhātu*), with the mind-element (*mano-dhātu*), which is advertence (*āvajjana*), and the mind-consciousness-element (*mano-viññāṇa-dhātu*), which is investigating (*santīraṇa*). deteimming (*voṭṭhapana*) and registering (*tad-ārammaṇa*). See PACCAYA.

H.G.A.v.Z.

AṬṬHIPESĪ SUTTA, the first sutta of the *Lakkhaṇa Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 254 ff.), preached in the Kalandaka-nivāpa in Veḷuvana.

Lakkhaṇa and Mahā-Moggallāna went round for alms in Rājagaha and on their way, at a certain place, the latter smiled. Lakkhaṇa, eager to find out the reason, asked Mahā-Moggallāna. Thereupon, the latter wished him to ask the question in the presence of the Buddha. When this was done Moggallāna said that he saw a skeleton (*aṭṭhikasaṅkhalika*) going through the air, and vultures, crows, and falcons kept flying after it, pecking at its ribs, and pulling it apart, while it cried in great pain.

Then the Buddha told the bhikkhus that this skeleton had been seen by him, too. It was a *peta* who had been a butcher in Rājagaha, and because of his misdeeds suffered for a very long time after his death in purgatory. His present suffering, as a skeleton, was due to the remaining effect of those evil deeds.

I. K.

AṬṬHIPUÑJA SUTTA, name given in the *Sutta Saṅgaha* (pp. 144 f.) to the *Puggala Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II. 185 f.). The sutta is named after the term *aṭṭhipuñja* occurring in it and meaning a pile of bones.

ATTHIRĀGA SUTTA occurs in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 101-4). It discusses the basis upon which the life process of a being continues without a break, from one existence to another, showing at the same time that this process is dependently originated (*paṭicca-samuppanna*). The sutta begins by saying that there are four nutriments for the existence of beings already born, and which will serve as a foothold for those who are seeking birth. The four nutriments are solid food, contact, will and consciousness (*kabaliṅkāra-āhāra, phassa, manosañcetanā, viññāṇa*). When there is attachment, desire or craving, in any one of these nutriments, consciousness gains a foothold in it and grows to fulness; wherever consciousness gains a foothold, there descent (*avakkanti*) of name and form takes place; wherever there is descent of name and form there is growth of mental and karmic formations; wherever there is growth of such formations there is reiterated existence; when there is reiterated existence there is birth, decay and death; when these are present, sorrow, lamentation, etc. are unavoidable. How this suffering is dependently originated is illustrated with very striking similies and one of them runs thus: "Just as, monks, a painter, when there are paints of various hues and when there is a flattened surface or a smooth wall, paints on it a figure of a man or a woman, even so when the four nutriments are present and when there is craving in them there is continuation of the life process."

Having described how the life process continues' now the cessation of the same process is described: "When there is no craving in any one of the nutriments, consciousness will not have a foothold; then there is no descent of name and form, no growth of mental and karmic formations, no reiterated existence and no more birth, decay, death, etc. Thus will the cessation of the life process take place.

W. G. W.

AṬṬHISENA JĀTAKA (No. 403), preached by the Buddha when dwelling in the shrine called Aggālava near Āḷavi. Some monks were annoying the inhabitants in that locality asking them for various material for building cells, and this rose to such a pitch that the inhabitants could tolerate it no longer and began to chase away the monks when they entered the village. When the Buddha heard of this, he rebuked them saying that in the past, good monks, even though offered their choice by kings, never asked for anything, holding that begging from others was neither agreeable nor pleasant.

In the past the bodhisatta was born in a brāhman household and was named Aṭṭhisena. He studied

at Takkasilā, and later took to the religious life and developed the higher spiritual faculties. King Brahmadatta being greatly pleased by his appearance invited the sage to dwell in his royal park, where he went to wait upon him thrice a day. The king later requested the sage to ask him for anything he wanted. But the bodhisatta did not ask for anything and was contented with whatever he got. When the king questioned him, the sage replied that true sages would never ask for anything nor reject whatever is given voluntarily (*J.* III, 352 ff.).

W. G. W.

AṬṬHISSARA (var. Saṭṭhissara), name of a pacceka-buddha. As stated in the *Milindapañha*, Devadatta, now suffering in purgatory for five out of six parts of a kappa as a result of creating disunity among the bhikkhus, will become a pacceka-buddha by the name of Aṭṭhissara (*Miln.* 111). According to the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, the Buddha declared that because of having entered the Order, it would be possible for Devadatta to look forward to a blissful future existence, in spite of the crimes he had committed; and that at the end of a hundred thousand kappas he would become a pacceka-buddha by the name of Aṭṭhissara (*DhpA.* 148).

I. K.

ATTRACTION is the act or faculty of drawing together. On the physical plane it may exist in a magnetic field or in the sphere of gravity, or perhaps the strongest of all, in the form of molecular attraction. On the emotional plane it leads to the excitement of pleasurable feelings in living beings.

In Buddhist philosophic terminology is found the term *āpo*, literally meaning water or liquid, but indicating the essential cohering condition which binds and unites things together (*bhūtarūpassa bandhanabhāvo : DhsA.* 335). This elementary quality does not stand, therefore, for liquid only, but for all characteristics which are of a fluid condition, resisting separation, such as affinity, attachment, adaptability, attraction, cohesion, viscosity, adhesion, suction, clinging, craving, some of which find their application in the material sphere, others in the mental world predominantly.

It is a quality of internal self-preservation, a tendency to conservation of matter and energy by means of attracting reinforcements of other kindred phenomena. That such tendencies are found in inorganic matter, and, in fact, the matter would not exist as such without this characteristic property, does not attribute a spirit to matter, although the rudimentary principles of craving (which constitutes the progress of continued existence in saṃsāra) are not absent in physical adherence and attraction, which preserve matter. See also BHŪTA, TAṆHĀ.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ATTRIBUTES are characteristic qualities, which mark, note or predicate that to which they are ascribed and by which things and events are known. Attributes, therefore, whether they are physical or mental, are closely connected with the process of knowledge, while their objective existence has been doubted in many schools of philosophy. An independent existence of qualities and attributes would, of course, produce a large number of objections and contradictions, the most obvious and most serious of which is the fact that an independent quality would cease to be an attribute if it is not related, just as property without an owner.

The peculiar difficulty encountered in Buddhist philosophy is the denial of absolute ownership in the doctrine of non-substantiality (*anatta*) which is the doctrine of mere phenomena without a substance to support them. The opposite view of permanent entities as carriers of qualifying attributes has its own peculiar difficulties in trying to establish the nature of such entity, soul or substance, the existence of which is said to be independent of all attributes. Here the attributes do not affect the substance, essentially. But what such essence is when deprived of all attributes, qualities, phenomena, characteristics, conditions, relations, etc., cannot even be imagined, still less defined.

The solution to this problem lies in the understanding of the nature of attributes. The Buddha's doctrine of *anatta* (q.v.) not only denies the existence of a permanent soul, an abiding entity, an enduring self, an immutable 'I', an indestructible substance, but also refuses to recognise anything of a constant nature which could be called ' mine ' (*etaṃ mama, eso' ham asmi, eso me attā ti : M.* I, 138). Phenomena themselves roll on, as quoted from the *Porāṇā* in the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 517, chap. xix, § 20) :

> There is no doer of a deed,
> A gatherer cannot be found ;
> Only phenomena roll on,
> Such is the truest view.
> (*kammassa kārako n'atthi*
> *vipākassa ca vedako,*
> *suddhadhammā pavattanti,*
> *ev'etaṃ sammadassanaṃ*)

Phenomena do not *exist*, but *arise* in dependence on certain conditions. Material qualities appear by reason of moral or immoral action (*kamma*) or they may originate in mind (*citta*); they may be born of physical change (*utu*), or from nutrition (*āhāra*) and assimilation (*Abhs*. vi, § 6). Such origination is not an absolute creation, but a coming into being (*bhava*) of a new form in the process of becoming. In their various forms, which are constantly forming new combinations, these phenomena as a group (*rūpakkhandha*) constitute matter (*rūpa*), and hence they are called constituents, forming together a corporeal unit.

Similarly, the mental phenomena (*cetasika*) constitute in many, various combinations the different types of thought (*citta*). They are referred to as mental properties, but there is no separate mind as the proprietor. As mental attributes, they contribute to the unit of a mental state, with which they rise and cease, sharing its object and its base (*Abhs*. ii, § 1). Here too, there exists no mind as a soul or a substance, there exist no mental phenomena as individual entities, but in dependence on contact (*phassa*) of the senses there arise sensation (*vedanā*) in the organs, the reaction of perception (*saññā*), the intention of volitional activity (*cetanā*), the capacity to individualise (*ekaggatā*) the object of contact, the reflective attentiveness (*manasikāra*) and the fusion of all into a living thought (*jīvitindriya*). There are many more concomitants (*cetasika*) which add their character to the mental group (*nāmakkhandha*), as adjuncts and co-efficients, each and all, singly or in combination, dependent in their arising, action and cessation on multiform relations and conditions. See also CETASIKA, CITTA, RŪPA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀTUBADALEṆA, one of the monasteries built by king Parākramabāhu I (1153—86 A. C.) at Polonnaruva, in Ceylon (*Nikāyasaṅgraha*, p. 20 ; *Pūjāvalī*, ch. xxxiv).

ATULA (1), son of Sikhī Buddha (before leaving household life). Sabbakāmā was his mother (*Buv*. xxi, 17 ; *DA*. II, 422).

ATULA (2), a lay disciple (*upāsaka*) of Sāvatthi. He had a retinue of five hundred other lay disciples. One day he went to the monastery with them hoping to hear Revata preach. But Revata who was enjoying the pleasure of solitude at that time did not preach to them. Thereupon Atula was angry and went with his followers to Sāriputta. Sāriputta, hearing what had happened, preached the Abhidhamma to him at great length. Being unable to understand, Atula left him, too, in anger and went to Ānanda who, learning what had happened, preached the doctrine very briefly. At this, too, Atula was provoked and went to the Buddha with his followers and told him what had happened. The Buddha admonished him and preached the doctrine. At the end of the discourse Atula and his companions gained the first fruit of the Path (*DhpA*. III, 325–9).

H. R. P.

ATULA (3), two nāga kings by that name, both previous births of Gotama Buddha in the times of the Buddhas Sumana and Phussa.

In the time of the Buddha Sumana, having heard of the Buddha's birth, Atula went from the nāga world with his relatives and played music before the Buddha, gave alms and presented him with a pair of robes. He then took refuge in the Buddha who made the pronouncement that in a future birth he would be a Buddha, named Gotama (*J*. I, 34 ; *Buv*. v, 15 ff. ; *Mhbv*. 10).

Similarly, in the time of Vipassī Buddha he visited the Buddha with his relatives, played divine music and offered him a golden seat embossed with jewels. The Buddha declared that Atula would be a Buddha ninety-one kappas later, Gotama by name (*J*. I, 41 ; *Mhbv*. 11 ; *Buv*. xx, 10 ff.).

H. R. P.

ATULA (4), a celebrated physician of old, mentioned in the *Milindapañha* along with six others (*Miln*. 272).

ATULAPRABHA, an age (*kalpa*) in which many Buddhas were born. A female deity, called Surendrābhā, who attended upon these Buddhas, also lived during this kalpa (*Gvyū*. 447).

ATULYA, name of Āsanatthavika (q. v.) thera in a previous birth as king.

ĀTUMA, the son of a seṭṭhi in Sāvatthi. When he grew up, his mother proposed to find him a wife, but on account of his having qualified for arahantship in his previous life, he left the worldly life and was ordained in the Order. His mother tried to entice him back, but he declared his great determination, developed insight and became an arahant (*Thag*. v. 72).

In an earlier life during the time of Buddha Vipassī, as a householder he had made an offering to him of perfumed water and fragrant powder.

He was also born as a king named Sugandha, thirty-one kappas ago.

The thera Gandhodakiya of the *Apadāna* (I, 157) is probably identical with Ātuma (*DPPN*.).

ĀTUMĀ, a town in north India that lay between Kusinārā and Sāvatthi. Once the Buddha, with a large company of bhikkhus, visited the town. At that time there dwelt in it a monk who had been ordained late in life (a *buḍḍhapabbajita*, identified by Buddhaghosa: *DA*. II, 599, with the *buḍḍha-pabbajita* Subhadda) and had formerly been a barber. He had two sons, handsome, elegant and well versed in the barber's art. When the monk heard of the Buddha's coming, he sent his sons from house to house to collect salt and oil and rice and meal. The young men, using all their powers of persuasion, collected a large quantity of each of these things, and when the Buddha arrived in Ātumā and went to stay in the Bhūsāgāra, they made ready rice-gruel and offered it to him. The Buddha, however, would not accept it as the monk, who had had the food collected, had been guilty of an unlawful act in that one monk had begged for others.

It was on this occasion that it was declared to be a *dukkaṭa* offence for a monk, who had formerly been a barber, to carry about with him a barber's equipment (*Vin*. I, 249–50).

In the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* (*D*. II, 131–2) the Buddha tells Pukkusa of another occasion on which he was staying in the Bhūsāgāra in Ātumā. There was a thunderstorm and two peasants (brothers) and four oxen were struck by lightning. A large number of people having gathered at the place, one of them asked the Buddha if he were aware of the accident. But the Buddha had been in a state of concentration and had neither seen nor heard anything of it. Such was the state of calm of his mind (*DPPN*.).

ATUMASHI, a monastery in Mandalay, Burma, built by king Mindon (in 1857) at a cost of about 5 lakhs of rupees. The building was of wood covered with stucco on the outside, and its peculiar feature was its being surmounted by five graduated rectangular terraces instead of the customary *pyatthats* (multiple roofs). In it was enshrined a very large image of the Buddha, and four sets of the *Tripiṭaka* were deposited in large teak boxes. The whole building together with its contents was burnt down in 1890.

L.P.W.

A-TU-SHIH-WANG-T'AI-TZŬ-HUI, a translation into Chinese from the Sanskrit text. See SIṂHA-PARIPṚCCHĀ.

ATWIN MÔKTAW PAGODA, at Hmawza in central Burma, the largest site of an ancient Buddhist monument in the region of the ancient Pyu capital. It is located on the southern side of the ancient walled city. The ruined monument, cleared of the debris, measures about 174 feet in diameter at the base and 39 feet in height. According to local tradition the monument was built in pre-Christian times.

Excavations of the monument revealed that below a layer of bricks there was a deep vertical shaft similar to that of the Bawbawgyi pagoda (q.v.). Below it was a fragment of a stone with a figure of an ogre cut on it in low relief, and represented as holding a club with both hands and keeping it on its right shoulder. A part of this stone slab is missing and with it also a part of the sculpture. This sculptured slab, it is thought, was probably placed in the core of the pagoda as a guardian of its valuable contents. The belief among the Burmese is that such figures become animated with life whenever sacrilege is committed on a sacred shrine. Nothing else has been found underneath this slab.

The clearing of the debris on the northern side of the pagoda brought to light a few broken pieces of pottery, three glass marbles of different colours and two star-shaped glass objects. The marbles and the glass objects were evidently intended to be strung together and worn as a necklace on ceremonial occasions. They are of Chinese origin (*ASIAR*. 1909–10, p. 119).

H. R. P.

ĀTYANAVAKELA (var. Ātyanabakhela), an ancient country in western India, its Chinese name being O-tien-p'o-chi-lo. Hsüan-tsang describes it in the records of his travels. He says that it was situated about 1500 or 1600 *li* away to the south-west of the Sind country, and was about 5000 *li* in circuit. Its capital city was called Chieh-tsi-fa-lo in Chinese and was about 30 *li* round. The country was situated near the river Sindh and bordered by the ocean. The houses were richly ornamented with rare and costly substances. The soil was low and damp, and the ground was impregnated with salt. The people deeply reverenced the *tri-ratna*. There were about eighty saṅghārāmas with some five thousand monks. They were mostly adherents of the Hīnayāna according to the Sammitīya school. There were ten deva temples mostly

occupied by heretics belonging to the Paśupatas. In the capital was the temple of Ta-tzü-tsai-ting (Mahe-vāra-Deva), ornamented with rich sculptures. In the olden days, the Tathāgata often travelled through this country to preach the law. Therefore, Asoka built stūpas on the spots so consecrated and there were six of them (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 275-6 ; *Moc.* 41a).

W. G. W.

ATYANTACANDRAMAS, a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 443.5).

ATYANTA - ŚĀNTA - PRAŚĀNTA - SAMATĀVA-BHĀSA-MAṆḌALA, one of the Mahāyāna samādhis. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (p. 37.10), it is mentioned as the 17th of the 100 bodhisattva-samādhis. This can also be found in the classical Chinese versions of the sūtra, though their equivalents partly differ among each other ; some of them are simpler than the above Sanskrit term in the present. The number of the samādhis also is not concordant in all (*Taishō*, No. 278, vol. 9, p. 684b ; No. 279, vol. 10, p. 328a ; No. 293, vol. 10, p. 672a).

S. Mo.

ĀTYANTIKA, the human beings who cannot attain Buddhahood, in so far as they are destitute of Buddha-nature. See ICCHANTIKA.

ATYAYA-JÑĀNA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-atyaya°*), the Sanskrit title of a work as quoted in a catalogue-index of the Tibetan Buddhist canon (*TM.*). The Tibetan translation of the work, the *Ḥphags-pa ḥdaḥ-ka* (? for *ḥdaḥ-ga*) *ye-śes shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*, occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 31, No. 790). The Sanskrit title given in the Peking edition as also in the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* No. 122) is *Ārya-ātajñāna°*.[1] *Ātajñāna* may be a textual corruption of *mṛtijñāna which term would correspond to Tib. *ḥdaḥ-ga* and also bear relevance to the subject-matter of the work. *Ārya-mṛtijñāna-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* may then be postulated as a conjectural title of the text.

A discourse said to have been preached by the Buddha at the residence of the lord of gods in the Akaniṣṭha heaven in response to a question posed by the bodhisattva *Ākāśagarbha* (Tib. *Nam mkhaḥi sñiṅ-po*) forms the content of the sūtra. The bodhisattva's question was what the state of the mind of a bodhisattva should be at the point of death. The Buddha's reply was that ? *mṛtijñāna* (Tib. *ḥdaḥ kha ye-śes*) should be reflected on at the moment of death. The remainder of the text contains an explanation of what constitutes this *jñāna*. The consciousness of the unreality (Tib. *dṅos-po med-pa*) of all phenomena (Tib. *chos*) and the consciousness of non-attachment to all such phenomena on account of their being impermanent etc. are, it is stated, to be reflected upon. A set of stanzas recited by the Buddha, summing up the contents of the discourse, forms the conclusion of the sūtra.

Two commentaries on the work exist in the Tibetan canon, viz., *Atyaya-jñāna-sūtra-vyākhyāna* and *Atyaya-jñāna-(nāma-) mahāyāna-sūtra-vṛtti.*

R. H.

[1] cp. also ° *atijñāna* ° occurring in the commentaries on this text. See *Atyaya-jñāna-sūtra-vyākhyāna* and *Atyaya-jñāna-(nāma-)mahāyāna-sūtra-vṛtti.*

ATYAYA-JÑĀNA-(NĀMA-) MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA-VṚTTI (*Āryātyaya°*), the emended Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text *Ḥphags-pa ḥdaḥ-ka ye-śes shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdoḥi ḥgrel-pa* occurring in the Mdo-tshogs ḥgrel-pa (sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 105, No. 5505 ; *TM.* No. 4004). The title as quoted in the text, both in the Peking and Sde-dge editions, is *Ārya-atijñānā°*. For a suggestion to emend *atijñāna* to *mṛtijñāna*, see article on ATYAYA JÑĀNA - NĀMA - MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA on which text the present work is a commentary, stated to have been composed by Shi-ba lha (Śāntideva) and translated into Tibetan by Dharmarāja and Hphags-pa śes-rab.

R. H.

ATYAYA-JÑĀNA-SŪTRA-VYĀKHYĀNA (*Āryātyaya°*), the title quoted as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tibetan *Ḥphags-pa hdaḥ-ka ye-śes-kyi mdoḥi rnam-par bśad-pa*, the name of a text occurring in the Mdo-tshogs ḥgrel-pa (sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 105, No. 5504 ; *TM.* No. 4003). The Sanskrit title occurring in the text itself is *Ārya-atijñāna°*. For *atijñāna* being a possible corruption for *mṛtijñāna*, see article on ATYAYA-JÑĀNA - NĀMA - MAHĀYĀNA - SŪTRA on which work the present text is a commentary. Prajñāsamudra is said to be the author of this commentary.

R. H.

ATYUCCADEVA, a bodhisattva whose name occurs as Abhyuccadeva in a list of future Tathāgatas enumerated by Māyādevī (*Gvyū.* 443) who tells the noble youth Sudhana that, in as much as she was the Buddha Vairocana's mother, she was also the mother of all past Buddhas, and will be of future Buddhas such as Maitreya, Atyuccadeva and others.

T.R.

ATYUCCAGĀMIN (var. Abhyuccagāmin), name of a former Buddha. He was called 'the exceeding high one' because when he stood up he was as tall as a palm-tree (*Mhvu.* III, 245). In the *Bahubuddha Sūtra* (ibid. 224), relating to former Buddhas, he, a brāhman by birth, is stated to have been proclaimed by the Tathāgata Padumuttara. The Tathāgata Atyuccagāmin, who appeared a hundred thousand kalpas later, proclaimed the Tathāgata Yaśottara, who appeared five hundred kalpas after Atyuccagāmin had passed entirely away, having lived on for a hundred thousand years, and won fame throughout the world (ibid. 243).

Śākyamuni, who preaches the sūtra referred to, states that Atyuccagāmin was one among the many Buddhas to whom he in his former births rendered great service, thus planting the 'root of merit' (*kuśalamūla*). He also states that, whilst seeking supreme enlightenment, he showered gold over the exalted Atyuccagāmin who was compassionate to the world. In this connection, it is interesting to note that among the verses of exhortation of the Buddhas residing in the ten directions, reaching the bodhisattva's ears, is the statement that he had made an offering of the best sandalwood to Atyuccagāmin (*Lal.* 172). Atyuccagāmin is included in the list of the second hundred of the host of āryans under whom the Śākyamuni acquired the 'root of virtue' while he was advancing from the first to the seventh bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

In the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (204–5) is a story narrated by Bhagavatī Vasumitrā to Sudhana. In the past, when, under the name Sumatī, she was the wife of a śreṣṭhi, the Tathāgata Atyuccagāmin visited the kingdom of Sumukhā, and various miracles occurred. Seeing this she ran up to him and, with deep faith, offered him a small coin (*ekaratnakākaṇi*).

T. R.

ATYUTTAMA, a former Buddha, in a list in the *Mahāvastu.* He was proclaimed so by Sarvadaya Buddha and he himself proclaimed the Buddha Uttara. In the particular succession in which Atyuttama is placed, the last is Dīpaṅkara Buddha (J. J. Jones, trsl. III, p. 229).

A-TZŬ-I, Chinese transliteration (Wade-Giles) of the title of a classical Chinese text written in Japan under the title AJIGI. (See *EncyBsm.* Supplement to Vol. I, p. 793).

A-TZŬ-KUAN-YUNG-HSIN-K'OU-CHÜEH, Chinese transliteration (Wade-Giles) of the title of a classical Chinese text written in Japan under the title AJIKAN-YŌJIN-KUKETSU. (See *Ency Bsm.* Supplement to Vol. I, p. 793.)

A-TZŬ-PI-SHW, Chinese transliteration (Wade-Giles) of the title of a classical Chinese text written in Japan under the title AJIHISHAKU. (See *EncyBsm.* Supplement to Vol. I, p. 793).

A-TZŬ-YAO-LÜEH-KUAN, Chinese transliteration (Wade-Giles) of the title of a classical Chinese text written in Japan under the title AJIYŌRYAKUKAN. (See *EncyBsm.* Supplement to Vol. I, p. 794.).

AUDUMBARĀ, a gandharva-maiden who was present with innumerable others in Jetavana to listen to the Buddha (*Kvyū.* 4.24).

AUDUMBARAGIRI, the name of a hill-monastery mentioned in Pali writings. It is specially remembered as the residence of Mahā-Kassapa thera, the president of the convocation held in Polonnaruva, Ceylon, under the patronage of king Parākramabāhu I in the 12th century. See DIṀBULĀGALA.

D. T. D.

AUḌYAN-NAS BYUṄ-BAḤI ḤOD-ZER-CAN-GYI SGRUB-THABS, a translation in Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See OḌḌIYĀNAMĀRĪCĪ-SĀDHANA.

AUṂ or OM. The origin of the concept of this word and its symbol can be traced to a comparatively early stage in the history of Indian mythology and religion. The term appears to be enigmatic and mystic in its composition. However, several theories as regards its origin and significance have been put forward by scholars of the orient as well as of the occident. From the purely traditional point of view, as quoted by the author of the *Mānavadharma-śāstra,* the word *auṃ,* which is constituted of the three letters *a, u* and *ṃ* is

meant to signify the threefold manifestation of *Prajāpati* as Brahmā (creator), Viṣṇu (protector) and Śiva (destroyer); hence runs the verse:

akāraśca ukāraśca makāraśca prajāpatiḥ (*Manusmṛti*, I).

The author of the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* (p. 127) understands *auṃ* to be an auspicious syllable, and makes a minor allusion to it as follows: *oṃkāraścāthaśabdaśca dvāvetau brahmaṇaḥ purā kaṇṭhaṃ bhittvā viniryātau tasmānmāṅgalikāvubhau iti smṛtisambhavāt* (*Sdarś.* No. 124). (Since it is mentioned in the smṛti that) the word *oṃ* and the word *atha*, these two in the ancient time, clearing the throat of Brahmā, came forth: therefore they are both auspicious (trsl. Cowell, 237).

As Keith has observed (*ERE.* IX, 490 ff.) "the syllable *auṃ* has been traced to a pronominal base *av*—and its formation has been compared with that of *ay-am*, 'this', on the theory that the whole word *avam* was resolved by the progress of samprasāraṇa into *au-m*, whence came by ordinary euphonic combination *oṃ*". On the ground that it lacks reasoned proof, the above theory has been refuted by Keith, who is of opinion that the most probable explanation is that the word is purely an exclamation being the nasalised form of *O*, which again is connected to *Ā*. This view is, as he asserts, strongly supported by the fact that the common phrase *oṃśrāvaya* alternates with both *o-śrāvaya* and *ā-śrāvaya*, and it may be pointed out that the nasalising of sounds when prolonged in pronunciation is a regular part of Vedic usage. The synonymous term *praṇava*, derived from the root *ṇu* prefixed with *pra-* and thus originally meaning to make a humming or droning sound, which in its special sense refers to the pronunciation of the syllable *auṃ*, throws some light on the plausibility of the above view. It is significant in this connection that *praṇava* was the earliest name given to the syllable.

As far as literary evidence goes, we see the occurrence of the term only at a comparatively late period, which points to the fact that *oṃ* is not a primitive exclamation. The syllable is totally absent in the *Ṛgveda*. From this it may be deduced that it does not belong to the earliest sacerdotal literature of India. Nor does the word occur in the *saṃhitā* of the *Atharvāṅgirasaḥ*, which shows that it was not an expression in popular use. It is in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (iii, 2, 8) that we find, for the first time, a reference to the term, although in a periphrastic way. Here it is alluded to once as the *praṇava*, in which case it clearly denotes the sound at the end of the verse of offering uttered by the Hotṛ priest. In chronological order the *Vājasaneyasaṃhitā* has to be mentioned next, where the actual term *Oṃ* occurs in the phrase *oṃ pratiṣṭhe* (ii, 13) and further light is thrown in xix, 25 on the efficacy of the *praṇava* as conducive to the completion of the śāstras. It is, however, in the *Brāhmaṇas*, that the definite use of the word in the asseverative sense is found. Thus, the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* (e.g., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 18, 1), besides making several mythological allusions to the syllable, seem to have restricted its use to very formal responses and generally to responses of the ritual. Concurrently with Vedic speculations, a quasi-philosophical touch was given to *auṃ* by the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves who raised the position of *auṃ* from its use as a mere particle of asseveration to a mystic symbol, embodying in itself the essence of the Vedas and of the universe. In the *Upaniṣads* we find the culmination of this semi-philosophical trait (cp. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, pp. 247 ff.).

The principal philosophical theory of the *Upaniṣads* being that Brahman equals Ātman, the Upaniṣadic seers seem to have attached a similar importance to the term in question by identifying it with Brahman, in the significant phrase of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (ii, 15): *oṃ vai tat*. The syllable *auṃ* is also mentioned as one of the *pratīkas* (symbols) employed by the Upaniṣadic seers for meditation on Brahman. Hence, the observation of P. Deussen: "Among the symbols by which the suprasensible Brahman is represented to sentient perception is finally to be reckoned the sacred syllable *Oṃ*, which of all the symbols came to be the most important and fruitful. It was closely connected with the yoga practices, one of the most peculiar phenomena of Indian religious life" (*The Religion and Philosophy of India*, pp. 116 f.). In opposition to this philosophical development of the term in the Upaniṣads, its ritualistic use is elaborated and closely defined by the *Śrauta Sūtras*.

The tremendous influence exerted by the mystic syllable *auṃ* on the current religious thought of India and its neighbouring countries is evidenced by the fact of its being integrated among the popular cults and rituals of the adherents of Mahāyāna Buddhism, who probably borrowed the concept of *auṃ* from the Hindus. This sacred syllable was originally symbolical of the Hindu Triad, but when introduced into Buddhism it possibly symbolised the Buddhist Triad, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, also called the *Triratna* (Monier Williams *Buddhism*, p. 372, n. 2).



SIDDHAM



TIBETAN



DEVANĀGARĪ

With the rise of Mahāyāna, the philosophical colouring given to *oṃ* by the Upaniṣadic authors was somewhat modified, and the syllable became more magical and ritualistic in import and function. Thus, the repetition of the mystic syllable was conceived to be highly efficacious by those who professed the Mahāyāna fāith, in contradistinction to the Theravāda Buddhists, who had no room for such mystic symbols in their canon.

Not only in magic and ritual, but also in the mythology of Mahāyāna, great importance is attached to the symbol *auṃ*. This fact is clearly shown by the mythological allusions made to Ādi-Buddha in the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*. Following the typical Hindu style of mythologising, the author of the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* recounts the origin of the Ādi-Buddha from the mystic syllable *oṃ*, as follows: "When all was perfect void (*mahāśūnyatā*) the mystic syllable *auṃ* became manifest, from which at his own will the Ādi-Buddha was produced" (A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 2).

This mystic syllable *auṃ* has integrated itself among the numerous cults and rituals current among the Buddhists of Tibet. The great significance attached to it is clear from the ritualistic formula *oṃ āh hrīḥ oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, where *oṃ* is considered to be representative of the body of all Buddhas. It is further thought that *auṃ* signifies possession of the five types of wisdom, whereby the four types of activity are self-perfected.

The general use of the mystic syllable *auṃ* probably dates from circa 1st or 2nd century A. C., though at Amarāvatī is figured a pillar of glory surmounted by *oṃ* proceeding from the throne supposed to be occupied by the Buddha (L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 142, 148). Its occurrence in some copies of the *Lalitavistara* and other early Mahāyāna works as the first syllable of the opening salutation, *oṃ namo* . . ., has also been doubted by Waddell, who takes it to be, probably, an addition by later scribes.

As the opening syllable to the various dhāraṇīs or spells, a transcendental efficacy was attributed to the mystic symbol by the authors of Mahāyāna magic and ritual. The followers of Mahāyāna have also adduced several interpretations to the syllable as pertinent to each occasion of its occurrence in the dhāraṇī. Thus, in the commonest and most important formula in Lamaism, *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, *oṃ* is conceived of as closing re-birth amongst the gods, *ma* among the titans, *ṇi* among men, etc. And, in conformity with this view, each of the syllables is given the distinctive colour of these several states of re-birth, in which case to *auṃ* is ascribed the godly white, a fact which points to the major importance given to the syllable (W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*).

In the eyes of Tibetan Buddhists, *auṃ* is the symbol of the spiritual power of the Buddha. Its colour is white, which is symbolic of purity and serenity. The mystic syllable is specially connected with Yogic practices and secret doctrines, and in this respect the Tibetan Buddhists seem to have been inspired by the system of Yoga advocated by Patañjali (cp. *Patañjali Yoga* in *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*).

According to the popular mythology of Mahāyāna, the syllable *auṃ* has been revealed by Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, and in its religio-philosophical aspect it is meant to impress upon the mind of the meditator that his aim should be to attain union with the eternal reality for which the syllable often stands.

W. S. Kt.

AUNG, SHWE ZAN*, second son of Shwe Tha, first Burman District Superintendent of Police, and Daw Ah Phru Zan, was born in 1871 in Akyab. He attended the Government Middle School, Akyab, and later the Government High School, Rangoon, where he was a brilliant student. He studied Pali under Forchhammer and subsequently under Gray. After receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1892, he joined government service as Superintendent of Land Records. He became in turn Akunwun and Collector of Rangoon. He was appointed to serve as Land Requisition Officer when the Twante Canal was cut. He visited India for six months and studied municipal taxation. Later, he served as Under-Secretary to the government and then as Deputy Commissioner. For his outstanding record in service he was appointed Excise Commissioner, to become the first Burman to fill the post.

While serving as Superintendent of Land Records, Shwe Zan Aung met Ledi Sayadaw. At that time he was 25 years old and a deeply religious young man. The meeting with the great Sayadaw was the most important milestone in his life. From that time on he immersed himself in Buddhist studies whenever he found time from his official duties, his teacher being Gandhamā. Later, he came in contact with Mrs. Rhys Davids

* Information supplied by the Legation of the Union of Burma in Ceylon.

of the Pali Text Society, London, and through him, Ledi Sayadaw and Mrs. Rhys Davids corresponded on subjects related to Buddhism.

Shwe Zan Aung translated the *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha* (Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy) which was edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Published in 1910 and again in 1929, almost every page and the Appendix are replete with notes or explanations of a highly instructive type. Thus Aung's work was valuable in interpreting the Abhidhamma to Western scholars, who probably got their first deep impression of Buddhist metaphysical thought from this particular work. His "Introductory Essay to the Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy" (pp. 1–76), written in 1910 is in itself a succinct exposition of Buddhist philosophy, as clear as it is comprehensive. He also translated the *Kathāvatthu* (Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse) in conjunction with Mrs. Rhys Davids.

The Rangoon University conferred upon him the honorary degree of D. Litt., but he was too ill to receive it. He died in 1932.

Shwe Zan Aung was married to Daw Tin and had a daughter and a son.

AUNGMYELAKWA PAGODA in Sagaing (Burma), built in 1783 by Bodawpaya, on the site of a house occupied by him before he came to the throne. The pagoda is also known as the Eindawaya. It is constructed entirely of sandstone, is cylindrical in form and has a tapering spire. Its architecture is modelled after the Shwezigon Pagoda at Pagān.

L. P. W.

AUPAGAMA (var. Opagama), a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas, enumerated by Māyādevī (*Gvyū.* 442.16).

AUPAMANYAVA, one of the forty-nine brāhman clans (*gotra*) mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 635). This particular gotra, which is a sub-division of the Vāsiṣṭha gotra, one of the seven major clans, is mentioned in Vedic literature, also, as originating from Upamanyu (see A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, I, p. 127).

S. K. N.

AURA, from Latin *aura* and Greek *aura* (breath, breeze), a subtle emanation or exhalation from any substance. In religious and artistic terminology the word is employed to indicate the luminous radiance that surrounds the head or encircles the whole figure of a great personality, thereby denoting the luminosity of the personage represented. Hence the term 'aura' or 'aureole' is applied by some to the circle of light depicted around the head and in this sense it is specified as a nimbus or halo. Others apply it to the mantle of light emanating from the whole body, as distinct from the nimbus which is confined to the head, and in this special sense it is called a vesica or glory. Nevertheless, it appears that a correct definition of the term 'aura' should be a synthesis of the above interpretations. A discussion on the aura of the Buddha as it appears in Buddhism, will be primarily of two interests. They are, the Buddha's aura as it appears

(*a*) in literary works

(*b*) in works of art.

Literary Data.

Whatever might be the correct interpretation of the term 'aura', the closest parallels to it in Pali literature are found in the terms *pabhā* (Skt. *prabhā*) and *raṃsi* (Skt. *raśmi*) and the aura of the Buddha is referred to as *Buddha-raṃsi* or *byāmappabhā*. Although such collectives are mentioned first in the post-canonical literature it is possible to trace the origins of the words *raṃsi* and *pabhā* to very early times.

Sanskrit *prabhā* (derived from *pra-bhāti*, to shine forth) signifies splendour, radiance and lustre. The earliest mention of this term in connection with the auric emanation of the Buddha, occurs in the collective *byāmappabhā* (lit. fathom length halo). The author of the *Milindapañha* gives it as one of the four major attributes of the enlightened Buddha. These four according to order are the thirty-two signs of a great man (*dvattiṃsa-mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*), the eighty minor signs (*asīti-anubyañjana*), a golden colour (*suvaṇṇavaṇṇa*) and the fathom length halo (*byāmappabhā : Miln.* 75). Of these, the first and third attributes are traceable to the canon, but the notions regarding the eighty minor signs and the fathom length halo are definitely post-canonical in origin. The author of the *Milindapañha* indicates the glowing complexion of the Buddha by such phrases as *kañcanasannibhattaca* (a gold-like skin), *sarīrappabhā* (body radiances) and *suvaṇṇavaṇṇa* (golden coloured). These phrases help to enhance the idea of 'yellow-colour' indicating pure birth (*ariya-vaṇṇa*). This attribute, like the thirty-two great signs, the Buddha shared with other great persons (*D.* III, 145). Nevertheless, the eighty minor signs and the fathom length halo were unique peculiarities confined to the Buddha's body. It

is, however, difficult to say exactly how the concept about the fathom length halo arose, but it is possible to offer a suggestion: in the *Milinda-pañha* itself correlatives such as *jalitabyāmobhāsa* (p. 222) are used to denote the bodily radiances of the Buddha. This gradual widening of vocabulary and consequent elaboration of the notion of *pabhā* would naturally have led to the later conception concerning the Buddha's multi-coloured halo.

The other parallel to the word aura is *raṃsi* or *rasmi*. Correctly, the Pali form is *raṃsi* (by regular metathesis of the Skt. equivalent *raśmi*), but most Mss. give also the other form which is its Sanskritised alternative.

Thus the radiance surrounding the Buddha is referred to as *Buddha-raṃsi* (°*rasmi*). To understand the real import of this expression, the development of the term *raṃsi* (*rasmi*: Skt. *raśmi*) has to be traced from Vedic times. This term in Vedic Sanskrit is of doubtful origin According to Whitney [1], a root *raś* is inferable from a comparison of derivatives such as *raśanā*, *raśman*, *rāśi* and *raśmi*. The word occurs for the first time in the *Ṛgveda* to denote a string, rope, cord, trace, rein, bridle, goad, whip or measuring cord (e.g., *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 25, 18), and later it is figuratively applied to the fingers of the hand.[2] Obviously, the mental image created here behind the various implications is the idea of emanation, the issuing forth of something long and thin from a point. The next step was to connect this idea with the spreading rays of the astral bodies. Thus the rays of the sun are referred to as *raśmayaḥ*. This naturally paved the way for the employment of the word *raśmi* to connote the sense of light and splendour. It is in this derived sense that the word occurs in Pali as a component of the collective expression *Buddha-rasmi*. However, the original sense of rein, whip, etc., is not lost, as it, too, occurs in the Pali texts.[3] But it is significant that only the form *rasmi* is employed in this sense.

In Pali literature the Buddha's aura is referred to as 'the six-coloured Buddha-ray' (Skt. *ṣaḍvarṇa-buddha-raśmi*; Pali, *chabbaṇṇa-buddha-rasmi* or *chabbaṇṇaghana-buddha-rasmi*).

There are recurrent passages in the commentarial literature, which designate the *Buddha-rasmi* with qualities such as dazzling (often depicted by a striking simile) and as issuing forth spirally in incessantly winding coils.[4]

It is related that the streets of Kapilavatthu were illumined by the strength of the glory of the Buddha's body when he visited his native city after attaining bodhi (*J.* I, 89). The notion about the Buddha's 'glorious body' is here amplified by phrases employed to describe the fathom-length halo (*byāmappabhā*), the bodily radiances (*sarīrap-pabhā*), the thirty-two signs of a great man (*dvattiṃsa-mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*) and the eighty minor signs (*asītānubyañjana*).

In the *nidānakathā* (introductory portion) of the *Atthasālinī* (*DhsA.* pp. 13 ff.) there is a comprehensive description of the first appearence of the *Buddha-rasmi* during the fourth week after enlightenment, while the Buddha contemplated the *Paṭṭhāna* (i.e., *Mahāpakaraṇa*: the seventh book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*). According to this account not even on a single day, during the period of twenty-one days, after attaining enlightenment, did the Buddha's body emit rays. During the fourth week after enlightenment the Buddha contemplated the contents of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* but yet his body did not emit rays; and similarly with the contemplation of the next five books. But when he reached the Great Book (*Mahāpakaraṇa*) the Buddha began to contemplate the twenty-four universal causal relations of condition, of presentation, and so forth, and then only did his omniscience find opportunity: it is said that thereby only did the body of the Buddha emit rays.

This account also gives a description of the varied hues of the Buddha-rays produced by the specific parts of the Buddha's body. Rays of six colours—blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), red (*lohita*), white (*odāta*), crimson (*mañjeṭṭha*) and sixthly the combination of the first five colours (*pabhassara*) issued forth from the various parts of his body:

nīla	—	from hair and blue portions of eyes.
pīta	—	from skin and yellow portions of eyes.
lohita	—	from flesh, blood and red portions of eyes.
odāta	—	from bones, teeth and white portions of eyes.

As regards the other two colours, it is said that they issued from 'different parts' of the body no specific parts being allocated to these hues

1 Whitney, W.D., *The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 137.

2 Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, p. 869.

3 *J.* I, 57; IV, 149; *M.* I, 124; *Dhp.* 222.

4 A typical example gleaned from the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* reads as follows: *maṇivaṇṇagaganatale nānappakārā vijjullatā viya aveḷāveḷabūtā c'eva yugalayugalabhūtā ca chabbaṇṇaghanabuddha-rasmiyo vissajjentaṃ*.... (*J.* I, 12: see also *J.* I, 501; *UdA.* 105) 354; *SnA.* 132).

(*mañjeṭṭhapabhassarā pana tamhā tamhā sarīrappadesā nikkhamiṃsu*). Further, it is said that these rays outshone the astral bodies and penetrated through a billion world systems. The author's observation as to the reason why the Buddha's body emitted such brilliant rays is given thus: "Such power is not the result of self-determination nor of meditation. The blood of the Lord of the world became clear as he contemplated the abstruse and subtle doctrine. Likewise, the material form of his thoughts and his complexion. The mind-produced colour-element steadily established itself with a radiance of eighty cubits."[5]

The text called the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī-mūla-ṭīkā* comments only on the statement in the *Atthasālinī* that the Buddha-rasmi is a *cittasamuṭṭhāna-vaṇṇa-dhātu* (a mind-produced colour-element), correcting this by saying that, strictly spoken, it is a colour-element produced by temperature which on its part has been conditioned by mind (*citta-paccaya-utusamuṭṭhāna*) because mind-produced corporeality does not issue outward (of the body as the aura does); the aura has arisen in a sequence of processes started by mind-produced corporeality (*cittasamuṭṭhānarūpaparamparāya*)[6].

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī-anuṭīkā*, however, included in the same volume of the Burmese edition, does not comment on this passage about the *Buddha-rasmi*.

It is significant that this reference to the contemplation of the *Abhidhamma* by the Buddha with the synchronic emanation of Buddha-rays, described in the *Atthasālinī*, is an incident unknown to the rest of the writers. For instance, the authors of the commentaries to the *Udāna* and the *Māhāvagga*, both works dealing with the episode of enlightenment and its immediate results, do not show any traces of a knowledge about this incident of the *Atthasālinī*. All that we can safely say is that the *Atthasālinī* account appears to be the work of a sectarian Ābhidhammika, his sole intention being the glorification of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

On the other hand, that the Buddha's complexion becomes prodigiously brilliant on two occasions—on the event of perfect enlightenment (*sammā-sambodhi*) and on the occasion of the final decease (*parinibbāna*), is the general idea obtained from the rest of Pali literature (e.g., *D.* II, 134).

Combinations of the six colours associated with the *Buddha-rasmi* are alluded to in the Pali texts, apart from the references to them directly as the hues radiating from the person of the Buddha. Thus they are specifically mentioned in the *Bāhira-nidāna* of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 190; also *Dpv.* ch. xi), in connection with the flower-sapling which appeared at the foot of Mount Chātaka, due to the potency of merit of king Devānampiya-tissa. It is said that there appeared on this sapling, flowers of varied hues: *nīla, pīta, lohitaka, odāta, pabhassara* and *kālaka*. In this list of colours, therefore, the traditional auric *mañjeṭṭha* is substituted by the colour *kālaka*. *Mañjeṭṭha* etymologically signifies light (or bright) red. The replacement of this term by the new term *kālaka*, denoting blue-black or any misty dark hue, may perhaps be due to the author's view that as *lohitaka* already connotes 'redness' the addition of *mañjeṭṭha* would have created superfluity. Anyhow, even then the usual enumeration of the set of five principal colours is not disregarded.

Some of the colours of the halo are mentioned in connection with *kasiṇa* meditation. For instance, *nīla*, the blue or indigo colour, is employed as one of the ten *kasiṇas* (Pali *nīla-kasiṇa*), which forms an aid to the practice by means of which abstract meditation (*bhāvanā, jhāna*) may be attained (*M.* II, 14).

We read in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* (ch. v) that the six colours associated with the aura of the Buddha, were emanated by the Buddha's frontal bone relic at its enshrinement at the Seruvila thūpa in eastern Ceylon. It is reported that the combination of these six hues appeared like 'a stream of golden rays illumining the island of Ceylon as if by a thousand suns and a thousand moons'.[7]

Moreover, the general view is that these six colours of the Buddha's halo are the precursors of the choice of colours used in the hexa-hued Buddhist flag.[8]

As to the extent of the Buddha's halo the earliest indication is seen in the expression *byāmappabhā*.[9] The idea is that the halo extended for a fathom's

5..*ayañca neva buddhānaṃ adhiṭṭhāna-iddhi-bhāvanāmayā iddhi. Saṇhasukhumadhammaṃ pana sammasato lokanāthassa lohitaṃ pasīdi, vatthurūpaṃ pasīdi, chavivaṇṇo pasīdi, cittasamuṭṭhānavaṇṇadhātu samantā asītihattamatte padese niccalā aṭṭhāsi*......(*DhsA.* p. 15).

6 The *ṭīkā* passage reads as follows: *Cittasamuṭṭhānā vaṇṇadhātū'ti cittapaccayautusamuṭṭhānā vaṇṇadhātū'ti attho gahetabbo. Kasmā nahi cittasamuṭṭhānaṃ rūpaṃ bahi nigacchatī'ti: cittasamuṭṭhānarūpaparamparāya āgatattā pana evaṃ vuttaṃ.*

7 *Dhātuvaṃsa*, ed. D. M. Samarasinghe, 1940, p. 69.

8 Olcott, H. S., *Old Diary Leaves*, Third Series, 2nd ed., pp. 351 ff.

9 *J.* I, 12, 90; *Vvu.* 213; *Miln.* 75; *Buv.* I, 45.

length around the Buddha. A fathom (*byāma* or *vyāma*) is measured by both arms being extended to their full length. But in later literature the extent of the halo is given in still wider terms.

In the *Mahāvastu* (i, 110 ff.) Mahākātyāyana, replying to a question posed by Mahākāśyapa as to the extent of the radiances (*kevattikā prabhā*) of the Buddhas worshipped by the Śākyamuni when he was in the fifth bhūmi, gives a description of the dimensions of these ten Buddhas. Certain former Buddhas had radiances extending for ten yojanas, while some had a brilliance spreading for fifty or even a hundred yojanas. Traditionally, a *yojana* is a distance of about seven miles. Considering the fact that the conception about the Buddha's glorious body (*sambhoga-kāya*) stands out most clearly in the later literature, it is thereby not surprising to see, even within the aura-notion, a gradual widening of the earlier conception. In other words, with the development of Buddhology such elaborations were quite natural.

Annie Besant, who posits her own auric theory, makes an interesting observation regarding the dimensions of the human aura : "It is sometimes dull, coarse and dingy ; sometimes magnificently radiant in size, light and colour ; it depends entirely on the stage of evolution reached by the man, on the development of his different bodies, on the moral and mental character he has evolved".[10] It is difficult to state the exact connection between the *Buddha-rasmi* notion and the theosophic auric theory, but one thing stands distinctly clear ; it is, that the fundamental idea underlying both theories is the same, namely, that the auric emanation is a manifestation arising out of the inner elevation of the individual.

In the *Maṭṭakuṇḍalī Vatthu* (*DhpA.* I, 22) it is related that the Buddha showed a glorified apparition of himself to Maṭṭakuṇḍalī. He sent forth 'one ray' (*ekaṃ rasmiṃ*) towards the boy, who by righteous aspirations was reborn in the Golden Abode (*kanaka vimāna*).

This story shows another aspect of the Buddha's glory. Frequently the Buddha is said to have made use of his ineffable glory to attract the attention of these whose attention was directed elsewhere. In this specific episode, the Buddha made use of one of his rays to make his presence felt to the dying boy, who lay on the outer verandah, facing the inner chamber (*antogehābhimukha*).

10 Besant, A., *The Ancient Wisdom*, 1949, pp. 199–200.

Elsewhere, we hear that once the disciples of the Buddha, while arranging seats for the members of the Order, were warned to prepare a more conspicuous seat for the Buddha, being reminded so by the Buddha himself who made his presence known by making his rays fall on a certain spot.

In the *Milindapañha* (p. 75) there is an interesting allusion to the special features of the Buddha's body. The halo is specifically mentioned as one of these special features. The reference occurs in the form of a question posed by king Milinda, who asks Nāgasena, whether the parents of the Buddha were endowed with the same bodily characteristics. To this Nāgasena says "No", and in his usual clever way explains, that just as the perfect lotus is produced by mud and water, similarly the Buddha has special bodily features such as a golden skin and a glorious halo of a fathom's length etc., though his parents who produced him had them not.

The real import of Nāgasena's answer becomes quite evident when we recall the famous declaration of the Buddha to king Suddhodana who remonstrated with his son, a descendant of the Mahāsammatas, for begging alms in the streets of Kapilavatthu. The Buddha's quiet reply was that, though Mahāsammata was the king's clan, he (the Buddha) belonged to the race of the Buddhas (*Buddhavaṃsa*), to whom begging was a means of livelihood (*J.* I, 90). Likewise, as implied in Nāgasena's reply, the halo, too, was an inheritance from the former Buddhas and not an attribute inherited from the physical progenitors. The quality of the halo as a superhuman attribute is fully brought out here.

According to Ward[11] the Buddhist Sanskrit text, called the *Mahāvastu*, also carries a reference to the halo of the Buddha. Keith[12] suggests that this passage, being a rather late addition to the main text, indicates influence by the sculpture of Gandhāra.

The *Lalitavistara*, too, has a description of the luminous effulgence radiated by the Buddha, while he sat under the *bodhi*-tree. It is related that the innumerable spheres (*sarvalokadhātu*) in the ten directions of space (*daśasu dikṣu*) were illumined by the great brilliance (*mahatāvabhāsena*) which shone forth from the body of the Śākyamuni (*Lal.* p. 254). This account is also highly artistic.

11 Ward, C. H. S., *Buddhism*, Vol. II – Mahāyāna, p. 47.

12 Law, B. C., *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, see the Introductory note by A. B. Keith, p. vi.

It would be interesting to know for certain the actual relation between descriptions of this nature of the halo in the later literary works such as the *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara*, and its delineations in iconography. The solution would be either that the aura as depicted in art was inspired by these accounts in the literary works or that such literary descriptions in later works owe their origin to the artistic portrayals. Whatever might be the correct interpretation, one thing is definite—the accounts of the *Buddha-rasmi* and *byāmappabhā* in the earlier works (e.g., *Miln.*, *Buv.* and commentarial literature) have no connection with the artistic portrayals. In these accounts the halo stands as an emblem of light signifying the super-human nature of the Buddha and is definitely devoid of the later embellishments.

The Aura as represented in Works of Art.

In conformity with the canons of representation of Oriental art, the Buddha, when physically portrayed in sculpture and painting, is generally presented as endowed with the following three characteristics : th *ūrṇā* (circle of hair between the eye-brows), the *uṣṇīṣa* (the protuberance at the top of the head) and the *prabhā-maṇḍala* (halo or aureole). These signs, in other words, are supposed to be the visible tokens of his superhuman nature as an *uttarimanuṣya.*

Oriental art depicts the halo of the Buddha in a variety of ways. Nevertheless, it is possible to divide these into two broad classes—namely, the halo encircling the head and that girding the entire body. The former usage, generally speaking, is older than the latter and the comparatively old representations of Ajaṇṭā, Amarāvatī and Gandhāra possess this type of head-halo.

In earlier sculptures the head-halo is generally plain and undecorated, often consisting of a simple disc with a polished surface. The original significance of the Buddha's halo as the *prabhā-maṇḍala* (lit. 'the circle of light') is fully brought out in this type of plain aureole. A good example for this variety is the simple expansive halo of the fasting bodhisattva at the Lahore Museum. (See *Ency-Bsm.* Vol. II, Plate XI.) In this striking representation the rigid simplicity of the halo helps to enhance the sharp austerity of the image. Indian art has an abundant store of Buddha images with this type of plain halo. But once the artists began to employ it as a decorative motif, its original meaning was lost and the halo was utilised for the presentation of elaborate engravings.

Thus, some haloes circumscribed round the head of the Buddha are decorated at the periphery with a semi-circular, triangular or zig-zag pattern. (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate XXI.) It has been suggested by Majumdar that this might well be a modification of the traditional lotus petal motif. " The triangles ", says Majumdar, " have their prototype in the lotus petals, as on the halo behind the Buddha's head on the *Shāhji-ki-ḍherī* casket. But in the angular treatment the pattern has lost much of its original character. The halo with the triangular petals was prevalent in the Kabul Valley in a comparatively late period. " [13]

The plain halo decorated with a foliate band around the outer edge, too, seems to have been popular among Indian sculptors. This type is encountered several times in the sculptures of Gandhāra. Usually, such a floral ornament consists of a single stem entwined most artistically with flowers, tendrils and tapering leaves.

A fine example of the intricately adorned halo is that of the standing Buddha at the Mathurā Museum (circa 5th century A. C.). The work reveals the artistic sense of the sculptor in the delicate folds of the robe as well as in its exquisitely engraved aureole, which is typical of the art of this period. The halo is basically composed of intricately ornamented concentric bands skilfully chiselled round a full-blown lotus which is at the centre. The conventional creeper-tendril motif forms the broadest band round this central lotus. (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate XXII.)

A similar example of this type of intricately engraved halo is that of the masterpiece of Indian art, the image portraying the Buddha delivering the first sermon at Sārnāth (op. cit. plate s. v. *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*). This halo is adorned with a broad band of creepers interwov n with floral ornaments of exquisite beauty. This variety of profusely decorated halo is encountered several times in Gupta art. However, the final effect attained by such foliated haloes, is far from the original purpose for which the halo as the emblem of light was originally employed. The validity of this statement is established by the following observation made by J.Ph. Vogel regarding the halo of a Buddha image belonging to the Gupta period (at the Curzon Museum, Mathurā) : " the original

13 Majumdar, N. G., *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Indian Museum*, Part II, p. 22.



(*by courtesy of the Archaeological Dept. of India*)

AURA with periphery of a semi-circular motif of a Buddha-statue from Katra (Kuṣāṇa, 2nd century A. C.) at the Mathurā Museum.



AURA with concentric bands around lotus of a Buddha statue of 5th century A. C. in Mathurā.

(by courtesy of the Ministry of Information, India)

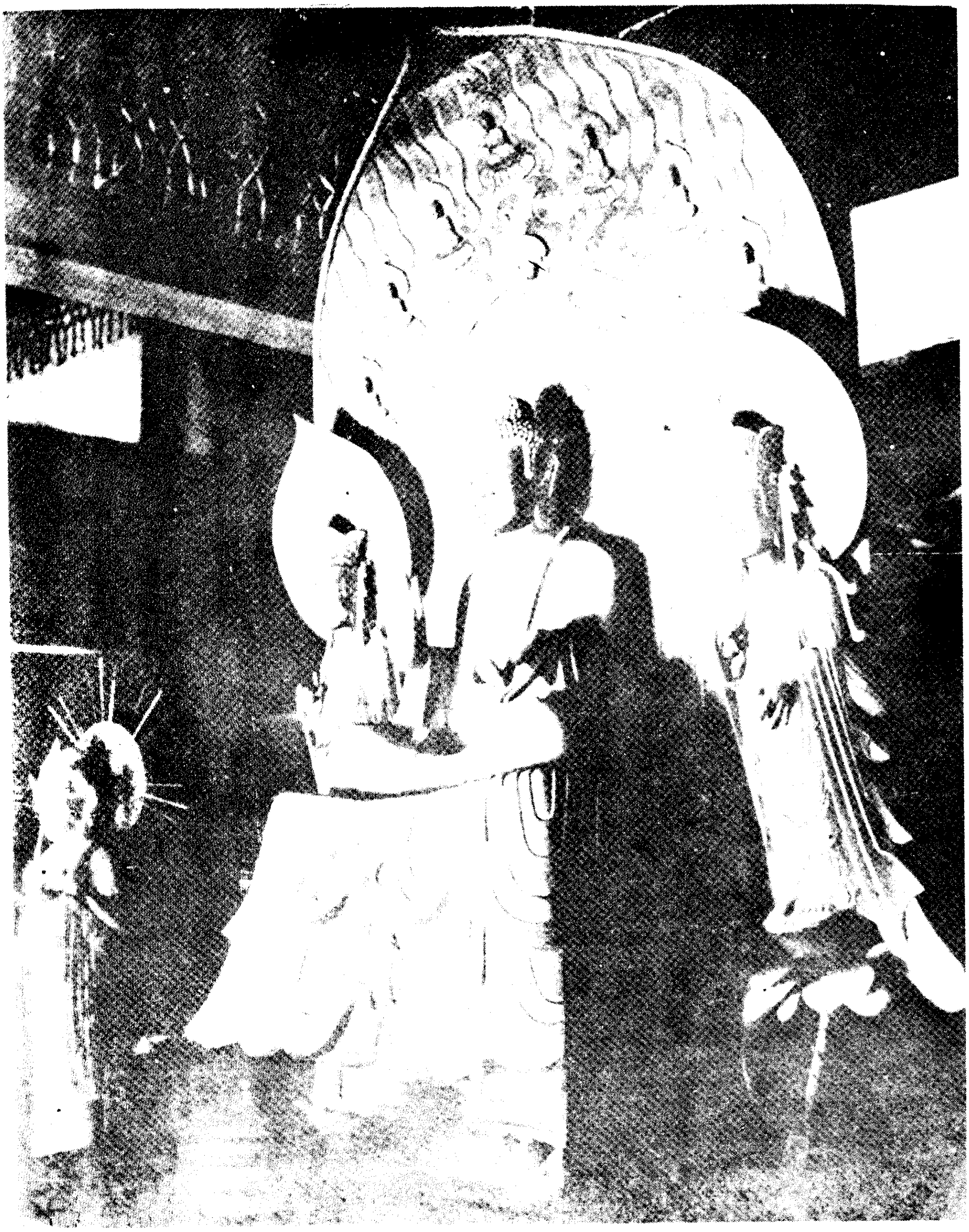


AURA with Sanskrit inscription around the head of standing Lokanātha, a revered form of Avalokiteś-vara.

A black basalt statue of the 9th century from Teladha Vihāra, Bihar, India.

(reproduced by courtesy of the Atlantis Verlag, Zürich, from Indian Sculptures, *p. 55)*

PLATE XXIV



(reproduced from The Evolution of the Buddha Image by Benjamin Rowland (fig. 12).

AURA, a leaf-shaped halo surrounding circular haloes of a Śākyamuni statue by Tori Busshi (early 7th century) at Horyu-ji, Nara, Japan.

The aura portrays also various Dhyāni-buddhas with individual leaf-shaped haloes, forming a maṇḍala.

meaning of the nimbus was evidently no longer understood, for the disc of light is covered all over with concentric bands of graceful ornament in which festoons and foliage alternate with conventional flowers." [14] (See *Ency Bsm.* Vol. II, Plate XXIII.)

Another significant feature of this unique image is that the halo is flanked on either side by two flying vidyādharas portrayed in the act of doing obeisance to the preaching Buddha. This feature becomes very marked in the stylistic representations of the Buddha in later Mahāyāna sculptures. For instance, the Vajrāsana sculpture preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has on either side of its circular halo two vidyādharas flying in the air, each holding a garland in their hands.

The favourite theme of Mahāyāna sculptors, in depicting Dhyānibuddhas on the aureoles of Vajrayāna deities, too, seems to be a further development in this direction. In such representations, the five Dhyānibuddhas are generally depicted on the aureole over the head of the principle deity. Rowland makes an interesting observation with regard to the sculpture of Gandhāra when he suggests that the reliefs with the Buddha surrounded by a halo filled with smaller Buddha-figures seem to prophesy the iconography of Vairocana at the centre of a vast maṇḍala of Dhyānibuddhas, as we see him in the sculptures of Japan.

In Mahāyāna sculptures the halo has also been utilised sometimes for inscriptional purposes. In Japan such engravings state the origin and history of the image which carries such a halo. More frequently, however, such inscriptions are utilised for a purely religious purpose. For example, in the "Standing Lokanātha" (see *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate XXIII) the oval halo with a flaming rim behind the head carries a Sanskrit inscription in the 9th or possibly 10th century script, which reads: *Ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣaṃ tathāgato hayavaddatteṣā (a)ñca yo nirodha evamvā (a)dī mahā (a)şramaṇaḥ.* In translation this formula, often called the Buddhist creed, runs: "Of all phenomena sprung from a cause the Tathāgata has told the cause and also their cessation. Thus spoke the great sage."[15]

Another illustration of the inscribed halo is the oval-shaped one of the Buddha statue from Kurkihār, S. Bihār (Provincial Museum, Lucknow). The outer rim of this halo consists of spreading flames arising from an inner band of interwoven sheafs which surrounds the central polished surface carrying a Sanskrit inscription.

Very rarely, too, images of the Buddha are depicted as possessing nāga-hoods as aureoles. For instance, the standing figure of the Buddha from Seruvila in Ceylon is sheltered by the many-headed hood of the nāga king, Mucalinda. The prototype of this kind of snake-hooded aureole is encountered in Indian art in the sculptures of snake-demons (s.v. NĀGA). The representations of the Buddha with the nāga king coiled round him with his great polycephalic hood forming a hooded aureole above the Buddha's head, appear also among the sculptures of Amarāvatī. However, it is in Indo-China that we have its finest form.

Besides the circular aureole depicted as haloing the head, the Buddha's radiant appearance is also portrayed in Oriental art as encircling the whole figure. Some of the oldest examples for this type of oval halo spanning the whole figure, are found among the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā. In Ceylon, striking examples of this type of halo are found in the frescoes of Daṁbulla vihāra (circa 17th century), a rock-temple in the north-central province. Here the peripheral bands of the oval-shaped haloes are painted in colourful wavy flames spreading out from the personage of the Buddha. In Java, such small flames which issue from the halo behind the Buddha statues are in the shape of the sacred syllable *Oṃ*, that is, in the shape of an inverted question mark with a spiral tail.[16] Such portrayals clearly demonstrate the ancient conception that light is emitted from all parts of the body of the Buddha. This variety of haloes can be roughly classified into two broad classes. The first class, specially popular in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist art, consists of two or more combined circular haloes. Frequently, in such portrayals the halo encircling the head is depicted as overlapping a larger halo which is circumscribed around the body with the navel of the Buddha as its centre. Variations of this class of haloes are a) where the glory of the Buddha is portrayed in two overlapping haloes both intricately engraved with traditional patterns, b) where the overlapping haloes consist of concentric circles inscribed within a larger halo which surrounds the whole figure including the overlapping haloes.

The second class of the halo encircling the whole figure consists of the boat-shaped or leaf-shaped halo. This variety is often encountered in Japanese and Chinese Buddhist art. (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II. Plate XXIV.) Frequently, the boat-shaped halo

14 Vogel, J. Ph., *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, p. 50.

15 Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, J. E., *Descriptive Catalogue of Indian Sculptures.* Atlantis Verlag, Zurich. p. 56.

16 Conze, E., *Buddhism, Its Essence and Development*, Oxford, 1951, p. 38.

contains within it two or three combined circular haloes, and the form of the boat-shaped halo varies with individual artists. Nevertheles, in this type the halo always tapers towards the summit and culminates in a point which is sometimes adorned with a ball-shaped jewel.

Of significance, too, is the fact that some well-known images of the Buddha do not possess haloes at all. In certain examples it is possibile to surmise that the haloes, which were once originally attached to the icons by brackets would have been destroyed with time. However, other icons clearly show no traces of a halo. It may, therefore, be suggested that while the halo was supposed by writers to be an integral characteristic of the Baddha's glorified body, it was not considered as strictly essential in the orthodox representations of the Buddha in iconography.

G. K. W.

AURANGĀBAD CAVES, in the hilly country of the Ghats in western India, not far from the better-known Ellora caves. The city derives its name from Aurangzeb who made it his residence when he administered the region as the viceroy of the emperor in Delhi in 1657. Contemporary historians sometimes called it Khujista-Bunyād.

The caves have been excavated in the south face of a precipitous hill scarp which rises to some 700 ft. This hill is about a mile north of the city. Nearly all the caves are of the late Buddhist period, 6th–7th cent. A.C., at the time when the art and the architecture here were merging with Hindu forms. A close study of the details shows their strong Mahāyānist character ; there is also at least one caitya-hall. (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate XXV.)

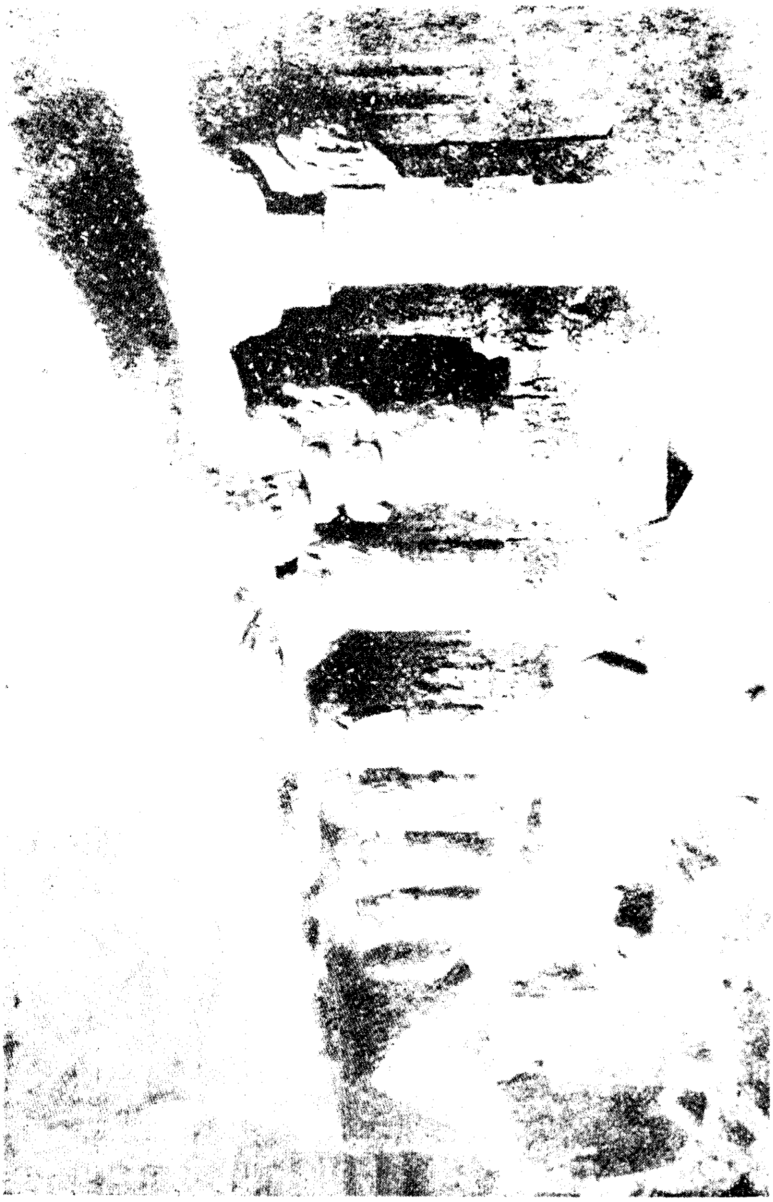
Three groups are noticed in a total of twelve caves ; the first has a caitya and four vihāras ; the next four vihāras. The last group of three caves as well as No. 8 of the second group appear unfinished, and call for no special notice. All the caves are clearly Buddhist, even the fifth one which is now used by the Jains but which has a large figure of the Buddha and not one of their Tīrthaṅkaras. They have a comprehensive collection of reliefs both of the Buddha and of Buddhist deities, not to speak of other representatives (possibly of jātaka stories) which are connected with Buddhist legends.

Nos. 3 and 7 are the finest caves and the best preserved. The cella of No. 3 is cut deep into the rock to about 82½ ft., while the width is about 63 ft. The reliefs of its shrine proper are very striking. They are shown in two, almost life-size groups, before a colossal enthroned Buddha. In each is a number of votaries, both male and female, who are shown kneeling and in eager attitudes, some with hands clasped in adoration and others offering garlands. Their costumes seem in the contemporary fashion. The sculptures of No. 7 are still more impressive, particularly those flanking the inner shrine where there are bodhisattva figures at either end of the chamber, which is the vihāra with the image of the Buddha. From the distinctive Amitābha figurine in the head-dress, one of the bodhisattvas is correctly identifiable as Avalokiteśvara. Besides, in two vertical strips running shoulder high on either side of him, there are small scenes (four each and separated) meant to depict him as the giver of protection from eight kinds of fear. (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate. XXVI.) In the representations here Burgess thus related the eight fears to : fire, sword, chains, shipwreck, lions, snakes, elephants and death or pestilence.[1] Each shows suppliants towards whom a figure of Avalokiteśvara is flying, in the gesture of granting the boon. The scene has been aptly described as the "Litany of Avalokiteśvara". The "litany" figures elsewhere in western India (e.g., at Ajaṇṭā), but nowhere in such dimensions as, or better executed than, here. From general similarities Coomaraswamy suggested the work as of the same period as Ajaṇṭā No. XXIV. The corresponding figure on the other side was probably Mañjuśrī. In this cave are also depicted a large number of females, both deities and otherwise (see *Ency.Bsm.* Vol. II, Plate XXVII) so that some scholars have been led to suppose that it may have been a shrine largely set apart for Buddhist nuns.

No. 4, a small hall, has a stūpa of the simple type which is low and plain and suggests kinship with the contemporaneous examples at Kārle. Percy Brown considered it stylistically in conflict with the other caves and supposed it to belong to a much earlier date than the other remains. Much earlier, Burgess himself seems to have held a similar opinion ; at any rate he considered it, with its primitive simplicity, the sole caitya-cave proper among all the caves here.

Of the rest, special mention may be made of No. 9 which is elaborate and contains Buddha figures, seated in different attitudes, on its walls. In it is also a four-armed Avalokiteśvara.

1 For eight similar fears (as cited from Tāranātha) see L. A. Waddell in *I.A.* XXII, pp. 9 & 10.



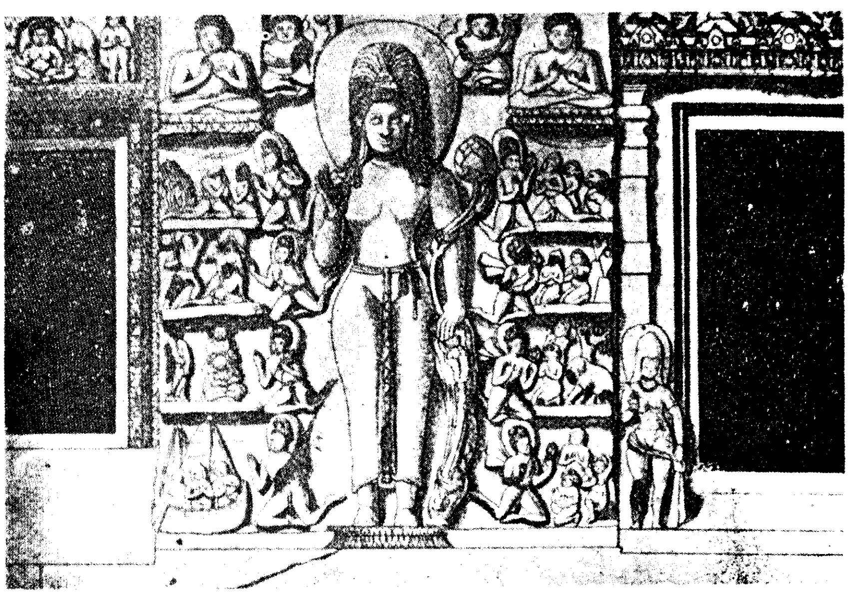
AURANGABAD. Entrance and Veranda to Cave No. 1.

PLATE XXVI



AURANGĀBĀD, Cave No. 7. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, on the back wall of the veranda.

(*photo by A. L. Syed, reproduction from* Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves, *by Gupte and Mahajan. Publ. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Bombay, 1962*).



AURANGĀBĀD, Cave No. 7. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, on the back wall of the veranda.



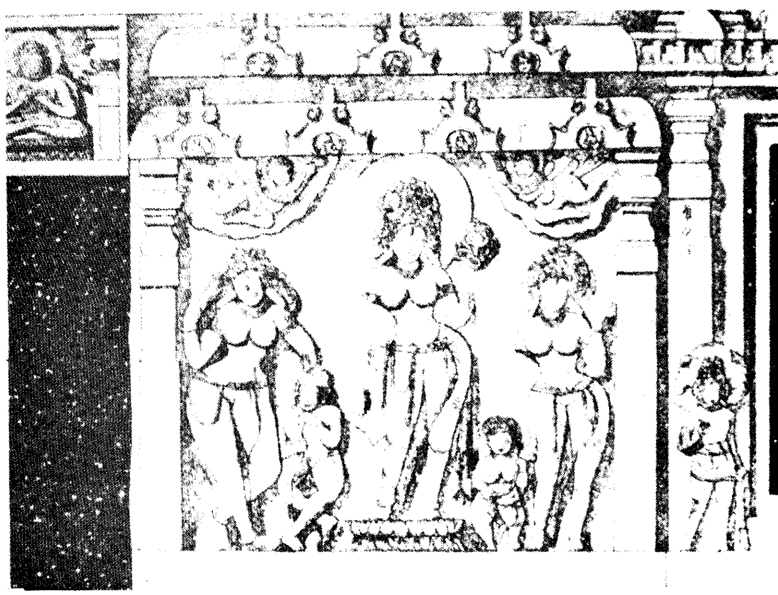
(*by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Govt. of India*)

AURAṄGĀBĀD, Cave No. 7. Panel of female dancer and musicians, on the left wall of the shrine.



AURANGĀBĀD, Cave No. 7. Panel of Tārā in front of the shrine to the left of the entrance.

(by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Govt. of India)



AURANGĀBĀD, Cave No. 7. Panel of Tārā in front of the shrine to the left of the entrance.

The caves at Auraṅgābād are characterised by large figure carving. Even some of the goddesses are of monumental proportions and the sculptures in general are of exceptional size. Besides, some of them (e.g., in No. 7. See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate XXVIII) are remarkable for their heavy and elaborate head-dress. It was Coomaraswamy's opinion that the physical types were themselves somewhat unusual.

D. T. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : James Burgess, *Bidār and Auraṅgabād*, the Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. III; Fergusson & Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The History of Indian & Indonesian Art*; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist, Hindu, Jain.*

AUṢAḌHI(N), name of a former Buddha, in a *Mahāvastu* list. His name occurs between Mūla and Hiteṣin, each proclaiming the successor. In the particular succession in which Auṣaḍhi(n) appears Arthadarśin was the first and Jinendra the last (J. J. Jones, trsl. III, p. 228).

AUTHORITY is often contrasted with reason and, in a loose sense, generally implies a certain amount of enforcement.[1] This is true as far as action is concerned, for, then it is the power which enforces obedience. Authority and obedience are thus two correlative terms, the former implying supremacy, and the latter, dependence. Authority in this sense implies a categorical demand or imperative which has to be obeyed, regardless of its rationality and justifiability. Apart from this meaning of the term, there is a slightly different usage of it in the sphere of belief and opinion. The right to influence opinion, to induce belief and by this means to persuade a man to take a certain course of action, to follow a certain form of conduct until he himself is able to realise the truth, also belongs to the sphere of authority. But, this form of authority could be contrasted with the categorical imperative, for, the former is mostly presented as rational and not irrational, and such a form of power or influence could be utilised to encourage and persuade, but not to force, the individual concerned to form opinions, to believe and to act accordingly.

Many exponents of Buddhism have unhesitatingly declared that the Buddha rejects as worthless all recourse to authority.[2] It would appear that they are led to this conclusion by the Buddha's admonition to the Kālāmas of Kesaputta.[3] A wrong evaluation of the contents of the *Kālāma Sutta* has led some other scholars to think that "Buddhism is a contradiction in itself", and that "documents and theories point to conflicting statements : the old Buddhism pretends, and rightly, to be a creed. But it admits the principle of 'libre examen'; still more, it considers critical inquiry as the one key to the comprehension of truth. "[4] In his recent book titled '*The Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*', K. N. Jayatilleke has exposed the fallacy of these different views and has made an attempt to give a consistent and coherent account of the material found in the early Buddhist texts.[5] His detailed investigation of this problem seems to have been summarised in the following words: "... if we interpret the *Kālāma Sutta* as saying that one should not accept the statements of anyone on authority nor even seriously consider the views of others in order to test their veracity but rely entirely on one's own experiences in the quest and discovery of truth, then this would be contradictory to the concept of *saddhā* in the Pāli Nikāyas. But if, on the other hand, we interpret the *Kālāma Sutta* as saying that while we should not accept the statements of anyone as true on the grounds of authority, we should test the consequences of statements in the light of our own knowledge and experience in order to verify whether they are true or false, it would be an attitude which is compatible with *saddhā* as understood in at least one stratum of Pāli canonical thought. "[6]

Statements claiming to be true on authority, therefore, should be accepted or rejected only after one has discovered their truth or falsity after personally verifying them. This is so even with regard to the statements of the Buddha. But, before one is able to verify for oneself the truth of anything, what is the source of knowledge, the *pramāṇa* (q.v.), depending on which one could discern between good and bad, right and wrong, truth and falsehood ? For, realisation or understanding is gained by a

1 *ERE.* II, 249.

2 W. Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*, (1959), p. 2; P. L. Narasu, *Essentials of Buddhism*, (1912), p. 35; Narada, *Buddha-Dhamma*, (1942), pp. 91–2.

3 *A.* I, 189 ff.; *Taishō.* II, 483.

4 L. de la Vallée Poussin, 'Faith and Reason in Buddhism' in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Vol. II, p. 42.

5 pp. 169–204, 369–402.

6 ibid. p. 391.

gradual process of training, not all of a sudden.[7] How can the savage, the ignorant, know what is good and what is bad ? To the question, " How many conditions are there for the arising of right understanding ? " the Buddha's reply was : " There are two conditions for the arising of right understanding (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), namely, the testimony of another (*parato-ghosa*) and proper reflection (*yoniso manasikāra*)." [8] Of these two conditions, the former, namely, the testimony of another is very significant ; in fact, the commentator illustrates this by quoting the incident of Sāriputta's conversion to the doctrine of the Buddha by the utterance of Assaji.[9] The implication is that the testimony of a reliable person is a *sine qua non* for a beginner. This is coupled with proper reflection by which one is able to test the validity of the statement of the reliable person. This is further confirmed by the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, where the Buddha is represented as inviting the house-holders of Sālā to take up and practise, in the absence of a satisfactory teacher (*manāpaṃ satthāraṃ*), the infallible (*apaṇṇaka*) *dhamma* as given by the Buddha.[10] This passage brings out clearly the importance of a teacher in guiding a person. Even the Buddha in striving towards his selected objective had teachers to instruct him. He is said to have had no teacher in the sense that he had superseded those who had instructed him at the beginning. As is evident from the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*, the Buddha attained to that state by following the trend into which he was directed by Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta. The two stages preceding the final stage of mental culture are the states of nothingness (*ākiñcaññāyatana*), and neither-perception-nor-non-perception (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*), which the Buddha is said to have learnt under Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, respectively.[11]

The discussion of the problem of authority in Jayatilleke's book pertains mainly to the problem of authority in the sphere of knowledge. But, apart from this, Buddhism recognises a certain form of authority observable in phenomena.

The enlightenment of the Buddha is said to consist in the discovery of the nature of phenomena (*dhammā*). The truth about phenomena which he discovered is summarised in a discourse delivered by him to his disciples on a later occasion. [12] He is represented as instructing his disciples on two things, namely, causality (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) and causally conditioned phenomena (*paṭiccasamuppanne dhamme*). The former refers to the causal relation between events and is defined in terms of the general formula of causality which is stated as, " When this exists, that exists ; when this arises, that arises. When this does not exist, that does not exist ; on the cessation of this, that ceases. " [13] The latter refers to the things that are related and is defined in terms of the twelve factors of the special application of the formula. The first refers to the rule or pattern according to which things change, and the second refers to the things themselves. The causal pattern is said to be invariable and permanent. " Whether the Buddhas were to arise in this world or not, this nature of things, this causal status (*dhammaṭṭhitatā*), this causal orderliness or this conditionality stands fast. " [14] On the other hand, phenomena are characterised by birth (*uppāda*), decay or change (*ṭhitassa aññathatta*) and destruction. [15]

Science has read the working of nature and has subjected it to its uses. The external world has been controlled by man and subdued to his uses, only because he has thoroughly understood its functioning and has submitted himself to its authority. It is possible for man to ignore the laws of nature, but if he does so, he would not be able to conquer it, just as an engineer will fail to construct a bridge, which otherwise would survive at least for some time, if he were to ignore the laws of contraction and expansion of metals. The nature of the world speaks to man as if with an authoritative voice, and if he ventures to disregard that authority he must pay a price. Similarly, if we were to disregard the nature of our physical body, the body which has the characteristics as described above, the fate that the Buddha predicted of Māluṅkyāputta [16] would befall us.

The recognition of the authority of the causal law as valid in the sphere of nature would not reduce Buddhism to a belief in fatalism or determinism. According to the Buddha, it is possible to conquer nature, only if one has a thorough knowledge of the functioning of nature. " He who sees the causal

7 *M.* I, 479, 480 ; III, 1. *nāhaṃ . . . ādiken'eva aññārādhanaṃ vadāmi api ca anupubbasikkhā anupubbakiriyā anupubbapaṭipadā aññārādhanā hoti.* cp. *Taishō*, I, 652.

8 *M.* I. 194 ; *Taishō*, I, 50.

9 *MA.* II, 346.

10 *M.* I. 401. Not yet traced in the Chinese Āgamas.

11 ibid. I, 165 ; *Taishō*, I, 776.

12 *S.* II, 25 f. ; *Taishō*, II, 84.

13 *M.* I, 262–4 ; *S.* II, 20, 70, 96, etc. ; *Taishō*, I, 562.

14 *S.* II, 25 ; *Taishō*, II, 84.

15 *S.* III, 41, etc. ; *Taishō*, II, 607-8.

16 *M.* I, 430; *Taishō*, I, 805.

pattern has insight into the nature of phenomena and is able to perceive the Buddha (i.e., to reach a state that transcends nature). "[17]

The law of causation rules our thinking. Just as the law of physical causation is valid in the sphere of physical phenomena, even so psychological causation is valid in the sphere of thought. Causality is the foundation of all our thinking. Thoughts (*vitakka*) of sense-desire (*kāma*), of ill-will (*vyāpāda*) and of cruelty (*vihiṃsā*) etc., arise with a causal basis and not without a causal basis.[18] Just as we are unable to disregard the laws of nature, even so we are unable to dispense with the laws of thought. Reflection according to the laws of thought and an understanding of the way in which mental phenomena function are necessary if we are to gain insight and thus work for our own release. Realisation (*abhisamaya*) results from intuitive wisdom (*paññā*) which is a product of thinking or reasoning according to genesis (*yoniso manasikāra*).[19] The Buddha is said to have gained insight into the nature of phenomena by reflecting in this manner.[20] If one were not to reflect according to this law of thought, the cankers (*āsava*) not arisen before (*anuppanna*) will arise, and cankers already arisen (*uppanna*) will increase.[21] The bhikkhunī Sīhā suffered for a long time for not reflecting in this manner, for reflection according to genesis is said to bring about right understanding (*sammā-diṭṭhi*).[22] Thus, it appears that the Buddha recognised a law authoritative in the sphere of thinking, disregarding which one is not able to attain the desired goal. A knowledge of the law and of its authoritativeness enables one to apply the faculty of thinking in the right directon whereby one is able to develop the mind to its supreme height.

In addition to these, there are three other spheres where Buddhism recognises certain forms of authority. They are the political, the social and the ethical life.

Indian political philosophy prior to the appearance of the Buddha was characterised by the conception of divine kingship. " The king (*rājanya*) is the visible representative of Prajāpati; hence while being one he rules over many. "[23] Here, the king's rule is sought to be derived by virtue of his divinity which is attained through his connection with the highest of gods.[24] The idea of the king's divine nature, however shadowy it might be, was capable of being turned into an instrument for justifying the king's authority over his subjects.[25]

The dominating influence of the brāhman priesthood was felt throughout, not only in the sphere of religion but also in the sphere of political life. For even in the earliest texts are to be found references to the predominance of the priestly class (*brāhman*) over the ruling clan (*kṣatra*). The relationship between the king and the priest is explicit in the words of Agni (representing the priesthood) addressed to Indra (representing the rulers): " I, in person, go before thee, O Indra . . . and if thou givest me my share then shalt thou, through me, perform heroic deeds. "[26] The origin of the conception of *purohita* (derived from *puraḥ* ' in front ' and *dhā* ' to place ') can be traced to the above hymn. This *purohita* or the counsellor without whose guidance the king cannot succeed,[27] is said to instruct the king on the *dharma* which is binding upon the king in all his actions. This *dharma* consists of a body of rules, claiming to derive their origin from the highest source, namely, the eternal Vedas.[28] Thus it would appear that in the ultimate analysis, the authority in the sphere of political life is the *dharma*: the function of the *purohita* is only to instruct the king and guide him, since he is the custodian of the *dharma*.

While rejecting the idea of the divine origin of kingship[29], the Buddha advocated a political philosophy which recognised the authority of *dhamma*. According to the Buddha, even the righteous emperor is not without an overlord. To the question as to who is the king above kings, the Buddha's reply was that it is the law (*dhamma*).[30] It is clear from this that even in Buddhism *dhamma* is recognised as the authority in the sphere of political life. But the difference between the conceptions of *dharma* in Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic political thought was great. Although the pre-Buddhistic conception of *dharma* emphasised righteousness,

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17 *Ārya Śālistambhasūtra*, (Ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des Douze Causes*, Gand, 1913), p. 70, *Yo, bhikṣavaḥ, pratītyasamutpādaṃ paśyati sa dharmaṃ paśyati; yo dharmaṃ paśyati, sa buddhaṃ paśyati*. The first of this statement is to be found at *M.* I, 191 (cp. *Taishō*, I, 467) and the second part at *S.* III,120: *It.* 92.

18 *S.* II, 151.; *Taishō*, II, 115.

19 *S.* II, 5; *Taishō*, II, 101.

20 *S.* II, 10; *Taishō*, II, 79.

21 *M.* I, 7; *Taishō*, I, 431.

22 *M.* I, 294.; *Taishō*, I, 50.

23 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v, i, 5. 14.

24 U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, (1927), p. 24.

25 loc. cit.

26 *Ṛgveda*, viii, 10. 1.

27 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 1. 4. 1–6.

28 Ghoshal, op. cit., p. 39.

29 *D.* III, 93.; *Taishō*, I, 38.

30 *A.* I, 109. This passage has not yet been traced in the Āgamas.

yet it was based on the division of society into four castes, namely, priests (*brāhmaṇa*) the rulers (*kṣatriya*), merchants and cultivators (*vaiśya*) and the servants (*śūdra*). The last of these, viz., the *śūdra* was regarded as being beyond the pale of moral influence.[31] The *brāhmaṇa* and the *kṣatriya* precede but never follow the *vaiśya* and the *śūdra*, for otherwise there would ensue confusion between the good and the bad.[32] Thus, it would appear that the gradation of classes was the symbol and guarantee of social order. By virtue of their birth, the *vaiśyas* and the *śūdras* had to serve the other two castes.

Such a conception of *dharma* was antagonistic to the ethical consciousness of the Buddha. It was the Buddha who attempted to found a *dharma* on a strictly ethical basis. Analysing the psychological process of man, the Buddha found that he hankers for happiness (*sukhakāma*) and recoils from pain (*dukkhapaṭikkūla*).[33] The Buddhist conception of *dhamma* was to a great extent determined by this discovery. Hence, the Buddha is represented as denouncing any action on the part of the king which would lead to his own woe (*attantapa*) or the suffering of the subjects (*parantapa*) or the suffering of both (*attantapo ca parantapo*).[34] Actions of the king should be conducive to the happiness and welfare of the subjects as well as his own.[35] It is because of this that he is expected to obtain the consent of all sections of people in carrying out the affairs of state.[36] Thus, the Buddhist conception of *dhamma* is determined by a powerful social consciousness based on distinct values of life. The Buddhists adopted the concept of the world-ruler, the universal monarch (*cakkavattirājā*), with a view to expounding their distinctive political philosophy, based on the supremacy and authority of the moral order, the *dhamma*. The king had to punish those who transgressed this moral order, and the wheel of temporal authority (*āṇā-cakka*)[37] is the power vested in the king by virtue of his being the protector of the *dhamma*, the moral order. Therefore, it may be maintained that in the sphere of political life Buddhism recognises the authority of the *dhamma* based on broad ethical principles.

The Hindu conception of society was static and, as described earlier, was dominated by the idea of caste. The traditional fourfold order was considered not only to be absolute, fundamental and necessary to society, but was also given a divine sanction by being considered a creation of God (*Brahmā*).[38] God created the fourfold caste-order, each with its specific aptitudes and functions, with the result that people born into the different castes had certain special biologically inherited aptitudes which would eminently fit them to perform the caste functions which it was their duty to perform.

The Buddha strongly objected to such social discrimination and denounced the theory that people are born in their respective castes with such aptitudes generally determined, and are under obligation, by virtue of their birth, to do the work assigned to their castes and no other. According to him, people of all castes are on an equal footing (*cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā*)[39], there is no distinction whatsoever among them in this respect. One's trade gives one a 'caste' name (*kammanā khattiyo, vasalo....hoti*),[40] but it is merely a conventional designation (*samaññā eva lokasmiṃ*) denoting one's occupation and is of no genetical significance, since one does not follow a vocation or have an aptitude for it merely because one is born of parents who followed the same.[41] According to the Buddha, men are judged by the good and evil they do and not by the stations of life in which they were placed by virtue of their birth. It is according to the *dhamma*, i.e., their moral behaviour, that men can be divided into high and low castes.[42] Hence, here too, the moral law or *dhamma* is recognised as the authority, depending on which society is graded.

In the sphere of the moral life, too, Buddhism recognises the authority of a norm which is quite different from that accepted by pre-Buddhist thinkers. This norm is clearly stated in the *Ambalaṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda Sutta*,[43] where it is said that the behaviour of man should be such that it does not lead to the harm of oneself, of others, or of both. It should be morally good (*kusala*), yielding happiness (*sukhudraya*) and resulting in happiness (*sukhavipāka*). [44] This is the *dhamma*, the moral law that has to be recognised as authority in the sphere of ethical and moral behaviour.

D. J. K.

31 *SBE.* X, 4; III, 183.
32 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 4, 4, 13.
33 *S.* II, 99.; *Taishō*, II, 102.
34 *D.* III, 232; *M.* I, 341-2. Not traced in the Āgamas.
35 loc. cit.
36 *D.* I, 136-7; *Taishō*, I, 98.
37 *VinA.* I, 10.

38 G. P. Malalasekera and K. N. Jayatilleke, *Buddhism and the Race Question*, p. 45.
39 *M.* II, 88; *Taishō*, II, 142.
40 *Sn.* 650.
41 Malalasekera and Jayatilleke, op. cit., p. 43.
42 *Sn.* 650.
43 *M.* I, 414 ff.; *Taishō*, I, 436.
44 *M.* I, 417; *Taishō*, I, 436.

AUTOMATIC CONSCIOUSNESS or *asaṅkhārika citta*, in the sensuous sphere (*kāma-loka*), is the form of consciousness which arises automatically or spontaneously without being motivated by any agency, internal (*attano*) or external (*paresaṃ*). See ASAṄKHĀRIKA CITTA.

AVA, one of the capitals of ancient Burma, built on a triangular artificial island, at the junction of the Irrawaddy river with Myitnge (or Doktawadi) in Sagaing district. Thado Minpaya (1364–8) built it by draining the surrounding swamps. The people came to be so attached to it by sentiment that they, especially the Shans, knew the king of Burma by the title " Lord of the Golden Palace at Ava ". The Dutch and the English knew of Burma as Ava. In royal proclamations it came to be called Ratanapura, the "city of gems '.

Ava remained the capital of Burma for five centuries, this position having been disturbed only on three occasions, after the last of which Amarapura replaced it in 1865. Ava had many pagodas in the course of its history. The ruins of these as well as of the monasteries attached to them may be seen today. One of the most graceful of these pagodas was Sandamini, built in the late sixteenth century by the lord of Nyaungyan whose remains were buried close to it. Another religious building of note is the Okkyaung or Maha Aungmye Bonzan monastery, built in 1818 by the chief queen Nanmadaw Me Nu, to be the residence of her religious teacher, Nyaunggan Sayadaw. Damaged twenty years later by an earthquake, it was restored in 1873 by queen Sinbyumashin. It is of masonry and is considered a fine specimen of its class in Burmese architecture.

D. T. D.

AVABHĀSA, the kingdom of light and virtue, or glorious virtue, in which Mahā-Kāśyapa is to be reborn as a Buddha, under the name of Raśmiprabhāsa (*DCBT*. 202).

AVABHĀSAKARA, the eighth of the sixteen devaputras who guarded the Buddha's seat of enlightenment (*bodhimaṇḍa*). The others are: Utkhalī, Sūtkhalī, Prajāpati, Śūrabala, Keyūrabala, Supratisthita, Mahiṃdhara, Vimala, Dharmeśvara, Dharmaketu, Siddhapātra, Apratihatanetra, Mahāvyūha, Śīlaviśuddhanetra and Padmaprabha (*Lal*. 202).

AVABHĀSAMAKUṬA, name of a Tathāgata (*Gvyū*. 361.7).

AVABHĀSANAŚIKHIN, name of a nāga-king (*Mhvyut*. 3357). He is cited also in the *Megha Sūtra*, where the epithet 'seven-crested' (*saptaśirṣa*) is applied to him (308.9). Once, in connection with a rain-spell, he is referred to by this epithet alone (op. cit. 302.14).

S. K. N.

AVABHĀSAPRABHA, name of a god mentioned in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (3.5).

AVABHĀSAPRĀPTĀ, name of a division of the world (*lokadhātu*), in which Mahā-Kāśyapa is to be born as the Buddha Raśmiprabhāsa (*Sdmp*. 131.6).

AVABHĀSARĀJA, a Buddha. See OBHĀSARĀJA.

AVABHĀSARĀJAPRABHAKETUŚ(I)RĪ, a Buddha whose name is mentioned among those of an unbroken line of *jinas* who, being her preceptors, were propitiated by the nightgoddess Samantasattvatrāṇojaḥśrī, while she was striving to gain the bodhisattva-salvation (*bodhisattva-vimokṣa*) named Sarvalokābhimukhajagadvinayanidarśana (*Gvyū*. 284).

Edgerton (*BHS*.) suggests that Avabhāsarājaprabhaketuś(i)rī perhaps stands for two separate names, Avabhāsarāja and Prabhaketuśirī. But only the word Avabhāsarāja (Obhāsarāja) occurs anywhere else as an individual name; while Prabhaketuśirī does not seem to occur in any other context as a separate name.

T. R.

AVABHĀSASĀGARAVIYŪHA, a Buddha. See OBHĀSASĀGARAVIYŪHA.

AVABHĀSAYAT-PRABHARĀJAN, a Buddha. See OBHĀSAYANTAPRABHARĀJAN.

AVABHEṢAJA-KALPA, the reconstituted Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Smana-baḥi cho-ga* of Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), incorporated in the Gso-ba rig-pa (cikitsā-vidyā) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 141, No. 5797).

The text refers to a medicine prepared in honey, melted butter and oil extracted from seeds, which is said to be efficacious in healing fractures of bones of the arms, legs and the body, curing wounds, heart-disease, pain about the ribs, illnesses caused by

wind, phlegm and bile or a combination of these, diseases of the head, the cold fit of the ague, dimness of vision, pellicles on the eye, itching of the eye, diseases of the throat and so on.

R. H.

AVACARA, plane, realm, sphere of activity or existence. Since in Buddhism cosmological concepts are based on their psychological equivalents which are their causes, one finds the various spheres of rebirth corresponding to the mental states which produced such karma as result in rebirth.

Hence, there are three realms of thought (*avacara*) which result in three realms of rebirth (*loka*) and which, in fact, constitute those realms, just as a thought is not essentially different from the resultant consciousness. The sphere of rebirth, then, is a localisation of the realm of thought which produced it.

Mind (*citta*) is the common name for four types of consciousness, namely, as experienced in the sphere of sense (*kāmāvacara*), in the sphere of form (*rūpāvacara*), in the sphere of the immaterial (*arūpāvacara*), and transcendental or supramundane consciousness (*lokuttara*). The last kind of consciousness cannot be called a sphere (*avacara*), as it does not produce rebirth, but rather expells the causes of rebirth (*Dhs.* § 277).

The first sphere of consciousness or realm of thought is then experienced on the sensuous plane (*kāmāvacara citta*), i.e., experienced through and conditioned by a stimulation in any one of the five physical senses, or in representative cognition of such stimulus. The vast majority of thoughts, in fact all thoughts, except those which arise in states of mental absorption (*jhāna*) or belong to the transcendental type (*lokuttara*), are experienced in the sensuous sphere. A total of 54 mental states, experienced in the sensuous realms of thought (*catupaññāsadhā kāme : Abhs.* p. 4, § 13), are enumerated and classified as follows. There are 12 types of immoral consciousness (*dvādasākusalā*), eight of which are rooted in greed (*aṭṭhadhā lobhamūlāni*), two in hate (*dosamūlāni ca dvidhā*) and two in delusion (*mohamūlāni ca dve* : ibid. p. 1, § 3). Those rooted in greed are sometimes connected with erroneous views (*diṭṭhigata-sampayutta*), and are always accompanied by either joy (*somanassa-sahagata*), i.e., by the feeling of pleasure with excitement, or by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā-sahagata*), simply implying the absence of pleasurable feeling. They are also either spontaneous (*asaṅkhārika*), i.e., manifesting themselves without prior preparation, exertion, instigation or motivation, or they arise under the influence of volition (*sasaṅkhāreṇa : Dhs.* § 146), i.e., determined by intention and motive.

The two types of mental states which are rooted in hate are always accompanied by grief (*domanassa-sahagata*) and always connected with aversion (*paṭigha-sampayutta*), one, however, is spontaneous, and the other is motivated. The two types which are rooted in delusion are both characterised by the absence of any feeling of pleasure or grief, one being conjoined with perplexity (*vicikicchā-sampayutta*) and the other with flurried distraction (*uddhacca-sampayutta*).

No immoral state of mind can arise outside the sensuous realm (*kāmāvacara*).

Corresponding to the first eight immoral (*akusala*) states rooted in greed, the realm of sense-experience contains eight moral (*kusala*) states of consciousness to which class the faculty of insight (*paññindriya*) gives a specific character. Here, too, we find every single state either accompanied by joy (*somanassa*) or by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā*). They either spontaneously manifest themselves (*asaṅkhārika*) or conditioned and motived (*sasaṅkhārika*). And again either connected with knowledge (*ñāṇa-sampayutta*) or disconnected from knowledge (*ñāṇa-vippayutta*). All of them are connected with their root-conditions (*sahetuka*), i.e., with disinterestedness (*alobha*), amity (*adosa*) and intelligence (*amoha*), in the case of those states which are connected with knowledge (*ñāṇa-sampayutta*) ; and with disinterestedness and amity only, in the case of those states which are disconnected from knowledge (*ñāṇa-vippayutta*).

Then again, corresponding to these eight moral states of active consciousness (*kusala-citta*), there are eight types of moral consciousness which are results (*vipāka*) of action done in a former birth in the sensuous spheres, but in every other aspect similar to the foregoing ones. Similar to these again, there is a further class of eight which are, however, neither effective, nor resultant, but which remain inoperative (*kriyā*), i.e., effecting no karma.

There are further quite a number of classes of consciousness, all within the realm of sense (*kāmāvacara*) which are not conditioned by one or more of the six radical conditions (*hetu*)—greed, hate, delusion and their opposites. They are the five states of consciousness arising from the functioning of the five physical sense-organs, sight (*cakkhu-*), hearing (*sota-*) smell (*ghāna-*), taste (*jivhā-*), and touch (*kāya-viññāṇa*). As they are resultants (*vipāka*), either of evil deeds in the past (*akusala*) or of good deeds in the

past (*kusala*), they form a further ten classes of consciousness as experienced in the realm of sense. There is a point of interest here. Consciousness arising through the sense-organs of sight, hearing, smell and taste, whether conditioned by good or evil deeds in the past, is always accompanied by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā*). Consciousness arising through the sense-organ of touch or body sensibility (*kāya-viññāṇa*), however, is accompanied either by pain (*dukkha*) or by pleasure (*sukha*) and this is determined by its being caused by an evil deed in a former birth or a good deed, respectively. But the view itself that neutral feeling accompanies all sense-cognition other than touch or body-sensibility, as well as its commentarial explanation (*DhsA*. 263), are of psychological interest. It is said that only through the sense of touch is there direct contact and impact of the external elements with the internal sense-organ. And hence the impact is pleasurable with reference to a desirable object, and painful with reference to an undesirable object. Where the impact is not direct, as e.g., the sight of a flower, the consciousness arising from this function remains hedonically indifferent (*upekkhā*).

Recipient consciousness (*sampaṭicchana-citta*) is always accompanied by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā*), whether it has resulted from an evil (*akusala*) or a good (*kusala*) deed in a former birth. It is the receptive faculty which passively (hence its indifference) receives the sense-impression, whether the object is agreeable or disagreeable. It is differentiated, therefore, only in its source the causative action of the past.

Further, there are three states of consciousness within the field of the senses, concerning the thought of investigation (*santīraṇa-citta*). If such thought arises as a result of an evil act done in a previous birth, it is accompanied by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā*); but if resulting from a good deed, it may be accompanied either by joyful feeling (*somanassa*) or by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā*).

Finally, there are three classes of consciousness in the realm of the senses which arise independent of any root (*ahetuka*) and which remain inoperative, i.e., effecting no karma (*kriyā*). They are reflective consciousness turning to the sense-impressions at the five ' doors ' of the physical sense-organs (*pañca-dvārāvajjana-citta*) which is always accompanied by hedonic indifference; reflective consciousness which turns to impressions at the mind-door (*manodvārāvajjana-citta*), similarly accompanied; and consciousness which gives birth to mirth and laughter (*hasituppāda-citta*), which is, obviously always associated with a joyful feeling of excitement. All these constitute the 54 types of mental states of consciousness, as experienced in the sensuous realms of thought (*catupaññāsadhā kāmā*).

The sphere of form (*rūpāvacara*) is the realm of consciousness, of unified and exalted concentration (*ekaggatā mahaggato samādhi* : *Vism*. 70, chap. iii, §13). Four kinds of concentration are mentioned (ibid. p. 71, §23); concentration of the sense-sphere, however, is not a state of contemplation and absorption (*jhāna*), but only of access-concentration (*upacārekaggatā kāmāvacaro samādhi*); it is the preliminary work (*parikamma*) introducing the state of full, mental absorption (*jhāna*).

It is then in the spheres of form (*rūpāvacara*) that full mental concentration and absorption are to be found. These spheres are not of the senses (*kāma*), yet they are not immaterial (*arūpa*) either, and hence they are sometimes denoted as the ' fine-material spheres ' (Ñāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, pp. 87, 90, 142, 161, etc.). But they are mental states with a spiritual reaction to basically material impressions, in the way of a sense of beauty and harmony which is caused by material colour and shape. And as such, they might be referred to as spheres of form, not altogether divorced from matter, yet having no physical ingredients. For it is explicitly stated that physical matter (*rūpa*), the first of the five aggregates of existence (*pañcak-khandhā*), does not belong to the realm of form (*na rūpāvacaraṃ* : *Dhs*. §595, Siamese edition; cp. *Dhs*. trsl. p. xlvi). And again, the realm of form is not related to the realm of sense (*Dhs*. §§1281, 1283, *PTS*. edition). The description of the dwellers in the world of radiance (*ābhassara-saṃvaṭṭanikā*) is really a description of the mind in the realm of form (*rūpāvacara*), for there they dwell, made of mind, feeding on joy, self-radiant, neither in heaven nor on earth, living on beauty (*manomayā pīti-bhakkhā sayaṃpabhā antalikkha-carā subhaṭṭhāyino* : *D*. I, p. 17). However, compare their physical position in COSMOLOGY.

There are in all fifteen mental states belonging to the realm of form (*rūpāvacara*), i.e., three groups of five. The three groups represent meritorious mental activity (*kusalakamma*), the meritorious result of such activity (*kusala-vipāka*) and mental states which remain inoperative (*kriyā*), i.e., effecting no karma. Each of these groups comprises five mental states of absorption (*jhāna*) with various degrees of intensity. The first stage is characterised by discursive thinking (*vitakka*) whereby the hindrance (*nīvaraṇa*) of sloth and torpor (*thīna-middha*) is overcome. The second degree continues

the same thought with sustained application (*vicāra*) and doubt (*vicikicchā*) is thereby inhibited. The third state of mental absorption develops an intense interest which may grow out into thrill and rapture (*pīti*), whereby aversion (*vyāpāda*) is obliterated. This is followed by a pleasurable feeling of ease (*sukha*) which provides the satisfaction of the earlier thrilling emotion and which prevails over distraction and worry (*uddhacca-kukkucca*). All this culminates in the fifth and final state of mental absorption in the sphere of form, when concentration is not marred by any distraction, but in one-pointed awareness (*ekaggatā*) is attentive to its one-individual object. All sensuous desire (*kāmacchanda*) is restrained.

It is this purging from all the hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) which gives the mind an experience of freedom from the senses. See further JHĀNA.

In the realm of the formless (*arūpāvacara*) we find the same three groups of meritorious mental activity (*kusala-kamma*), the meritorious result of such activity (*kusala-vipāka*) and mental states which remain unproductive (*kriyā*), as in the case of those perfect ones (*asekha*) whose deeds do not project themselves either as cause or effect.

Each group comprises four mental states which are distinct by their respective objects all of which are immaterial (*arūpa*). These states are born from a reflection on the relative grossness of the spheres of form, and therefore, by means of a most severe abstraction not only are all impressions of the sensuous spheres eliminated, but even the experiences which brought the mind to rapturous concentration. When the mind is freed from all hindrances and limitations, it is natural that the object of thought should become the infinite.

Infinity of space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*) is the object of the first wholesome thought (*kusala-citta*) in the sphere of the formless, whereby access is won to the imperturbable (*ānejjappatto hoti : A.* II, 184). But boundless space can only be conceived by a boundless mind (*viññāṇañcāyatana*), and this thought itself becomes the object of the second stage in formless concentration. Thought itself, however, has no being, is no substance and does not belong to an individual entity. This realisation of the emptiness of the entire process (*ākiñcaññāyatana*) forms the third stage in this realm of formless thought (*arūpāvacara-kusala-citta*), and it leaves the mind with such a subtle residue of thought that it cannot be said to be either perception or non-perception (*nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana*), the final stage of mental absorption in the formless spheres (*arūpa-jhāna*).

Thus, whereas the realm of sense (*kāmāvacara*) has 54 types of thoughts in four categories, the realm of form (*rūpāvacara*) has only 15 types and the realm of the formless (*arūpāvacara*) only twelve types in three categories each, as follows :

	54 kāma	15 rūpa	12 arūpa	8 lokuttara
12 akusala ..	12	—	—	—
21 kusala ..	8	5	4	4
36 vipāka ..	23	5	4	4
20 kriyā ..	11	5	4	—

The eight classes of consciousness which constitute the supramundane Paths and Fruitions of perfection (*lokuttara-magga-phala*), although enumerated among the 89 mental states, are not classified in any realm or sphere (*avacara*), as they do not lead to rebirth.

H. G. A. v. Z.

As spheres of temporal (*lokiya*) existence as against transcendental (*lokuttara*) existence, there are three such spheres, namely, the sensuous sphere (*kāmāvacara*, also called *kāmadhātu* and *kāmaloka : D.*I, 34; *Dhs.* 223–4; *DhsA.* 387; *Vbh.* 404–5; *VbhA.* 517–22; *BB.* XIII, 34, 46, 88; *Dhsṃg.* 31), the material sphere (*rūpāvacara*, also called *rūpadhātu* and *rūpaloka : Pug.* 37; *Dhs.* 224; *DhsA.* 338; *Vbh.* 405–6; *VbhA.* 517–22; *BB.* XIII, 46, 88; *Dhsṃg.* 31) and the immaterial sphere (*arūpāvacara*, also called *arūpadhātu* and *arūpaloka : Pug.* 38; *Ps.* I, 83. 84, 101; *Dhs.* 224; *DhsA.* 387; *Vbh.* 406–7; *VbhA.* 517–22; *Pvu.* 138, 163; *BB.* XIII, 46; *Dhsṃg.* 31).

The things that exist within the interval bounded beneath by the Avīci and above by the Paranimmitavasavatti, namely, the groups of existence (*khandha*), the elements (*dhātu*) and bases (*āyatana*) are of the sensuous sphere. The things that exist within the interval between the Brahma world and the Akaniṭṭha world, namely, consciousness and mental factors (*citta–cetasikā-dhammā*) in those who have entered the material absorptions (*rūpajhāna*), or who are reborn in that sphere,

or who already during their life-time are living in happiness of the material absorptions, belong to the material sphere. Consciousness and mental factors arising within the interval bounded beneath by the beings reborn in the sphere of unbounded space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*) and above by the beings reborn in the sphere of neither-preception-nor-non-perception (*nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana*), and consciousness and mental factors in those who have entered the immaterial absorptions (*arūpajhāna*), or who have been reborn in that sphere, or who already during their life-time are living in happiness of the immaterial absorptions, are of the immaterial sphere (*Dhs.* 223–4 ; *DhsA.* 387–8 ; *Vbh.* 404–7, 421 ; *VbhA.* 517–22).

U. K.

AVADĀNA. The *Amarakoṣa* gives *apadāna* as an equivalent form for *avadāna* (*apadānamityapi pāṭhaḥ*) though the term *apadāna* is only very rarely used in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. *Apadāna* is the word used in Pali to designate the type of writing represented in Buddhist Sankrit as *Avadāna*. Speyer (*Avś.*II, preface p. iii) derives the word from the root *dā*+*ava*=*apa*. This agrees with the etymology given in the *CPD.*, too. It gives several instances where the word is explained in Pali texts. Thus it is used in the sense of 'cutting off', 'breaking', 'separating' (*avakhaṇḍane, khaṇḍane, apadānaṃ ; apadānaṃ vuccati paricchedo*), and idiomatically it has the sense of 'mowing', 'reaping', 'harvesting'. A further development is seen when it is used in the sense of 'exploit', 'result', 'work', especially 'meritorious act' (*CPD.*). Speyer (op. cit.) says that the word *avadāna* (*apadāna*) has the sense of 'something cut off', 'something selected'. In the language of liturgy the term was applied to the portion of the *havis* (oblation) offered to the deities. In common speech this word, indicative of something 'selected', 'taken apart', was used to mean 'significant facts'. According to the *PED.* *apadāna* (Skt. *avadāna*) means 'advice', 'admonition', 'instruction', 'morals' (*anavadīno*, not taking advice). It also has the meaning of 'legend', 'life history'. In the title *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*M.* II, 1–55) it refers to the legends of seven past Buddhas. In the title *Apadānaṃ*, it refers to stories almost exclusively of arahants. *Avadāna* is rendered *hiyu* (Japanese) and *p'i-yü* (Chinese) and it means premise (*dṛṣṭānta*), simile (*upamā*) and an illustration by way of a simile (*aupamyodāharaṇa*). The parables used in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* such as the parable of the burning house and that of the rich man and his son are given as instances (*Moc.* 4353).

Sanskrit writers outside the Buddhist fold employ this word to denote 'illustrious actions' and 'feats of strength'. Speyer (*Avś.* II, preface pp. ii-iii) gives several instances where the word is used in the above sense. In Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃsa*, Rāma is described as receiving a supernatural weapon from Viśvāmitra who was pleased in the former's heroic conduct (*avadānatoṣitāt*). The word *avadāna* is employed in the *Kumārasambhava* (vii, 48) in the sense of 'heroic exploit' where it is said that Śiva, whose heroic exploits at Tripura (*tripurāvadānāḥ*) were being sung by expert gandharvas (divine musicians) with Viśvāvasu as the leader, entered the scene. It is also used in the second *ucchvāsa* (chapter) of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Daśakumāracarita* (p. 114 of Pandita Śrī Āśubodha's ed.) in the sense of heroic deed (*pūrvāvadānebhyo na rocate*).

There is a distinct type of literary composition in Buddhist Sanskrit literature by the name avadāna. Avadāna is the seventh of the twelve limbs (*aṅga*,q.v.) of the Buddha's teachings enumerated in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XII, p. 21). E. J. Thomas (*History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 277) opines that the avadānas formed a distinct type of literary composition of the Sarvāstivādins, since the *Mahāvyutpatti* contains much Sarvāstivāda material. To establish his argument further, he says that the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, the *Dharma-saṅgraha* and the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, which are distinctly Mahāyāna works, and which contain lists having nine, ten and eleven *aṅgas*, respectively, omit avadāna altogether. The fact that the avadānas came into prominence with the Sarvāstivādins and not with the Mahāyānists proper is further proved by the *Avadānas* themselves, for in them the Buddha is still treated as a human being accompanied by human followers and preaching to human audiences consisting of monks, nuns and lay-folk. Bodhisattvas who appear in abundance in Mahāyānic literature are very conspicuous by their absence in the *Avadānas*. The popular Mahāyānic concept of salvation through mere devotion and worship of bodhisattvas is not seen in them, although the person of the Buddha has developed in them to a certain extent as an object of *bhakti*, a development seen among the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sarvāstivādins, too. The Mahāyānists, too, would have accommodated the avadānas in their popular literature, but they were not accorded a place of honour in their canon which goes by the name of *Vaipulya Sūtras*. Collections of avadānas such as the *Avadāna-śataka* and the *Divyāvadāna*, and individual avadānas, such as the *Aśokāvadāna*, were translated into Chinese and Japanese along with Mahāyāna works, long ago.

It is noteworthy that the *Divyāvadāna* commences with the benediction 'Salute to all Buddhas and bodhisattvas (*oṃ namaḥ sarva-Buddha-bodhisatvebhyaḥ*), but this could be a later interpolation.

Of the twelve types (*aṅga*) of literary composition mentioned above, the avadāna *aṅga* probably refers to episodes embodying acts of the avadāna type, found scattered in the *Vinaya* and *Sūtra-piṭakas*, for example the stories in the *Mahāvastu* and other texts of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* to illustrate diverse points of discipline. But, as time went on and as Buddhist literature expanded gradually, and when the necessity for categorising and specialisation arose, the stories found scattered in the earlier works were collected, and, after much editorial activity arranged as separate texts. The *Avadāna-śataka*, the *Karma-śataka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, etc., are the results of that endeavour. Further, as literary activities developed, these avadāna collections and the avadānas found scattered in earlier works were made the basis of and source for other literary compositions in the same field and thus we have poetic renderings of avadānas such as the *Kalpadrumāvadāna-mālā* and the *Jātakamālā* by individual authors. As it happened in other branches such as the *Vinaya*, *Sūtra* and *Abhidharma*, specialised study of this type of literature, too, was undertaken by monks. There are references to *Avadānikas* and *Avadānārthakovidas* in the *Kalpadrumāvadāna-mālā* (*Avś. vv.* 106 and 162 of appendix 1).

The general characteristic of all avadānas is that an avadāna primarily discusses the consequence of some act good or bad (*karma-vṛtta*) directed towards the Buddha, the Dharma or the Saṅgha, or some other object of religious significance, such as stūpas. Each avadāna is believed to have been preached by the Buddha himself or by one of his chief disciples, as occasion necessitated.

All avadānas are not of a homogeneous nature. The stories of the *Jātakamālā*, though they are also called *bodhisattva-avadānas*, are identical in all respects with the jātakas. They are meant to show how the Buddha had practised the perfections (*pāramitā*) over a long time in previous births in order to qualify himself for Buddhahood. The stories of the *Mahāvastu*, which are also jātakas in that they, too, discuss previous births of the Buddha, can be distinguished from the *Jātaka* proper as well as from stories of the *Jātakamālā*, since in them the incident of the past is supposed to have taken place during the time of some particular Buddha who lived prior to the Śākyamuni. Thus, there occur in them the names of a host of Buddhas, such as Aparājitadhvaja, Dīpaṅkara, Sarvābhibhū, Kāśyapa, Parvata, Ratnendra, Ratna, Sudarśana, Nareśvara, Suprabha, Ratnaparvata, Kanakaparvata, Puṣpadanta, Lalitavikrama, Mahāyaśas, Ratnacūḍa and Maṅgala. It is said that in the time of these Buddhas, the bodhisattva, who later became the Buddha Gautama, was one of the main characters of the stories related. The jātakas proper do not speak of a multiplicity of Buddhas and in most of them the king mentioned as the ruler of the day is Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī.

The stories of the second and fourth vargas of the *Avadāna-śataka* also deal with the past lives of the Śākyamuni. But they differ from their Pali counterparts as well as from those just discussed, because they purport to explain the past actions of the bodhisattva which resulted in the splendour and majesty of the Buddha and receiving honour and salutation, rather than to show how the bodhisattva had practised the perfections that led to enlightenment. In these stories we see the Buddha, greatly respected, honoured and worshipped on some occasion, and the disciples, wonder-stricken, question the Buddha regarding his former karma which had resulted in the present fortune, and the Buddha relates the story of his past. The incident of the past takes place during the time of some earlier Buddha (*Avś.* varga 2) or some king (*Avś.* varga 4).

In all the stories discussed so far there are three distinct parts, namely, the story of the present (*paccuppana vatthu*), the story of the past (*atīta vatthu*) and the identification of characters (*samodhāna*).

It is noteworthy that in some of these avadānas the main tale is the story of the present (*Avś.*varga 2), while in others it is that of the past (*Avś.* varga 4).

Prophecies by the Buddha about the future Buddhahood (*Avś.* varga 1) and the pratyeka-buddhahood (*Avś.* varga 3) of devoted disciples form the second type of avadāna. These consist of only two parts, an incident of the present and a prophecy by the Buddha. A devoted follower performs an act of service to the Buddha, with great faith in him, and makes a solemn wish to become a Buddha or a pratyeka-buddha in the future. The Buddha sees with his divine eye that the wish will materialise and a gentle smile appears on his face. A monk asks the Buddha why he smiles and in reply the Buddha predicts that the individual's wish will be fulfilled.

The third and fourth types of avadāna resemble the stories of the *Petavatthu* and the *Vimānavatthu*, in that they deal with pretas and deities, respectively (*Avś.* vargas 5 and 6). A leading disciple, chiefly

Mahāmaudgalyāyana or Śāriputra, touring various habitations of departed souls (*preta*) or ghosts, comes across ugly and peculiar looking beings, undergoing diverse hardships. The disciple asks them the reason for their misfortune. The pretas request the disciple to raise the question with the Buddha. When the question is referred to the Buddha he relates a past incident of that particular being. It is noteworthy that in most cases the past karma is something motivated by hatred and ill-will towards the Buddha or some virtuous monks. In some cases the story of the past is not revealed by the Buddha (e.g., *Avś.* no. 46). Maudgalyāyana comes across a miserable character and having learnt about his past karma induces the preta's relatives to make offerings to virtuous beings, mostly to the Buddha and his disciples, and transfer the merit to the preta and thus relieve him of his suffering. The incident is reported to the Buddha who praises Maudgalyāyana for his magnanimous conduct. The avadānas which resemble stories from the *Vimānavatthu* speak of beings who have gained heaven (*svarga*) through some good act directed towards the Buddha or a virtuous disciple or some object of religious significance. When they are thus reborn, they recall their previous good actions and come to the Buddha to pay him their respects. The entire monastery where the Buddha lives at the time becomes radiant through their splendour and when this happens the monks ask the Buddha about it. He tells them about the deity and the good deed which has won him his present state.

Arhats are the heros of the fifth type of avadāna (*Avś.* vargas 7—10). Descriptions are given of individuals entering the Order of monks under the Buddha and gaining arhatship in due course. The monks discuss among themselves the achievement of such a being and ask the Buddha about the past action that has been responsible for such achievement. The Buddha then relates the story of the past.

The Avadānas portray to a certain extent the trend of development of some doctrines. The jātaka stories, as has been shown above, emphasise the necessity for undergoing a strenuous moral career in order to discipline oneself so that one does not harbour attachment, ill-will and ignorance (*rāga, dosa, moha*), but develops positive mental attitudes such as love and sympathy towards all beings (*sabbaloka-hitānukampī*). The importance of such a training is illustrated by stories about the past births of the Buddha.

It is this gradual training spread over an extremely long period of time that made it possible for the Buddha to attain supreme wisdom (*sambodhi*). In the jātaka stories the Buddha is the embodiment of a great accumulation of virtue and he is only a source of inspiration for the ordinary believer. It is never suggested in these stories that one can achieve one's salvation by merely worshipping and adoring the Buddha. The emphasis throughout is that one has to save oneself through a gradual process of moral conduct. But in the avadānas we detect a subtle change of emphasis which ultimately resulted in the *bhakti* cult of Mahāyāna. A careful perusal of a few avadānas belonging to all the types discussed here will show that, though these avadānas are termed stories about karma (*karmavṛtta*), the karma referred to above is not the karma (volitional act) described in the jātaka stories, but action with a certain amount of devotion (*bhakti*) towards the Buddha. Thus, in the avadānas we come across stories of trifling incidents such as the offering of flowers, incense, or salutation to a Buddha or some other object of veneration such as stūpas, and repairing and whitewashing a religious monument, and how they resulted in a particular being's great splendour. The construction of stūpas and worshipping them, etc., are extolled as yielding rich harvests to such an extent that the importance of pursuing a moral life is relegated to the background. Avadānas of the type of the *Petavatthu* deal with beings who have polluted their minds with hatred towards the Buddha and this alone becomes ample reason for their birth as pretas, whereas a simple deed of goodness towards the Buddha and objects of Buddhist worship could make one secure a heavenly rebirth. The development of the Mahāyānist concept of a multiplicity of Buddhas, too, could be detected in the Avadāna. The stories of the *Mahāvastu* refer by name to a host of past Buddhas during whose time some incidents given in the stories are said to have taken place. The *Divyāvadāna* consists of some stories which are predictions of future Buddhahood (*Divy.* p. 55) and the *Avadāna-śataka* has an entire chapter (varga 1) which gives predictions about future Buddhahood.

The *Avadāna* constitutes a section of the popular literature of the Buddhists and hence we do not find in it discussions about abstract doctrines like Nirvāṇa, *anātma* or *śūnyatā*. As is evident from the subject-matter of most of these stories, the *Avadāna* purports to kindle faith and devotion in the ordinary believer by laying before him the fruits of good acts motivated by love and devotion to the Buddha or some other object of veneration, and the bad consequences of evil acts motivated by hatred and ill-will towards the same objects.

It is not proposed to give here details of collections of avadānas such as *Avadāna-śataka*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Karma-śataka*, *Avadāna-kalpalatā* or single avadānas such as the *Aśokāvadāna*. They will be found under their separate headings.

W. G. W.

AVADĀNA-KALPALATĀ or *Bodhisattva-avadāna-kalpalatā*, a Sanskrit collection of versified avadānas, 108 in number. The work commences with a salutation to the Buddha and the stories included in the work are exclusively those discussing the past lives of the Buddha. In the absence of any characteristic Mahāyāna feature in the work, it could easily be assigned to the Hīnayāna. The stories are recasts in the style of ornate court poetry of already available avadānas. Kṣemendra is the author of the work; and according to his son Somendra, who wrote an introduction together with a table of contents, Kṣemendra wrote only 107 and the *Jīmūta-vāhana Avadāna* was added by him (Somendra) to make it 108, this being considered an auspicious number. In his introduction, Somendra says that his father sprang from the line of ministers of Kaśmīra who traced their origin to the noble race of the Śākyas. Kṣemendra's father was Prakāśendra who was both a scholar and a saint. Kṣemendra wrote the 107 chapters (*pallava*) at the request, first, of a brāhman, second, of a learned friend, called Nyakka, and, lastly, under the instructions given in a dream by the Tathāgata himself.

The date of composition is not given, but Somendra mentions the year of his completing it as the 27th year of the Saptārhi era, i. e., 1052 A. C. This text was presented to the celebrated Śākya Paṇḍita Kun-dgah-rgyal-mtshan by Śākya Śrī Paṇḍita of Kaśmīra who visited Tibet in 1202 A. C. Seventy years later, i. e., in 1272 A. C., it was translated into Tibetan under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi rtogs-pa brjod-paḥi dpag-bsam-gyi ḥkhri-śiṅ* by Śoṅston under the guidance of Lakṣmīkara and revised by Chos-skyoṅ-bzaṅ-po, included in the Skyes-rabs (Jātaka)section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TM*. No. 4155 ; *TT*. No. 5655).

W. G. W.

AVADĀNA LITERATURE comprises a large number of Sanskrit texts of a distinct type of composition, which is dealt with under individual titles, such as *Aśoka-avadāna*, *Divyāvadāna*, etc. See also AVADĀNA.

AVADĀNA-MĀLĀ, or 'garland of avadānas', a name given to a class of writings in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. At least four such *Avadānamālās* are known to us, namely, *Aśokāvadānamālā*, *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, *Ratnāvadānamālā* and *Vratāvadānamālā*. The first three of these are poetical renderings of avadānas drawn partly from older collections of avadānas such as the *Avadāna-śataka* and *Karma-śataka*, and partly from other sources. The *Vratāvadānamālā*, though it, too, is called an avadānamālā, does not fall into the general category of this type of literature since it is a collection of prose avadānas. In some Mss. (*Bendall*) the *Divyāvadāna* and *Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna* are also called *Divyāvadānamālā* and *Vicitrakarṇikāvadānamālā*, respectively, although they do not fall into the above category.

W. G. W.

AVADĀNA-ŚATAKA, as its name suggests, is a collection of one hundred avadānas or edifying stories. It is believed to be the oldest of similar collections of avadānas. The text was translated into Chinese by Chih Ch'ien, 223–53 A.C., of the Wu dynasty 222–80 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 1324). Hence the date of its compilation should be placed at least fifty to sixty years prior to the date of its translation so that there was sufficient time for the text to gain popularity to necessitate the bringing out of a Chinese translation. J. S. Speyer (*Avś.* preface p. xv) says that the date of its compilation cannot be placed before the beginning of the Christian era, since the word *dīnāra* (the Sanskrit form of the Roman coin denarius) occurs in the 83rd story in this collection. In this story it is said that the miraculous boy Hiraṇyapāṇi was born with a *dīnāra* in the palm of each hand. Considering the above evidence, the date of its compilation could be reasonably placed somewhere between the first and second centuries A. C.

The work is still extant in the Chinese Tripiṭaka under the name *Chuan-chi-pai-yüan-ching* 撰集百緣經 which means 'selected and collected Satāvadāna Sūtra'. Three titles of the Sanskrit work, viz., *Avadāna-śataka*, *Śatāvadāna* and *Śatakāvadānakathā* are mentioned in II, 19; V, 50; VII, 4, in the catalogue of the Hodgson Manuscripts (*Nanjio*, No. 1324).

Regarding the compiler of the work there is difference of opinion. Rajendra Lala Mitra in his *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (p. 17), gives his name as Nandīśvara Ācārya, but does not tell us how he reached that conclusion. It may be that he, too, based his theory on the statement, *samāptaṃ ca avadānaśatakaṃ hyatrāyaṃ sugatabhāṣitaṃ taṇḍiśvarācāryapūrvamidānīṃ prakāśitaṃ*,

which Speyer (op. cit. preface p.xx) says is found in the colophon subjoined to the end of the work. Feer (introduction, p. xxiii, to his translation of the *Avadāna-śataka*), going on the above statement, infers that Taṇḍiśvara Ācārya was the man who 'gathered' the words of the Buddha. But, Speyer (loc. cit.), rejecting this idea, says that the Ācārya whose name is preserved in the notice must be the man who rescued the old text from oblivion, rather than he who composed or revised it.

The stories in the collection are well grouped and arranged. The hundred stories are presented in ten chapters (*varga*), each having ten stories. The chapters are not named after the contents, but are merely called chapter one, chapter two, etc. Each chapter purports to discuss one theme. The first chapter consists of stories connected with prophecies (*vyākaraṇa*) of future Buddhahood. They consist of two parts, an incident of the present and a prophecy by the Buddha. Some faithful follower of the Buddha performs an act of devotion and makes a solemn wish himself to become a Buddha in the future. A gentle smile appears on the face of the Buddha and, when Ānanda asks him the reason for such a smile, the Buddha says that the wish of the man will be duly fulfilled, and gives details. The third chapter, too, deals with prophecies and follows the same pattern, the only difference being that pratyekabuddhahood is substituted for Buddhahood. The second and fourth chapters contain stories about the past births of the Buddha which are presented in three parts, like the Pali jātakas, namely, an incident of the present, a story of the past and identification of characters. But, there is a difference in emphasis, for while the jātaka stories speak of the practice of the perfections (*pāramitā*), the stories in these chapters of the *Avadāna-śataka* mention past acts of the bodhisattva which have resulted in the Buddha's receiving some special and unprecedented gain or honour in the present life.

The fifth chapter contains stories about pretas or departed beings, some of which resemble stories of the Pali *Petavatthu*. The sixth chapter resembles the *Vimānavatthu* of the Pali canon in that it deals with beings who have gained rebirth in heaven (*svarga*) through some good deed done through devotion to the Buddha.

Chapters seven to ten deal with the career of arhats, and each story consists of two parts, i.e., the story of the present and the story of the past. For further details of the stories in the *Avadāna-śataka* see AVADĀNA.

The arhats of the seventh chapter are all Śākyas born at Kapilavastu, while women become heroines in the eighth chapter. The last chapter mainly discusses the evil consequences of bad actions in former existences, which bring suffering to holy persons even in their last existence. The 100th avadāna of the collection, that of Aśoka and his spiritual guide Upagupta, was a popular theme, as several collections of avadānas contain various versions of the episode.

There are stereotyped descriptions throughout the collection, e.g., in the epithets used in speaking of the Buddha. A rich man is always described as possessing great wealth, master of a great fortune, having wealth like the god of wealth and a threat to the position of the god of wealth himself.

The recurring statement: 'Thus, O monks, knowing that black actions bear black fruits, white actions white fruits, and mixed ones mixed fruits, you should shun the black and the mixed and persue white alone', at the end of more than half the stories in the collection, tells us that the purpose of these stories is to teach the common man the working of the doctrine of karma, but a close examination of the stories reveals, that Buddha-bhakti (devotion to the Buddha) is more prominent in them than the idea of karma.

Considering the character of the narratives and the fact that the stories of the present contain passages from a *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* and other sūtras of the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivādins, Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, p. 279) thinks that this collection of avadānas belongs to the Hīnayāna. Further, he shows that the cult of the bodhisattva and Mahāyāna mythology are absent in this collection, though Buddha-worship is given a prominent place. Chih-chien (fasc. 31, fol. 26a), too, mentions it as a Hīnayāna sūtra (*Nanjio*, No. 1324).

As mentioned earlier, the *Avadāna-śataka* is the oldest of avadāna collections and the later ones, e.g., the *Karma-śataka* and the *Divyāvadāna*, have included many of the stories found here. "There are several paraphrases of many tales taken from the *Avadāna-śataka* and broadly narrated anew in some *avadāna-mālās* of the śloka-type", says Speyer (op. cit. preface p.xxi). Examples of such works are the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, the *Ratnāvadānamālā* and the *Aśokāvadānamālā*. Speyer points out further that these three *Avadānamālās* contain paraphrases of stories numbering one to four and ten of all the chapters, except the fourth, and those numbering

fifteen, sixteen, thirty-three and fifty-five. The frame story (No. 1) of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* is identical with No. 100 of the *Avadāna-śataka*.

W. G. W.

AVADĀTAKEŚĀ, according to the *BHS.* (II, 72), the name of a goddess mentioned in the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* (Waldschmidt, *KlTurf.* 4.187) and confirmed by the Tibetan text (ibid. 204). The Pali correspondent in the *Dīgha Nikāya* is Odātagayhā (q.v.).

AVADHŪTAYOGA-NĀMA-ĀDIBUDDHA-SĀDHANA, the Sanskrit title of a work of which the Tibetan translation, the *Gñis-su med-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor shes-bya-ba daṅ-poḥi saṅs-rgyas-kyi bsgrub-pa*, occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib., Trip. ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 82, No. 4612. The title as occurring in this edition of the text is *Avadhūtiyoka-nāma atyibuddho svāhā*). Though the text thus has *Avadhūti* as the equivalent of *Gñis-su med-pa*, the Sanskrit term *Advaya*, as suggested by Cordier (III, p. 101, No. 9), may perhaps be a closer rendering of the Tibetan phrase. The title of the text would then stand as *Advayayoga°*. Cordier (loc. cit.) quotes another title of the text from an index, viz., *°rnal ḥbyor shes-bya-baḥi dus-kayi ḥkhor-baḥi sgrub-thabs* = *°yoga nāma kālacakra-sādhana*.

Śrī Kālacakrarati-pa (Śrī Kālacakraratipāda) is said to be the author of the work, and Dus-kyi ḥkhor-lo shabs chuṅ-ṅu and Saṅs-rgyas grags-pa the translators, while Bdag dpon dpal is stated to have revised it.

The text, the opening salutation of which is addressed to Śrī Kālacakra, describes the procedure of the worship of a deity presumably called Heruka Śrī Kālacakra (*He-ruka dpal dus ḥkhor-lo*), whose form is described. Blue in colour, one-faced and three-eyed, he has a grinning expression, wears a tiger-skin and carries in his hands, a vajra and a bell. Two magic formulas to be chanted in the course of the ceremony are quoted: *oṃ kāyavākcittajñāna vajra svabhāva-ātmako' haṃ ; oṃ a i ri u li a svāhā.*

R.H.

AVADHŪTAYOGA-NĀMA-KĀLACAKRA-SĀDHANA, the corresponding Sanskrit title of the Tibetan, *Gñis-sumed-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor shes-bya-ḥi dus-kyi ḥkhor-loḥi sgrub-thabs*, the name of a text as given in an index. See AVADHŪTAYOGA-NĀMA-ĀDIBUDDHA-SĀDHANA.

R.H.

AVADHYAPARAMABUDDHI, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 137). Edgerton questions whether Avadhya should be taken as a separate name (*BHS.* s.v. Avadhyaparamabuddhi), but the text reads Avadhyaparamabuddhiḥ (the singular termination, not the dual). Nor does Avadhya or Paramabuddhi occur as proper nouns elsewhere.

T.R.

AVAIVARTA (or Avivarta ; Tibetan : Ḥgyur-ba-med-pa ; Chinese : Pu-t'ui) one of the Mahāyāna samādhis. Its literal meaning is "being not liable to turning back". According to the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (p. 1419) it is Avivarta-samādhi in which if one concentrates, one does not observe the distraction of all other samādhis. The same description is given in a classical Chinese translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*Taishō*, No. 223, vol. 8, p. 252a) and the classical Chinese translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1509, vol. 25, p. 397c ; *Mhvyut.* No. 553).

T.R.

AVAIVARTACAKRA - NĀMA - MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-avai°*), the title of a sūtra text cited in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 22). A fragment of the Tibetan version of the text has been found among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang, which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to central Asia during 1906-8 (No. 53 in the *Catalogue of Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, published for the Commonwealth Relations Office, 1962) ; while the full translation is preserved in the mdo (sūtra) section of the Tengyur in the Tibetan canon under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *phyir-mi-ldog-paḥi ḥkhor-lo shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 36, No. 906). This translation is attributed to Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarma and Ye-śes sde.

The work contains a Mahāyāna sūtra, called the *Avaivarta-cakra*, said to have been preached by the Buddha, at Śrāvastī, in the Jeta Grove of Anāthapiṇḍada. The wondrous events leading to the preaching of the sūtra are set out in detail at the beginning of the text. The Buddha and the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta and Maitreya, it is said, were absorbed in meditation during the second half of the night on a certain occasion, when at dawn the elder Śāriputra left his dwelling and arrived at that of Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta. On his way,

he saw a myriad resplendent lotuses appearing incessantly at the residence of the Buddha. Seeing them he wished that their radiance would illumine and present to view the Jeta Grove, the city of Śrāvastī and all the worlds. On arrival at the residence of Mañjuśrī, Śāriputra saw him but for a moment. Then, instantly, he felt as though he were in mid-ocean, and there, seeing Mañjuśrī seated cross-legged in his residence and moving eastward, he too assumed the same pose and sat gazing at him. Passing beyond worlds as many in number as there are grains of sand in the river Ganges, they arrived in the world, Phyir mi-ldog-pa (*avaivarta*), where there was a Buddha called Ḥod-zer-gyis khebs-paḥi padma rab-tu rgyas-paḥi sku (? *Ābhāvṛtapadmavistṛtakāya*). Lotuses sprang from each pore of this Buddha's body and these were seen covering the space of ten thousand miles. At the centre of each of these thousand-petalled lotuses sat bodhisattvas, gold-complexioned and endowed with the thirty-two auspicious signs. Among these appeared the Buddha seated on a large lotus, preaching the doctrine, when Mañjuśrī rose into the air and worshipped him, circumambulating him three times. Then that Buddha asked Mañjuśrī where he came from. The latter replied that he came from the world Mi-mjed. Then a bodhisattva, Sgra sñan by name, rose from his seat, adjusted his upper garment over the shoulder, paid reverence to the Buddha and asked him where that world was and which Buddha preached there. The Buddha declared that it was in the west, beyond worlds as many in number as the grains of sand in the Ganges and that the Buddha Śākyamuni preached the doctrine there. In response to further questions raised by the bodhisattva, the Buddha said that he discoursed on themes referring to the three paths, namely, the Śrāvakayāna (Tib. *ñan-thos-kyi theg-pa*), the Pratyekabuddhayāna (Tib. *raṅ saṅs-rgyas-kyi theg-pa*), and the Mahāyāna (Tib. *theg-pa chen-po*). The bodhisattva asked whether there was any exposition representative of the doctrine thus preached and the reply of the Buddha was that the sūtra called *Avaivarta-cakra* was such an exposition.

The conversation continued, in the course of which the bodhisattva took lotuses of seven kinds of jewels and cast them in the direction of Śākyamuni. Asked whether he would like to see Śākyamuni, the bodhisattva answered in the affirmative, and he was directed to accompany Mañjuśrī. Presently Mañjuśrī and the bodhisattva left that world and appeared in the presence of the Buddha Śākyamuni, just as a strong man might stretch out his bent arm or bend back his outstretched arm. It was night yet, but a light spread the world over. Ānanda, seeing the light streaming in through the window, rose from his seat and saw the Jeta Grove luminous before sunrise. He concluded that this indicated the arrival of a god and the prospect of a great sermon. Delighted, he arrived at the Buddha's monastery and saw a myriad lotuses around it, radiating a lustre that illumined all the worlds. The sound of music and song filled the air. Ānanda knelt before the Buddha and saluted him. In the meantime dawn came and Ānanda prepared a seat for the Buddha. As he did so the earth trembled in a sixfold manner; a carpet of flowers covered Jeta's Grove; and the trees were abundant with flowers and fruit. All the monks understood that these marvels portended a great sermon.

Presently the Buddha took his seat and at the same moment, Mañjuśrī arrived followed by a large number of bodhisattvas, saluted the Buddha and sat down. The Buddha then asked Ānanda to assemble all the monks, nuns and lay disciples. He did so. Maudgalyāyana was enjoined to summon the bodhisattvas, gods, nāgas, rākṣasas and so on. This being done, Maudgalyāyana requested the Buddha to preach the *Avaivartacakra Sūtra*. The Buddha remained silent.

Then Śāriputra and Ānanda related in turn their experiences that morning and the marvels they had seen. The Buddha explained that the marvels were the portents of the preaching of a sermon at the request of Mañjuśrī. In response to a question raised by Ānanda as to why the Buddha remained silent, Mañjuśrī stated that only a few in that assembly could take delight in the doctrine. Those who followed the arhat-ideal were many in number there, he continued, and only a few understood that the purpose of Buddhahood was preaching the Dharma to others.

At this instant, the bodhisattvas, who occupied the lotuses outside the Buddha's monastery, asked that the Buddha be requested to preach the *Avaivartacakra Sūtra*, as it would be proclaimed the world over. Then Śāriputra, a host of devas and finally Ānanda entreated the Buddha to preach the sūtra. The Buddha accepted the request and preached the sūtra, emphasising at first the need for listening to it with faith, following it and propagating it. Any bodhisattva who follows the teaching and proclaims it to others, he said, will not be liable to turning back (Tib. *mi ldog*, Skt. *avaivarta*) from being a Buddha; that is, he will be firmly set on the road to enlightenment.

The discourse directly addressed to Ānanda deals with topics like the eight irrational or wrong views (Tib. *log-pa*) that are to be abandoned, the eight stages of emancipation (*vimokṣa*) to be acquired and the stages of one who has entered the stream (*śrotāpanna*), a once-returner (*sakṛdāgāmin*), a never-returner (*anāgāmin*), an arhat and a pratyeka-buddha.

At the end of this discourse, groups of millions of monks and lay disciples rose from their seats in turn and recited stanzas describing their attainments on hearing the doctrine. The gods rained showers of celestial flowers.

The sūtra continues mainly in the form of questions raised by Ānanda and answers provided by the Buddha and the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. For instance, the Buddha enumerates categories of people who cannot take delight in the *Avaivarta-cakra Sūtra*, e.g., they who rejoice in that which is mean, the indolent, the lustful, the arrogant, the evil-minded, they who have evil friends and so on. Mañjuśrī expands on this topic and explains why only a few could rejoice in this doctrine. Or again, the Buddha explains that the seed of enlightenment (Tib. *byaṅ-chub-kyi sa-bon*), which originates at the time of the mere hearing of the word Śākyamuni, results in enlightenment, incomparable and supreme, just as the tiny *nyagrodha* (banyan) seed sprouts forth and gradually grows up to be a large tree.

An enumeration of the benefits of listening to reading and reciting the sūtra, grasping its teaching, and impressing it on one's mind, forms the conclusion of the sūtra ; they who listen to it, rejoice in it, bear it in mind and absorb it and so honour many Buddhas, will not be born in hells or other unfavourable existences. Conquering Māra, they will hoist the banner of the Dharma, light the lamp of the Dharma, dispel the darkness of ignorance and attain the essence of enlightenment (Tib. *byaṅ-chub-kyi sñiṅ-po*).

Three Chinese versions of the *Avaivartacakra Sūtra* are known to exist, under the title *Aparivartya Sūtra*: (i) the translation of Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the Western Tsin dynasty (265–317 A.C.,) known as the *A-wei-yüeh-chih-chê-ching* (阿惟越致遮經 *Nanjio*, No. 150) and said to agree with the Tibetan; (ii) the *Pu-t'ui-chuan-fa-lun-ching* (不退轉法輪經 *Nanjio*, No. 157) of an unknown translator done under the Northern Liang dynasty, (397–439 A.C.) and (iii) the *Chuang-po-yen-ching-pu-t'ui-chuan-fa-lun-ching* (廣博嚴淨不退轉法輪經 *Nanjio*, No. 158), a translation by Chih-yen and Pao-yün of the earlier Sung dynasty (420–79 A.C.).

R.H.

AVAIVARTAVARṆĀ, a descriptive epithet of a night-goddess (*rātri-devatā*) called Sarvajagadrakṣā-praṇidhāna-vīryaprabhā (*Gvyū.* 347.6).

AVAIVARTIKACAKRA, name of Sanskrit work listed in *Mhvyut.* 65.46 as one of the Mahāyāna texts. See AVAIVARTACAKRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

AVAIVARTYA SŪTRA (var. *Aparivartya Sūtra*), the title of a text extant in Chinese and Tibetan translations. See AVAIVARTACAKRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

ĀVAJJANA, a stage in the mental process when attention is drawn towards a certain disturbance in sense-contact. Derived from *āvajjeti*, to take notice, to advert ; or, according to the commentators to the *Abhs.*, from *āvaṭṭeti*, to turn round, the psychological meaning is a turning of the mind from its course, as a mere reflection without representative cognition. At this stage the object which causes the agitation is not perceived. It is a mere knock at the door of sense-perception, and lasts only one single moment in the unitary process of a thought. As a reaction to an impression, it will be immediately succeeded by the specific sensation of the particular sense-organ which was roused by the disturbance from the sub-conscious current of thought (*bhavaṅga*). But, at the stage of adverting (*āvajjana*) nothing is known of the object which impinges on the sub-conscious, and hence this type of consciousness is not accompanied by either joyous or painful reaction, but is accompanied by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā-sahagataṃ pañcadvārāvajjana-cittaṃ, tathā mano-dvārāvajjana-cittaṃ : Abhs.* p. 2).

Experience, appreciation and satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) are all parts of the process of cognition (*javana*). But in *āvajjana* the sense-operation is not functioning as yet ; there is no representation (*sampaṭicchana*) and no examination (*santīraṇa*) which alone can lead to the fixing (*voṭṭhappana*) of representative cognition by means of differentiation and discrimination, of limitation and definition.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVAKĪRṆA-KUSUMA, name of a group of future Buddhas. A group of six hundred monks worship the Buddha with great devotion, offering *mandāra* flowers, and give expression to their desire to persue the perfection of wisdom. A gentle smile appears on the Buddha's face, and

in answer to Ānanda's question he says that in the distant future, during an age (*kalpa*) by name Tārakopama, these monks will become Buddhas, all bearing the same name Avakīrṇa Kusuma. All of them will enjoy the same life span, their Dharma (teaching) will endure the same period of time. Wherever they go about preaching the Dharma, they will be received with showers of *mandāra* flowers. All this splendour they will possess as a result of the offering they made to the Buddha and the aspiration they made at his feet (*AşP*. 458 ff.).

W. G. W.

AVALAMBĀ, a piśācī. See OLAMBĀ.

AVALAMBANA, a ceremony, probably based on the *Avalambana Sūtra,* in which delicious food and drinks are offered to the Saṅgha on behalf of the dead to relieve them from woeful existences. This ceremony is performed in China and Japan (see URABON-E).

S. K. N.

AVALAMBANA SŪTRA, spoken by the Buddha on (offering) food (to the Buddha and Saṅgha) for the benefit of the pretas or departed ones, 'hanging in suspense' (*Nanjio*, No. 1601). The sūtra primarily deals with the descent of Maudgalyāyana into the preta-world, wherein he saw his mother tortured by various kinds of suffering.

Moved by filial pity, Maudgalyāyana at once offered his alms-bowl filled with rice to his mother. She took the bowl in her left hand and endeavoured with her right to convey the rice to her mouth, but before it reached her lips, the rice was converted into fiery ashes, so that she could not eat thereof. In great grief Maudgalyāyana came to the Tathāgata and related to him the whole story, expecting his instructions. The Buddha explained to him his incapability to rescue his mother from suffering, by the power of his own *ṛddhi*, and declared to him the method of rescue from this and all similar calamities, as follows: "On the fifteenth of the seventh month, the monks of the ten directions, being gathered together, should present an offering for the rescue of ancestors during seven generations past, as well as those of the present generation, consisting of every kind of choice food and drink, sleeping materials, beds, etc. These should be offered by the assembled monks as though the ancestors themselves were present, whereby they will obtain deliverance from pains and be born at once in a condition of happiness in heaven." Maudgalyāyana accepted the Buddha's instruction and rescued his mother from her suffering accordingly. The above is a summary of the contents of the sūtra. The Lāmaist account of the 'The Queen of the Fortress with the Fiery Mouth', whom the Lāmās identify with the yakṣiṇī Haritrī is apparently related to this (Waddell, *Lāmaism*).

This sūtra may be quoted as a striking example of the influence of Buddhism on popular beliefs.

Closely connected with the *Avalambana Sūtra* is the Avalambana festival held on the 15th day of the 7th month, the day of the 'Buddha's enjoyment', the day of self-indulgence of the monks, when a hundred delicacies of food and drink are put in an *u-lan-t'an* (a vessel) and distributed among the monks of the 10 directions, on behalf of their present parents, and of those of the seven former generations, wishing to prolong the lives of the former, to cause the latter to be saved from their tortures after death and to be reborn in a heaven of limitless felicity and happiness (M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 58 ff.). In China this ceremony is known as the Yü-lan-hui festival (J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1880, pp. 268 ff.).

Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the western Tsin dynasty (265—316 A. C.) translated the Sanskrit *Avalambana Sūtra* into Chinese under the title: *Fu-shuo-yü-lan-p'an-ching* for which Tsung-mi, the fifth patriarch of the Hua Yên school of the T'ang dynasty (618—907 A. C.), wrote a commentary entitled, *Yü-lan-p'an-ching-shu* (*Nanjio*, No. 1601). A dramatised version of the sūtra is also common in China.

The Japanese translation of the above sūtra is known as the *Urabongyo*.

W. S. Kт.

AVALOKANA, an abbreviated title used in indexes (*ŌM*. and *TM*.) for *Ārya-avalokana-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*, a Mahāyāna text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Kangyur. Quotations from the text have been included in Sanskrit works. See AVALOKANA SŪTRA.

R. H.

AVALOKANA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-ava°*) the title of a Mahāyāna text as quoted in

its Tibetan version.. Sections of the sūtra have been traced in Sanskrit sources. See AVALOKANA SŪTRA.

R. H.

AVALOKANA SŪTRA, the name of a Mahāyāna text. This sūtra has been quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya,* a compendium of Buddhistic teaching compiled by Śāntideva, once in chapter 4, where only two stanzas are given (*Śikṣ*. pp. 89, 90) and again in chapter 17 dealing with 'praise of worship' (*vandanānuśaṃsā*), where a considerably lengthy quotation is included (ibid. pp. 297–309).

A passage corresponding to the latter, but with additions, omissions and variants, occurs in the second *Avalokita Sūtra* (q.v.) incorporated in the *Mahāvastu* (II, pp. 362 ff.). É. Senart, who edited the *Mahāvastu* has advanced the hypothesis that this *Avalokita Sūtra* is an interpolation (*Mhvu.* II, xxvi, n. 3), a hypothesis 'rendered probable', in the opinion of Cecil Bendall, the editor of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya,* 'by Śāntideva's citations from it as a separate work, and by the independence of the Tibetan version' (*Śikṣ.* p. 297, n. 6).

The Tibetan version of the sūtra, a translation attributed to Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde, occurs in the mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa spyan-ras gzigs shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo,* the corresponding Sanskrit title of the text quoted therein being *Ārya-avalokana-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 34, No. 862). The preamble in this Tibetan version of the sūtra states that the Buddha addressed the discourse to a bodhisattva called Viśuddhamati [1] (Tib. *Blo-gros rnam-par dag-pa*) at a large congregation of monks and bodhisattvas at the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill in Rājagṛha. The Buddha prefaced the sermon by speaking of the purity of the Buddha on account of his morality (*śīla*), contemplation (*samādhi*), patience (*kṣānti*), loving kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy (*muditā*), indifference (*upekṣā*) and so on.

Continuing the discourse he stated that he who makes offerings of flowers, garlands, incense, parasols, flags, banners, music and unguents to such a Buddha will acquire endless merit, for, the merit accruing from such gifts is boundless, unlimited, inconceivable, incomparable, immeasurable, infinite and inexpressible.

Similar to these, says the Buddha, are the rewards of worshipping, honouring, paying homage and obeisance to a relic of the Buddha, be it as small as a grain of mustard seed.[2] An attempt at enumerating the 'inexpressible' rewards of making offerings to the repositories of such relics, the stūpas, forms the content of the remainder of the sūtra. Beauty, health, strength, prosperity, virtue, wisdom, eloquence, honour, world-rulership, birth in heaven and kingship among gods and brahmas are some of these rewards.

R. H.

AVALOKITA, another name of Avalokiteśvara. He is so called, because he is supposed to be looking down always from his celestial abode in search of beings who need his assistance. He is ready to endure the most severe pain in order to relieve another from the same. He is regarded as the embodiment of compassion (*mahā-karuṇā*), one of the two pillars on which the entire structure of Mahāyānism rests, the other being wisdom (*mahā-prajñā*). This bodhisattva is said to have postponed attaining Buddhahood, so that he may continue in saṃsāra to make sure that the last being also is saved from suffering before he finally attains Buddhahood. See AVALOKITEŚVARA.

W. G. W.

AVALOKITA-CINTĀMAṆI-SĀDHANA, the restored Sanskrit title of the text, the *Spyan-ras-gzigs yid-bshin-nor-buḥi sgrub-thabs,* occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3579). The text, which begins with a salutation to Avalokiteśvara-cintāmaṇi, describes the procedure of propitiating the deity of that name. The following mantra of invocation occurs in the text: *Oṃ a hriḥ vajrajñāna jina maṇiratna maṇḍalacakra-pratiṣṭhite hūṃ sarva-buddha-tathāgata-garbhe kāya-vākcittaguṇe karma samaya prasiddhaṃ hūṃ sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-garbhe viśuddhe vajratatva adhijñāna*

1 The *Avalokita Sūtra* No. 2 referred to earlier was addressed by the Buddha to bhikṣu Viśuddhamati at a similar congregation (*Mhvu.* II, p. 293).

2 Cp. the introductory statement to the corresponding passage in the *Mahāvastu* : .... *śīlapariśuddhaḥ tathāgataḥ samādhipariśuddhaḥ prajñāpariśuddhaḥ vimuktipariśuddhaḥ .... maitrīpariśuddhaḥ karuṇāmuditāpariśuddhaḥ. Evaṃ pariśuddhasya tathāgatasya yaḥ satkāraṃ kuryāt puṣpamālya-gandhadhvajapatākāhi vādyānulepanehi na tasya puṇyasya śakyaṃ paryantam adhigantuṃ .... tathāgate pratiṣṭhāpitā dakṣiṇā apramāṇā aparyantā acintiyā atuliyā amāpiyā aparimāṇā anabhilapyā .... yaś ca parinirvṛtasya sarṣapaphalamātram api dhātuṃ satkāreyā ity etaṃ samaṃ* (*Mhvu.* II, p. 362).

jvala jvala sphara sphara sarvapāpa ...... daha daha hara hara śāntakaraye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.

R. H.

AVALOKITA LAKṢMĪ, a kiṃnara-maid who was present with innumerable others in Jetavana to listen to the Buddha (*Kvyū.* 6.3).

AVALOKITA-LOKEŚVARA-SĀDHANA (*Āryāva°*), the title of a sādhana as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the *Ḥphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs ḥjig-rten dbaṅ-phyug sgrub-paḥi thabs*, incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 66, No. 2757). The title of the work as given in the Sde-dge edition is *Āryāvalokiteśvara-sādhana* (*ṬM.* No. 1893). The authorship of the work is attributed to Dpal Mar-me mdsad ye-śes (Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna), who, together with Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (Ratnabhadra) is said to have translated it into Tibetan.

The text describes the procedure of worship for the invocation of a deity, Ḥjig-rten mgon-po (Lokanātha), a form of Avalokiteśvara. The worshipper is enjoined to acquire the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), pay reverence to his spiritual teachers, be full of compassion and devotion, take refuge in the Triple Gem, meditate on the voidness (*śūnyatā*) of all phenomena while chanting the formula, *oṃ śūnyatājñāna-vajra-svabhāvātmako'haṃ*, and then propitiate Lokanātha, whose form is described. Red in colour, this three-faced deity is said to have six arms, with the first pair of which he shows the pose of meditation, while carrying a lotus and a sword with a second and third of the right hands, and a jewel and a wheel with the second and third of the left hands. The mantras to be chanted in propitiating this deity as quoted in the text are : *dzaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ ; oṃ āḥ oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ hūṃ hriḥ svāhā* and *oṃ ā kā ro mukhaṃ sarvadharmāṇa āryanutpanna tāte oṃ āḥ hūṃ phaṭ.*

R. H.

AVALOKITAMALĀPAHAKALAŚA-SĀDHANA, the restored Sanskrit title of a Tibetan work. See AVALOKITAMALĀPAHAKALAŚA-VIDHI.

AVALOKITAMALĀPAHAKALAŚA-VIDHI, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Spyan-ras gzigs dri-ma ḥjig-pa bum-paḥi cho-ga*, incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TM.* No. 2814). Suzuki has restored the title as *Avalokitamalāpahakalaśa-sādhana* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3635). *Vidhi*, however, is the more usual rendering of Tib. *cho-ga*. The names of the author or translator are not mentioned in the Peking edition. But, according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* No. 2814) Ajitamitragupta was the author of the work, and Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna were the translators, while Gnubs Byams-pa is said to have revised it.

Instructions regarding a rite alleged to be efficacious in removing impurities (Skt. *malāpaha*) forms the subject-matter of the work. The following mantra occurs in the text : *O a i u e o aṃ hriḥ vajra amṛta dza-ra dza-ra phaṃ phuṃ phaṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

R. H.

AVALOKITA-NĀGA-DOṢA-CIKITSĀ-VIDHI (*Āryāva°*), the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the (*Ḥphags-pa*) *spyan-ras-gzigs-kyis-klu gso-baḥi cho-ga*, incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3644). The text occurring in this edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka does not contain the names of the author or translators, but the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* No. 2823) states that Ajitamitragupta was the author, and that Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna were the translators, while Gnubs Byamspa revised the work.

The text contains instructions on the procedure of the performance of a rite for nullifying the ill effects of the nāgas (serpents). The following mantras are cited in the text : *oṃ ā hriḥ maṃ nāga..... śā hūṃ svāhā ; oṃ nāga sapari samaya hūṃ dzā dzā ; oṃ ā hrih maha karuṇa srī lokanātha sarvā nāgestayi pada mahāsatya adhiṣṭha sarva...... sarva nāgā doṣa prahana hana hūṃ phaṭ pośa pratyanta pośa atyunta prati pratyudata pośa svāhā.*

R. H.

AVALOKITANETRA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of names of bodhisattvas, headed by whom about five thousand bodhisattvas reside in Śrāvastī along with the Bhagavat in the pinnacled dwelling of great splendour in Jetavana, the hermitage donated by Anāthapiṇḍada (*Gvyū.* 3. 2.).

T. R.

AVALOKITĀPTĀMṚTA-PRĀŚANA-VIDHI (*Śrī-Ava°*), the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the *Dpal spyan-ras-gzigs bdud-rtsi bñes-paḥi*

zas-kyi cho-ga, incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantracommentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3590). This version of the text does not quote the names of the author or translator. But, according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* No. 2769), Ajitamitragupta composed the work, Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna translated it and Gnubs Byams-pa revised it.

The work, a short prose text, describes the procedure for the performance of a ceremony, professedly dealing with the partaking of *prāśana*, the ambrosia (*amṛta*) obtained by Śrī-Avalokita. Mantras to be chanted in the course of the ceremony as quoted in the text are (i) *oṃ āḥ hriḥ baṃ ho*, (ii) *Oṃ āḥ hrī śrī lokanātha sarvabuddha bodhi sa. . . padma viśuddha a . . . thite dza-ra bhakṣata kha kha kha khāhi khāhi anekasatvā . . . . samayasiddhi smara smara hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ svāhā*, and (iii) *oṃ āḥ hriḥ a i ū e o aṃ mahāsukha vajratatā sarvajñāna svabhāvaviśuddha ho ho ho*.

R.H.

AVALOKITA-ROGANIBARHAṆA-VIDHI, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan work, also referred to as *Avalokitaroganivartita-vidhi* (q.v.).

AVALOKITA-ROGANIVARTITA-VIDHI, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan work, the *Spyan-ras-gzigs-kyis nad bsal-baḥi cho-ga*, occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3643). Names of the author and translators are not mentioned in the text incorporated in this edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. But, according to the Sde-dge edition, Ajitamitragupta composed the work, Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna translated it and Gnubs Byams-pa revised it. The Sanskrit title of the work has also been rendered as *Avalokitaroganibarhaṇa-vidhi* (*Cordier*, II, p. 316, No. 129).

The procedure for the performance of a rite for the prevention of disease forms the content of the work, the invocatory formula of which is addressed to Avalokita, who is said to have the power of destroying the poisons of passion, hatred, ignorance and envy. A deity, who has the power of overpowering disease, is described in the text. Rising from the syllable *hri*, and red in colour, this thousand-armed and eleven-faced god is described as carrying a vessel of nectar.

R.H.

AVALOKITA-ROGA-RAKṢĀ-VIDHI (*Śrī Ava°*), the restored Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the (*Dpal*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs-kyi nad bsruṅ-baḥi cho-ga*, occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3642). The names of the author and translators are not quoted in the text incorporated in this edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. But, according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* No. 2821), Ajitamitragupta composed the work, Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna translated it, and Gnubs Byams-pa revised it.

The text gives instructions regarding the performance of a rite said to be efficacious in ensuring protection against illness. The performer of the rite, says the text, should bathe, dress in white, meditate on the four 'Pure Abodes' (*brahmavihāra*) and make offerings of flowers, incense and the like, chanting the formula *oṃ ā hriḥ sarvavyādhi . . . . . hana hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*, which voices a request for the destruction of illness.

R.H.

AVALOKITASIṂHA (1), an Indian bhikkhu of Kāñci, the donor of one of the several Buddha images in bronze found in Kūrkihār (16 mls. east of Gayā) and dated 9–11th cent. A.C. (*JBORS.* XXVI, 239 ff.).

D.T.D.

AVALOKITASIṂHA (2), a Buddhist monk of Nepal, author of the *Dharmasamuccaya*, a compilation in Sanskrit similar to the *Dhammapada*, but five times as extensive. The work is supposed to have been written in the early part of the twelfth century A.C. (*IHQ.* I, 1925, pp. 422, 677). See DHARMASAMUCCAYA.

W.G.W.

AVALOKITA SŪTRA (1). There are two sūtras by this name, one following the other, in the *Mahāvastu*. The first of them (*Mhvu.* II, 278–94) was preached by the Buddha at Rājagṛha to a group of monks. The previous night the Buddha had spent on Gṛdhrakūṭa. In the middle of the night the gods Nanda, Sunanda, Sumana, Īśvara, Maheśvara and many others of the Śuddhāvāsa deities came to the Buddha and requested him to preach to the monks the sūtra called 'Avalokita' which was preached by Buddhas of the past, too,

The Buddha agreed in silence. The next morning he reported to the monks the conversation he had with the gods and at their request preached this discourse. It discusses how the bodhisattva set out in search of the truth and subsequently attained supreme knowledge. The bodhisattva is described in numerous terms as the embodiment of virtue and wisdom. The most conspicuous characteristic in this discourse is the intervention of supernatural beings in every stage of the bodhisattva's career. The greater part of the sūtra is a description of the attempts made by Māra and his followers to obstruct the progress of the bodhisattva, and of how the bodhisattva proceeds to his goal, overcoming all obstructions. Having attained supreme knowledge, the Buddha sat on his seat for seven days, and celestial beings paid him great honour. Thousands of sunshades gave him shade. The Śuddhāvāsa devas worshipped at the feet of the Buddha and roared at Māra eighty times.

See also AVALOKANA SŪTRA.

W.G.W.

AVALOKITA SŪTRA (2). The second sūtra of this name (*Mhvu.* II, 294–397) was preached by the Buddha at Vaiśālī in the grove of Āmrapālī, at the request of a monk named Viśuddhamati, to reveal what the bodhisattva saw at the foot of the bodhi-tree. The theme of the sūtra is almost identical with the preceding *Avalokita Sūtra*, but this sūtra has elaborated extensively the details given in the first sūtra, and in some places it has included new details. The sūtra commences with a eulogy by Viśuddhamati of the Buddha in which the Buddha's powers and virtues are praised and the Buddha is depicted as the foremost being in the universe.

The Buddha reveals his career from the time he descended from the Tuṣita-deva world, till he attained supreme knowledge. All his actions are closely watched by the mighty gods and their retinues, who compete with each other to do service to the bodhisattva. When all the gods rally around him to witness his attainment of supreme knowledge, Māra is extremely worried that the Buddha-to-be is going beyond his (Māra's) control, and he tries to persuade him to give up his effort saying that he is possessed of all virtue and wealth and could be a world-ruler (*cakravartin*). Having failed in his attempt to dissuade the bodhisattva, Māra prepares his army to fight the bodhisattva. Two sons of Māra, Sārthavāha and Vidyupratiṣṭha, who are greatly pleased with the bodhisattva, try to persuade their father to give up the battle, but Māra is adamant. Then follows a description of Māra's fight and ultimate defeat.

Next follows a recital of the benefits of making even a meagre offering to the Buddha in person or to a stūpa erected in his name.

The major portion of the sūtra is in verse.

A large number of verses occurring in this sūtra is quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* in the chapter called the 'benefits of worship.'

See also AVALOKANA SŪTRA.

W.G.W.

AVALOKITA-TRICAKRA-BHĀVANĀ, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Spyan-ras-gzigs ḥkhor-lo gsum bsgom-pa* incorporated in the Rgyu-dḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3565). According to the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* No. 2744), Ajitamitragupta composed the work, Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna translated it and Gnubs Byams-pa revised it.

The text, the opening salutary formula of which is addressed to Avalokita-tricakra, gives instructions for the practice of a form of meditation of the same name.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA, 觀世音 Kuan-shih-yin. Opinions of scholars differ considerably in interpreting the name of this most popular bodhisattva of the northern school of Buddhism. Apparently, the compounded form Avalokiteśvara is made up of the two words Avalokita and Īśvara[1]. The meanings of the two words, when taken separately, are quite clear, but, when considered as a compounded form its meaning is rather obscure. It is translated differently by different scholars. Some of these translations are as follows :[2] 'Lord of what we see', 'Lord of the view', 'Lord who sees', 'Lord who is seen or manifested or is everywhere visible', 'The Lord who is seen from

1 N. D. Mironov favours the combination of Avalokita + svara, see *JRAS.* (1927), pp.24 ff.; cp. *JRAS.* (NS) II, pp. 420 ff.

2 See *ERE.* II, pp. 256 ff.; and Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 47.

on high ', ' The Lord who looks from on high ',[3] ' Lord of compassionate glances '. However, none of these translations are accepted as final. Due to the puzzling nature of the compound, scholars are able only to give tentative interpretations, which the reader has to consider on the merits of the arguments put forward by each scholar.

Some inferences, which might throw light on this problem, could be drawn by considering the origin of this bodhisattva. As with most of their bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara, too, is purely a metaphysical creation of the Mahāyānists. Most scholars accept the fact that the early bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna are, for the most part, personifications of different virtues and attributes of the Buddha and that Avalokiteśvara is the personification of compassion (*karuṇā*), just as Mañjuśrī is the personification of wisdom (*prajñā*).[5] This is established by textual evidence also. As pointed out by E. J. Thomas (*History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 189, n. 1) in Pali[6] it is said of the Buddha that he, rising from the attainment of great compassion, surveys the world (*mahākaruṇā samāpattito vuṭṭhāya lokaṃ volokento*: cp. *D.* II, 237 ; *DhpA.* I, pt. i, p.21 ; pt. ii, p. 367 ; *Ps.* I, p. 126).

Undoubtedly, in this act of the Buddha, one could see the essence of the character of Avalokiteśvara. His main activity is to survey the world in order to find out beings who need his help. He has vowed, out of compassion for suffering humanity, not to seek his own emancipation till all beings are saved from the miseries of existence. In later Mahāyāna works, such as the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, where his character is dealt with in great detail, this feature is well stressed.

It is evident from the numerous attempts made by renowned scholars that most of them have tried to interpret the name in accordance with etymological considerations. It is not always possible to get at the orginal significance of a name merely by interpreting it according to the grammar involved in it, nor would it be correct to do so in every case. Of the two components of the word, the first, Avalokita, is a past participle passive from the verb *avalokayati* (Pali *oloketi*). Monier-Williams (*Buddhism*, pp. 195–200) is of opinion that the use of past participle passive in an active sense is not uncommon in Sanskrit, but that it is *generally* confined to verbs involving some idea of motion. This observation does not, by any means, rule out completely the possibility of the past participle passive *avalokita* conveying an active sense, at least in rare occurrences, and this particular case could be regarded as one such instance.

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3 This translation, if it meant that the bodhisattva looks down from his abode in Potalaka is rather far-fetched. In the beginning Potalaka was not considered as his abode. His connections with Amitābha, too, seem to be a late development and, therefore, it cannot be argued that it meant that he looks down from Sukhākara where he dwells with Amitābha. It is quite probable that his name later led to the selection of a mountain as his dwelling place.

4 Winternitz (*Some Problems of Indian Literature*, 1925, p. 38) suggests that the king Vipaścit, referred to in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, could be the fore-runner of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. But, this suggestion does not receive the endorsement of other scholars (cp. Har Dayal, op. cit. p. 48). Mlle. Mallmann (*Introduction à l'étude d' Avalokiteśvara* in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Tome 57) suggests a solar origin for him. This view is refuted by Filliozat in ' Avalokiteśvara d'après un livre récent' in *Revue de l'Histoire des Rèligions*, Paris, cxxxvii, 1950, pp. 45-58. Cp. Har Dayal (op. cit. p. 48) who says, ' The cult of Avalokiteśvara seems to be a Buddhist adaptation of the sun-worship of the Sauras and Magi. '

5 S. Beal (*Buddhism in China*, 1884, pp. 119 ff.) has put forward the view that the concept of Avalokiteśvara was derived from the worship paid to the gods of the hills in ancient times and that at first he was identical with the god Sumana of Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak) in Ceylon. He further adds that this concept was introduced to Ceylon by Arabian merchants who brought along with them ideas about their gods, and that one of these gods was Al-makah, ' Hearing god ' on whom the concept of Avalokiteśvara was based. It is obvious that all this is very fascinating. But, at the same time, it is very far-fetched. There is no reason to hold, as Beal does, that Avalokiteśvara is a foreign introduction, for the origin of other bodhisattvas, e.g. Mañjuśrī, clearly shows the normal practice followed by Mahāyānists in evolving bodhisattvas. Further, Avalokiteśvara's characteristics which show connections with hill-gods are not features of his earliest form. However, at a later date he may have been influenced by beliefs concerning hill-gods.

6 See also *Mhvu.* II, p. 294, where the bodhisattva, too, is said to look round for the sake of helping others.

The Sanskrit root *lok*, to see, with the prefix *ava*—, could have the meaning, 'to look out upon', or 'survey'. Thus, the two terms, *Avalokita* and *Īśvara* (meaning 'Lord') when compounded may mean, 'Lord who surveys'. Such an interpretation is quite in keeping with tne salient feature of Avalokiteśvara's character. E. J. Thomas (loc. cit.) translates it as 'Lord of the survey' and cites many other forms, though grammatically not the same, which deserve consideration.

The bodhisattva doctrine is more or less a rival movement to brāhmanic deity worship and may have evolved very early in the history of Buddhism, probably as early as the 2nd century B. C. At the beginning, bodhisattvas were regarded as subordinate to the Buddhas. Though Mahāyāna texts speak of vast numbers of bodhisattvas, there were a few, five, sometimes eight, who were of greater importance than the rest. However, it should be noted that, though Avalokiteśvara is one of the important bodhisattvas, his name does not occur in the earliest texts. As far as the *Mahāvastu* is concerned, it is evident that the bodhisattva doctrine does not find a place in it and, therefore, no mention is made of Avalokiteśvara, though, as already pointed out, the earliest beginnings of the concept are found in it. The worship of Avalokiteśvara is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, but his name does not seem to occur in the *Lalitavistara*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā*, or in any of the works attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. However, some are of opinion that the epithet *karuṇācandrin* refers to him.[7] In the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (§§ 31, 34) he is called 'son of the Buddha' and is mentioned together with Mahāsthāmaprāpta. It is the light of these two bodhisattvas that causes Sukhāvatī to shine. In the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra*, these two and the Buddha Amitāyus are given as the rulers of Sukhāvatī.[8]

Some observations made with regard to Mahāyāna doctrinal developments, too, show the different phases of the development of Avalokiteśvara's character. In early Mahāyāna, *karuṇā* (compassion) and *prajñā* (wisdom) formed two important aspects and in the beginning of the promulgation of these ideas, *prajñā* was considered more important than *karuṇā*. Later, these ideas were personified and transformed into bodhisattvas. Mañjuśrī, who was the personification of *prajñā*, was treated as being superior to the other bodhisattvas. But, this situation did not last for long. *Prajñā* soon receded into a secondary place making room for *karuṇā*, and with it Avalokiteśvara rose into unrivalled supremacy. *Karuṇā* came to be regarded as the only means of attaining emancipation and, therefore, its personification, Avalokiteśvara, became the supreme saviour of all human beings, who suffer the evils of existence. However, the development of the apotheosis of Avalokiteśvara did not stop at this stage. Before long, the character of Avalokiteśvara absorbed the different virtues and attributes of other bodhisattvas as well and went a step further by absorbing the qualities and characteristics of the trinity of brāhmanic gods, namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, which later led to his identification with these gods. Ultimately, Avalokiteśvara's personality surpassed even that of the Buddha.

This process of development of Avalokiteśvara's character is corroborated by textual evidence. Unlike in the earlier works, in later texts such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra*, he is treated as being far above most of the other bodhisattvas. Though he is not the main theme in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, one whole chapter (xxiv) is devoted to eulogise his greatness. In this text, where he is called Samantamukha (he who looks every way, or he who is omnipresent), he assumes the role of a full-fledged saviour. It is said that the mere thinking of him would be more meritorious than honouring a thousand Buddhas. He can assume any form for his benevolent purposes and in order to appeal to different audiences, he will preach the Law in the guise of a Buddha, a disciple, a brāhman, or any shape, human or divine. The influence of the characteristic features of brāhmanic gods on the character of Avalokiteśvara is greatly in evidence at this stage. He is made to assume different forms, not only of the Buddhas, but also of brāhmanic gods such as Maheśvara (Śiva) and Kuvera. He is said to dwell in Sukhākara[9] (=Sukhāvatī), sitting either on the right or the left of Amitābha. He saves beings from all sorts of calamities and even bestows children on women who adore him.[10] Though not exclusively dealing with Avalokiteśvara, the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (*SBE*. XLIX), too, hints at the pre-eminent position held by him. Therein, he plays a more important role than that of Mahāsthāmaprāpta, the other companion of Amitābha, and it seems to be suggested by the text itself, that

7 Note also that the title Mahākaruṇā is an important epithet of Avalokiteśvara ; cp. *JRAS*. (1894) p. 55.

8 Cp. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ii; see also *Mhvyut*. (*BB*. XIII, p 11).

9 In the *Gvyū*. (p. 208) he is said to reside on the mountain Potalaka.

10 This is important with regard to the change of sex his character underwent in China.

it is Avalokiteśvara who is the Lord of Sukhāvatī. The *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* (*SBE*. XLIX) shows a stage in which his greatness increases; his qualities assume fantastic proportions. In this text he is described as being eighty thousand niyutas of yojanas in height. His body is of the colour of gold. His face, the circumference of which is a hundred thousand yojanas, is of *jambūnada* gold in colour. He wears a turban, at the back of which is a halo in which there are five hundred Buddhas miraculously transformed, each attended by five hundred bodhisattvas who are, in turn, waited upon by a vast number of gods. Within the circle of light emanating from his body appear illuminated the various forms and marks of all beings that live in the five paths of existence. On the top of his head is a crown of gems in which there is a transformed Buddha who is twenty-five yojanas in height. The soft hair between the eye-brows has all the colours of the seven jewels from which eighty-four kinds of rays flow out. Each ray has a vast number of Buddhas attended by bodhisattvas. He wears a garland consisting of eight thousand rays. His palms have the mixed colour of five hundred lotuses. Of the ten fingertips, each has eighty-four thousand pictures and each picture has eighty-four thousand colours and an equal number of rays. With his hands he embraces all beings. His soles are marked with wheels of thousand spokes each. His signs are not different from those of the Buddha, except the sign of having a turban and the top of his head being invisible, which signs are inferior to those of the Buddha. As seen from the above description, the influence of the brāhmanic mythology on the development of the character of Avalokiteśvara was far more marked at this stage.

He rises still higher in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, which depicts his worship at its peak. Even the Buddhas are treated as being subordinate to him. The conflict of these two concepts, namely, that of the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara, for supremacy is evident from this text. At times, he is mentioned as being subordinate to the Buddha; sometimes, he is represented as worshipping the Buddha Śākyamuni (p. 18) and also as learning the law from Amitābha. But, there are numerous other direct references which establish his supremacy over the Buddhas. It is said that none of the Buddhas possess clairvoyance (*pratibhāṇa*) equal to his. Even all the Buddhas cannot estimate his greatness and merit. The text also describes his marvellous deeds. He enters into various hells and relieves the sufferers from their sufferings. He causes streams of water to flow out from his fingertips and the pores of his body, by which the departed beings feel relieved. It is also said that, during the time of the Buddha Vipaśyin, Avalokiteśvara created the universe [11]; from his eyes arose the sun and the moon; from his forehead Maheśvara (Śiva); from his shoulder Brahmā and others; from his heart Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu); from his teeth Sarasvatī; from his mouth the wind and from his belly Varuṇa. Then, he addressed Maheśvara and said that in the *kali* age he would be called Maheśvara. Avalokiteśvara assumed whichever form would enable him to discipline beings of various existences. Thus, he appears in the form of Buddhas, pratyeka-buddhas, arhats, bodhisattvas, as well as in the form of brāhmanic gods. Sometimes he appears even as mother and father.[12] With all these superhuman characteristics and deeds, he is made to declare that he is not a god, but a human being who, out of compassion, shows the path of enlightenment to the helpless. He visits the country called Siṃhala (Ceylon?) and establishes the rākṣasīs of that country on the good path. Another incident narrated shows how he, assuming the form of a horse called Valāhaka, rescued some Indian merchants from the hand of the rākṣasīs.[13] At Vārāṇasī (Benares) he assumed the form of a bee and hummed songs of praise to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The vast number of worms who were there heard his humming and were born in Sukhāvatī as bodhisattvas. While in the Magadha country, he miraculously brought down showers of rain and food and put an end to a famine there.

His apotheosis does not stop here. It is said that in each pore of his body there are Buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods and also mountains of gold and silver. Thus, at this stage he comes to be regarded as the embodiment of every conceivable thing. Mention

11 This clearly shows the influence of brāhmanic mythology. Similar ideas are prevalent even in the Vedas. See *Puruṣa Sūkta*, *Ṛg-veda*, x, 90.

12 This, too, is noteworthy when considering the change of sex.

13 In the earlier form of the story the horse was the Buddha himself, in a previous birth (cp. *Mhvu.* III, 67; *J.* II, 128 f.). But here the horse is none other than Avalokiteśvara and the chief merchant is the Buddha, in one of his former births. This shows the increase of Avalokiteśvara's importance and popularity in later times.

is also made of the mantra of six syllables, viz., *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, which is his special means of bringing about salvation. This hexa-syllabic knowledge (*ṣaḍakṣarīvidyā*) is the very heart of Avalokiteśvara and he reveals it only to whomsoever he wishes. It is clear that at this stage he assumes supremacy over all brāhmanic gods. Umā (consort of Śiva) comes to him to hear a prophecy about her. He declares that she will be born as a male and also would become a Buddha who will be known as Umeśvara. Thus he assumes even the status of a Buddha-maker. The Buddhas themselves were regarded as being matured by him and, therefore, they owe everything to him.[14]

With the development of the theory of Dhyāni-buddhas Avalokiteśvara was regarded as being the dhyāni-bodhisattva, who emanates from the Dhyāni-buddha Amitābha. His śakti is Paṇḍarā, who rules over the universe during the present kalpa (cycle), i.e., during the period between the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha Śākyasiṃha and the birth of the Buddha Maitreya.

In all these developments there is nothing that goes beyond the bodhisattva worship of Mahāyānism. At the beginning, *karuṇā* was personified and given human attributes. But later, due to the influence of brāhmanic mythology, Avalokiteśvara himself was deified and, therefore, to a great extent, he lost his human characteristics. But, it is with the rise of Tantrism that Avalokiteśvara's character assumed qualities that are alien to Mahāyāna. Different aspects of his character are treated as different forms, and deified separately. To these forms are allocated different colours, symbols, weapons, vehicles and also female companions or śaktis. Thus, he is conceived in one hundred and eight different forms.[15] Though all these forms are not equally important, there are at least a few which show distinct features. The number of his hands and heads increases. Sometimes he is referred to as having eleven heads. He becomes connected with various means of propitiations (*sādhana*). Earlier, though he was called by the names of brāhmanic gods, he remained quite distinct from them. But at this stage he, to a great extent, loses this distinction and becomes blended with brāhmanic gods. Even his non-tantric forms are taken over and modelled according to tantric concepts. Tārā becomes his favourite śakti and many of his active qualities are transferred to her. His six-syllabled spell acquires greater significance. Some of his forms acquire fierce qualities, e.g., Māyājālakrama. Thus, his character and worship become submerged in mysticism.

The concept of Avalokiteśvara did not remain confined to India. With the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism it was also carried along to various countries such as China, Japan and Tibet. His cult seems to have been popular even in Ceylon, where Hīnayāna Buddhism reigns supreme.

In China: Avalokiteśvara worship is widely prevalent in China. There, he is the most popular bodhisattva and the supreme saviour of beings from the evils of existence as well as from other calamities. His worship was introduced into China probably in the later part of the first century A.C.[16] By about the 7th century he was worshipped throughout China. There, he was never called by his Sanskrit name, but, there is some confussion as regard even his Chinese name. Of the many names used in China, there are at least two, which are more prevalent than the rest. One of these is the earlier and the common form, *Kuan-shih yin* (觀世音) which is abbreviated into *Kuan-yin* (觀音). Scholars translate this differently as 'Illuminating the sounds of the world', 'One who contemplates the sounds of the world', 'Hearer of the prayer of the world', 'He who hears the cries of men'. Edkins (op. cit. p. 415) translates it as "*Kuan* (looks on), *shih* (the region) of sufferers, *yin* whose (voices) of many tones, all aknowledging misery and asking salvation, touch the heart of the pitiful

14 Some scholars are of opinion that the developments that have taken place at this stage are due to Western and Christian influences. E. B. Cowell compares the description of Avalokiteśvara's visit to Avīci as found in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* with the second part of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. (See *Journal of Philology*, 1876, VI, pp. 222-31, or *IA*. VIII pp. 249 ff.) Cp. also *Third Archaeological Report*, pp. 74 ff. and Vassilief, *Bouddhisme*, pp. 121, 125, 212, etc.

15 All these one hundred and eight forms are painted on the wooden panel of Macchandar Vahal, one of the shrines in Kathmandu in Nepal. For a description see B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Appendix pp. 394-431. See also *JRAS*. (1894) pp. 76 ff. Of these, the more important forms will be dealt with separately each under its own title.

16 According to Edkins (*Chinese Buddhism*, 382), Kuan-yin, i.e., Avalokiteśvara, was worshipped in China probably as early as the Han dynasty. Johnston says (op. cit. 271 f.) that it is difficult to say when the cult of Avalokiteśvara (or Kuan-yin) took root in China, especially as there are two Buddhistic cults, more or less distinct, with which he is associated. In one, the Amidist cult, he is one of a triad of divinities who rule the Western Paradise and act as the Saviours of mankind. This cult has its spiritual foundation in the 'Pure Land' sūtras, which were translated into Chinese between the 2nd and 5th centuries. There is also the Avalokiteśvara of the Hua-yen and Fa-hua scriptures, who may be worshipped, for his own sake, irrespective of his association with Amitābha. One of the scriptural bases of this cult is a chapter of the *Sdmp.*, which was first translated into Chinese about the end of the 3rd century.

bodhisattva." But, the name *Kuan-shih-yin* (*Kuan-yin*) is declared by many scholars[17] to be a wrong translation of the Sanskrit name Avalokiteśvara, for they are of opinion that the Chinese writers have confused the two terms *svara* and *īśvara* and used the former in place of the latter. The other name is *Kuan-tzū-tsai* meaning, the on-looking sovereign ', which is considered to be the Chinese equivalent of the Sanskrit name Avalokiteśvara. This name came into vogue, probably in the 7th century A.C.

In China, Avalokiteśvara's character underwent a change of sex. In the early stage of his introduction he was regarded as a male, but later he was conceived only in female form. When and how this change took place is a problem yet to be solved.[18] Edkins (op. cit. pp. 382 and 384) thinks that Kuan-yin was not recognised in female form until the 12th century A.C. and he adds that Kuan-yin is to be regarded as masculine even at present time and that the feminine form is merely a specially popular metamorphosis.[19] Against this view Fenollosa (*Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 1912 I, pp. 105, 122, 124 ; II, 49, 50) is of opinion that there are Chinese paintings, which belong to the 7th and 8th centuries, which are ' markedly feminine ', though he admits that there are other paintings of the same era which represent the *p'u-sa* as a male.

However, it is the female form that has gained popularity in China. Johnston (*Buddhist China*, p. 267) says that in the popular religious lore of China, Kuan-yin is now always represented as a female deity, the *p'u-sa* of love and pity. Her full title in Chinese is T'a-tzū ta-pei chiu-k'u kuan-shih-yin tzū-tsang wang p'u-sa, which may be translated as the all-compassionate uncreated (or self-existent) Saviour, the royal bodhisattva, who hears the cries of the world'. Alice Getty (*Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1st Tuttle Edition, pp. 72 ff.) speaks of two female forms of Kuan-yin, one of which represents her as a bodhisattva seated cross-legged or as sitting sideways on a lion, probably modelled on the Indian goddess Hāritī, who was considered as a giver of children, a quality which she lost after her introduction into China and which was in turn transferred to Kuan-yin.[20] With the addition of this quality, Kuan-yin acquired the title *Sung-tzū* meaning ' Giver of sons ', which made her character even more popular. It must be noted that in whatever guise he is represented Avalokiteśvara or Kuan-yin is not a sexual deity like Kriṣṇa or Durgā; there is nothing erotic about the figure, be it male or female; the gracious face is inspired solely by compassion and benevolence ; it is not even interested in human love.

Besides the change of sex, the other noticeable change in Chinese representations of Avalokiteśvara is the willow branch[21] held in his (or her) hand with which he sprinkles nectar. In India, Avalokiteśvara is represented as holding not a willow-branch but a lotus-flower, hence the epithet Padmapāṇi (lotus-bearer). The nectar is carried in a jug, usually a narrow-necked phial, called in Chinese *ching-p'ing* (pure vessel), a term understood to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit 'vase of immortality'. The heavenly dew sprinkled on the worshippers endows them with the promise of endless bliss in Sukhāvatī. Kuan-yin is said to reside in the island of Pu-t'o[22]. It was, probably, after the 9th century A.C. that this island began to acquire special Buddhist significance as the residence of Kuan-yin and the name could be a corrupt abbreviation of the Sanskrit form Potalaka, which is referred to in Sanskrit Buddhist texts as the abode of Avalokiteśvara.

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17 See E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 189, foot note 1; cp. Edkin's view (op cit. 415). S. Beal does not regard it as a confusion (*JRAS*. (NS) II, p. 420 ff.). Minorov, on the other hand, supports the Chinese usage and puts forward the view that *svara* and not *īśvara* is the original word (*JRAS*. (1927) pp. 241 ff.). However, it is worthwhile considering the name of the other bodhisattva Gadgadasvara, who is somewhat similar in character to Avalokiteśvara and who is referred to in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, chapter xxiii, which precedes the chapter devoted to Avalokiteśvara. Is it due to the influence of this name that the Chinese version of chapter xxiv has Avalokitaśvara ? Cp. Alice Getty (op. cit. p. 78). The *Sdmp*. sometimes (e.g. i, *vv*. 50, 56 and xxiii) uses the form Mañjusvara instead of Mañjuśrī.

18 L.de la Vallée Poussin (*ERE*. II, p. 260) is of opinion that the transformation of Avalokiteśvara into a woman was proably effected in India ; so does Sten Konow (*JBORS*. XI, pp. 1 ff.). S. Paranavitana (*CJSc*. II, pp. 52 ff.), too, cites evidence that supports this view. See also, *JRAS*. (1906) p. 464 and (1915) p. 403.

19 R. F. Johnston (*Buddhist China*, p. 275) says, " It may be true that the recognition did not become general until that time, but there is ample evidence that at a much earlier date Kuan-yin was sometimes, at any rate, regarded as a female p'u-sa (i.e., bodhisattva).

20 *Sdmp*. (xxii) in *SBE*, XXI, 409, and Alice Getty (op. cit. p. 80) ; also R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, pp. 269 ff.

21 Willow branches are used by Chinese for various magical purposes and considered also as a rain charm. For details see R. F. Johnston (op. cit. p. 286). See also *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1955), VII, p. 451.

22 One of the groups of hilly islands known to Europeans as the Chu-shan archipelago, which lie off the north-eastern coast of Che-kiang.

In one of her manifestations Kuan-yin is regarded as a fish-goddess called Ao-yü kuan-yin (鰲魚觀音) and in this connection it should be remembered that in Nepal, too, Avalokiteśvara was called Matsyendranātha (Lord of the king of fishes; see, *IA*. IX, p. 192). However, R. F. Johnston (op. cit. p. 289) thinks that this may be a refined and a moralised form of the Syrian fish-goddess called Atargatis.

In Japan : The cult of Avalokiteśvara (god or goddess of mercy) who is known in Japan as Kwan-non or Kan-non was introduced into Japan from China and was probably coeval with the introduction of Buddhism. The statue of Kwan-non in the Yume-dono or Hall of Dreams at Hōryū-ji, where Shōtoku Taishi used to meditate, is said to have been made, or at least ordered to be made, by the prince himself. It is generally believed that the cult was introduced during the reign of the empress Suiko (593–628 A.C.) who ruled about forty years after the introduction of Buddhism. According to another view it was introduced a hundred or one hundred and fifty years after the introduction of Buddhism. His cult is yet widely prevalent in Japan and he is honoured by all except the followers in Sinshu sect. Here, too, the confusion as regards the sex exists. Avalokiteśvara is commonly believed to be a female, while some of the educated Japanese regard him as a male, and, of course, there are others who hold the view that a bodhisattva is indeterminate as to sex.[23] According to Alice Getty (op. cit. p. 96) the female form of Kwan-non was brought to Japan from northern India via central Asia and China. There are several forms of the female Kwan-non. One such form is the Juntei (Cuntī) Kwan-non who is also called Koṭī-śrī or Śapta-koṭī-buddha-mātri-cuntī-devī and believed by the Japanese to be an introduction from Indian mythology. She closely resembles Durgā, the consort of Śiva. However, her connection with Hārītī is quite clear. Koyāsu Kwan-non (Kwan-non of 'easy deliverance'), who resembles the Chinese 'Giver of children', is another form that gained popularity all over Japan. Kwan-non is sometimes represented with a child, which has caused some foreigners to see a resemblance to the Madonna. But, the child is not her own ; it is one which she is ready to give to women who pray to her for offspring. One of the most popular forms is the Byaku Kwan-non (the white robed Kwan-non), introduced into Japan somewhere about the 15th century A.C. In all there are thirty-three different forms of the female Kwan-non which were formed under Chinese influence. Several of these are said to be representations of events in the Chinese legend of Miao-shan or imitations of the figures of Kuan-yin. They are said to have been adopted by her to save various types of being. Even at the present day a pilgrimage to the thirty-three shrines of Kwan-non in Kyoto and the neighbouring provinces is a most popular form of devotion.

In Tibet : Here Avalokiteśvara is called Spyan-ras-gzigs (Chenrezigs) and is regarded as the most popular bodhisattva. It is generally accepted that his cult was introduced into Tibet a little earlier than the 7th century A.C., for by that time it was well established in Tibet, when he was proclaimed as incarnate in king Srong-tsan-sgam-po. Later, the Dalai Lama, too, was considered to be an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. (Waddell thinks that this idea was an invention by the first Dalai Lama in 1640 A.C. ; see *JRAS*. 1894, p. 61.) In the *Mani-bkha-ḥbum*, a Tibetan historical work attributed to king Srong-tsan-sgam-po, it is said that Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) was born from a white ray of light that issued from the right eye of Amitābha who was engaged in deep meditation. His special popularity in Tibet is due to the fact that he is regarded as the supreme guardian of Tibet and the Buddhist faith till the appearance of the Buddha Maitreya and also that he is taken to be the creator of this universe. His healing power, too, may have increased his popularity. In Tibet no special change has taken place in his character. Though non-tantric forms occur, it is mostly tantric forms that are widely prevalent. His six syllabled mantra, too, acquired greater significance in Tibetan mysticism.

In Ceylon : As S. Paranavitana points out (*CJSc*. II, pp. 52 ff.) the cult of Avalokiteśvara seems to have spread into Ceylon, also, at an early date. In Ceylon he is referred to as Nātha which is considered to be an abbreviation of his fuller title Lokeśvara-nātha. Archaeological findings show that his cult was prevalent in Ceylon as early as the 9th and 10th

23 Fenollosa (op. cit. I, p. 124) says " a great bodhisattva is in its own nature indeterminate as to sex, having risen above the distinction or rather embodying in itself the united spiritual graces of both sexes. It is a matter of accident which one it may assume upon incarnation. It just happens that T'ang thought, or preferred to think, of Kwan-non (Kuan-yin) as a great demiurge or creator, while Sung preferred to lay stress upon the element of motherhood. " Compare the fact that Christians generally think of the angels as male without attributing to them any particular masculine qualities.

centuries A.C. There is literary evidence to show that Nātha-worship was at its height about the 15th century. Toṭagamuwe Śrī Rāhula, a renowned monk and a learned poet of that time, seems to have been an ardent devotee of Nātha ; and Toṭagamuwa, a village situated close to Hikkaduwa in the Galle district of south Ceylon, seems to have been the principal seat of his cult. He is worshipped in the island even at present. There is a special shrine, called the Nātha Devāle, situated to the west of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, which is devoted to him. There is evidence to prove that during the olden times important royal ceremonies, such as choosing a name for the king and putting on the royal sword, took place in this shrine. A particular form of this bodhisattva referred to by M. Foucher (*L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l' Inde*, catalogue I, 20) as *Siṃhaladvīpe-ārogyaśālā-Lokanātha* (Lokanātha of the hospitals of Ceylon), establishes the point that in Ceylon, too, he was worshipped for his healing power. Further, Paranavitana cites a work on iconometry, used in Ceylon, which gives eight different forms of Nātha and which shows that he was believed to be identical with many of the Hindu gods. Even his śakti, called Tārā, was known in Ceylon and there are representations which show them together.

The cult of Avalokiteśvara has spread into countries like Cambodia and Siam, also, where it has not undergone any special change.

Iconography : It should be noted that just as the formation of the character of bodhisattvas was influenced by the characteristics of the brāhmanic gods, their iconographical representations, also, were from the very beginning based on the images of brāhmanic gods, such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The earliest images of Avalokiteśvara were, for the most part, modelled on the images of Brahmā. In the earliest images he is represented as having either two or four hands. When he has two hands, he holds a lotus in his right hand and the left is in the *varada-mudrā* (bestowing attitude), occasionally a rosary or a jug supersedes. When he has four hands, he carries a lotus, a rosary and a jug of nectar, such as are carried by Brahmā, and the fourth hand is in the *varada-mudrā*. In these images he is represented as a handsome young prince with his hair drawn up in a high turban (*uṣṇīṣa*). But, later, he has a head-dress (*mukuṭa*) and amidst his hair is placed a figure of the Buddha Amitābha which later became a marked feature in his images.

In the images that belong to the tantric period, the number of his arms increases and the insignia, too, are considerably altered by the introduction of various weapons. The *uṣṇīṣa* is often surmounted by a flaming jewel. A śakti or many śaktis are allocated to him and he is represented in the posture of spiritual embrace with them. In the later tantric period, the number of his heads increases and sometimes he is represented as having as many as eleven heads.[24] The number of his hands, too, rise up to a thousand with an eye on each palm. The eleven heads are arranged in the order of three, three, three, one, one, the last head being that of Amitābha and the thousand hands are in the shape of a spread-out peacock tail. Though there are in Nepal figures of Avalokiteśvara with eleven heads these are mostly found in other countries and specially in the Tibetan region of China, where Tantrism reigns supreme.

There are two groups of images of the male Kuan-yin in China. One group consists of the thirty-two metamorphoses called *Kuan-yin san-shih-êrh-hsiang* (觀音三十二相 thirty-two images of Kuan-yin) which are modelled on the image of Padmapāṇi with little variations among each other. The other group, called *Pa-nan kuan-yin* (八難觀音), consists of the eight forms assumed by him to save all beings from the eight kinds of dread.[25] There are also two distinct groups of images of the female Kuan-yin of which the first shows Indian influence and represents her as a bodhisattva with a feminine appearance and the second shows connections with the Indian goddess Hārītī. The important change in the insignia is the replacement of the lotus by the willow branch. In Japan there are several forms of Kwan-non which clearly show Tibetan influence. In all there are thirty forms of the female Kwan-non in Japan and almost all of these were formed under Chinese influence.

His images are found in Campa and Cambodia (Kambuja). In Campa he is often represented as having one head and rarely as having more than eight heads, while in Cambodia he is often shown as having sixteen heads and at times sixteen pairs of hands. In both countries his images represent him

24 For the legend which explains the origin of the eleven heads, see *ERE*. II, p. 260 ; Waddell (*JRAS*. 1894, p. 60) puts forward a different theory.

25 Cp. Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 358 and plate LV. See also *IA*. (1893) pp. 9-10 where Waddell describes the eight forms of Avalokiteśvara as the 'Defender from Eight Dreads'.



AMOGHAPĀŚA-AVALOKITEŚVARA bodhisattva of the Hokkedō in Tōdai-ji (temple) in Nara.



ĀRYA-AVALOKITEŚVARA. Kakurin-ji (temple) in Hyōgo.



AVALOKITEŚVARA, with eleven faces. Shōrin-ji (temple) in Yamato.

PLATE XXXII

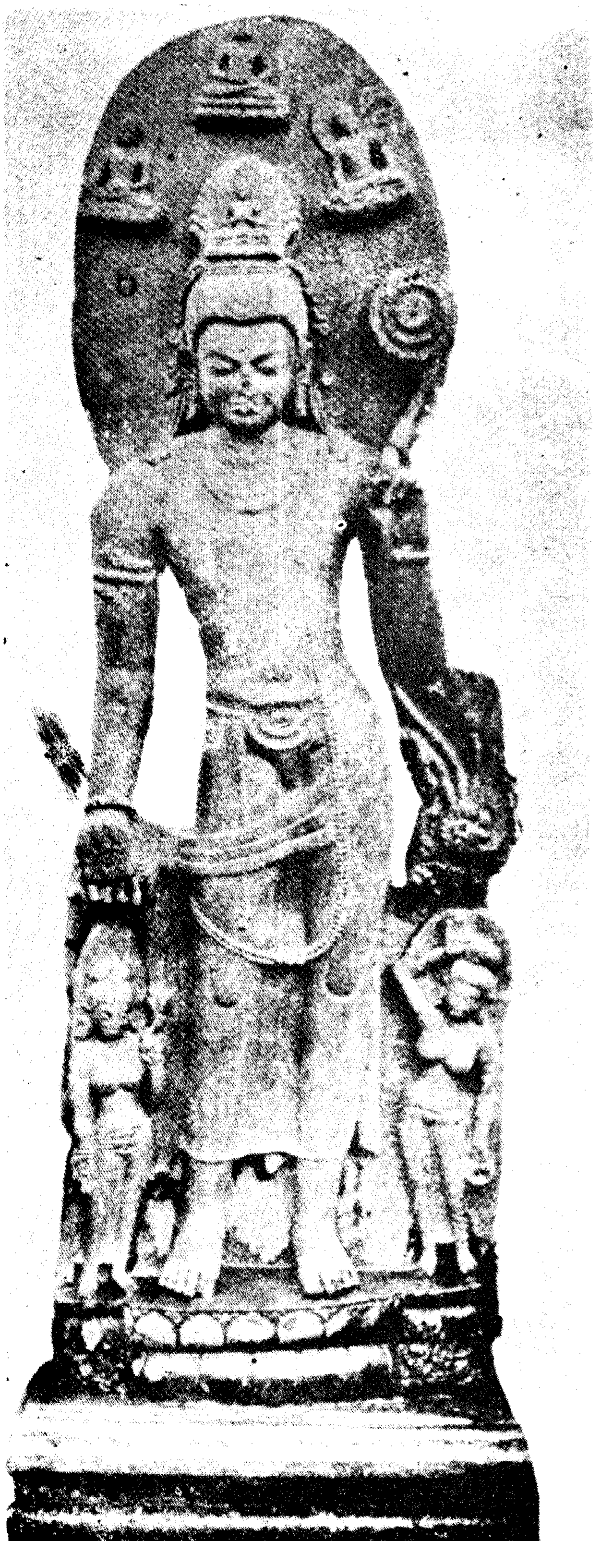


AVALOKITEŚVARA, sitting in the posture of royal relaxation (*mahārāja-līlā*). Gilded bronze 11.8 cm. (18th century) in Naprstek Museum in Prague, from *Tibetan Art*, Spring Books, London.



(by courtesy of the Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington)

AVALOKITEŚVARA (Siṃhanāda), from Nepal (8-9th century A.C.).



PADMAPĀṆI-AVALOKITEŚVARA from Nālandā (8th century).

Amitābha, who is Padmapāṇi's Dhyāni-buddha, is shown as enthroned in his head-dress, while three other Dhyāni-buddhas, Vairocana, Akṣobhya and Ratna-sambhava, whose creations are those of the past, are shown seated in the halo. The fifth Dhyāni-buddha, Amoghasiddhi, whose creation is still to come, is not represented.

(by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India)



(*by courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy, State Museum, Lucknow*)

SIṂHANĀDA AVALOKITEŚVARA from Bundelkhaṇḍ (12th century).

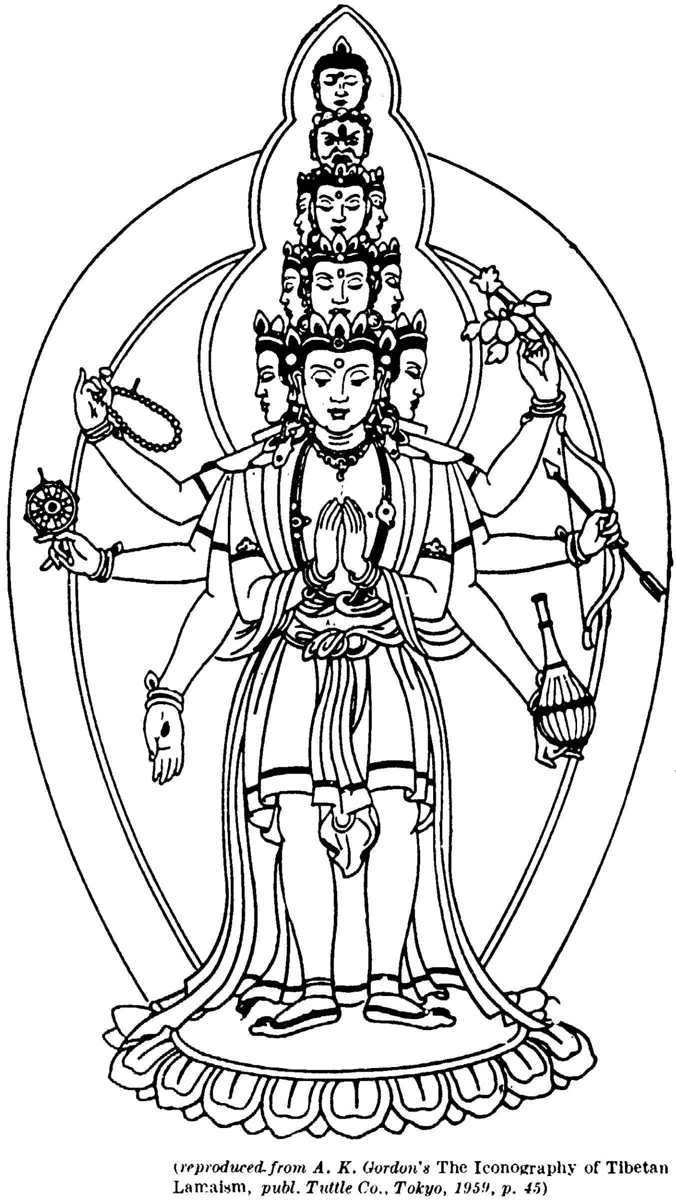
PLATE XXXVI



(*reproduced by the courtesy of Spring Books, London, from* Tibetan Art, *plate 96*)

AVALOKITEŚVARA, surrounded by various gods, dragons, rosettes, etc.

Relief made of copper and brass, inlaid with corals; size 70.5×60.5 cm., 19th century; collection of Dr. J. Lusk in Naprstek Museum, Prague.



(*reproduced from A. K. Gordon's* The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, *publ. Tuttle Co., Tokyo, 1959, p. 45*)

AVALOKITEŚVARA with eleven heads (*ekādaśamukha*). The head at top is that of the Dhyāni-buddha Amitābha, without a crown, but with the *uṣṇīṣa*. The principal hands are in the *namaskāra-mudrā* (the attitude of worship); the other hands hold a string of beads (*mālā*), the wheel of truth (*cakra*), a lotus (*padma*), bow and arrow (*cāpa*, *śara*), the vase with ambrosia (*kalaśa*), while the lower right hand is in the grace-bestowing gesture (*varada-mudrā*), showing an eye in the open palm. The halo encircling the entire body is sometimes composed of the thousand hands of this bodhisattva.

PLATE XXXVIII



(reproduced by the courtesy of Kokusai Burka Shin Kokai (Society for International Cultural Relations) from Art Treasures of Japan, *edited by Yashiro Yukio, Tokyo, 1960.)*

SENJU KANNON, the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, the principal statue in the main hall of the Rengeô-in (Kyot , Japan), carved in wood and covered with gold leaf in 1254, a replacement of the original statue which was made in 1164 but destroyed by fire in 1249.

This statue was carved by Hôgen Tankei when he was 82 years old and is a masterpiece, representative of the developed Kamakura style.

as being bare bodied, wearing only a waist-cloth. However, he wears beautiful ornaments. His hair is usually drawn into a chignon which is encased in a head-dress (*mukuṭa*). His most peculiar feature is his third eye which is never seen in images in China or Japan and seldom seen in Tibetan regions and Nepal.

Some of his images closely resemble those of Śiva in colour, for both are white.[26] Occasionally, he is represented as carrying a trident (*triśūla*) with a white serpent coiled on it.[27] In Japan, near Nara, there is an image of Sho-Kwan-non (Āryāvalokiteśvara) with a serpent coiled round the left arm. In some representations his form seems to have been confused with those of Mañjuśrī, for he carries in his left hand a book which is a distinctive mark of Mañjuśrī.

Images found in Ceylon show him in princely attire. He often carries a lotus and on his forehead there is a figure of the Buddha. One of the images found represents him as having four hands. The right hand of the first pair is in the *varada-mudrā* and the left is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, while the right hand of the second pair carries a trident and the left holds a lotus. Sometimes he is represented as being attended by a female, who is identified as Tārā. Tantric forms with a large number of hands and heads are not found in Ceylon.

S. K. N.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-BODHISATTVA-CINTĀ-CAKRA-STOTRA, the corresponding Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpa-spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-yid-bshin-ḥkhor-lo-la bstod-pa*, a fragment of which was found among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang, which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to Central Asia during 1906–8 (No. 76, 3 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, published for the Commonwealth Relations Office, Oxford University Press, 1962).

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-BODHISATTVA-MAHĀSTHĀMA-PRĀPTA-BODHISATTVA-VYĀKARAṆA-SŪTRA, extant in Chinese and in Tibetan.

When the Buddha was staying at Mṛgadāva with twenty thousand bhikṣus, twelve thousand bodhisattvas and others, the Buddha preached on the *māyopama-samādhi*. By attaining the dharma of detachment, a person can obtain the apparition-like state of meditation (*māyopama-samādhi*), whereupon he can change himself into the form of those beings to whom he wants to preach the doctrine in order to make them attain perfect enlightenment. Many bodhisattvas, such as Maitreya and Mañjuśrī in this sphere and Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta in the western sphere, attained this state of meditation. Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta will attain perfect enlightenment and will occupy the position of the Amitābha when Amitābha enters Nirvāṇa.

There are two Chinese translations of this work.

1. *Kuan-shih-yin-p'u-sa-shou-chi-ching* (觀世音菩薩授記經 *Nanjio*, No. 395 ; *Taishō*, No. 371) translated by T'an-wu-chieh (Dharmavikrama ?) of the Sung dynasty (420-79 A.C.).

2. *Ju-huan-san-mo-ti-wu-liang-yin-fa-mên-ching* (如幻三摩地無量印法門經 *Nanjio*, No. 977 ; *Taishō*, No. 372) in three fascicles, translated by Shih-hu (Dānapāla ?) of the later Sung dynasty (960-1112 A.C.).

The Tibetan translation of this work, (*Ḥphags-pa-*) *Sgyu-ma lta-buḥi tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdsin shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*TM.* No. 130 ; Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, No, 798) was translated by Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde.

K. Tmr.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-CINTĀMAṆI-CAKRAVARTI-SĀDHANA (*Ārya-Ava°*), the Sanskrit title of a work as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the (*Ḥphags-pa*) *ḥjig-rten-dbaṅ-phyug-gi yid-bshin-gyi-nor-bu ḥkhor-los-sgyur-baḥi sgrub-thabs*, occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The title *Ārya lokeśvara-cintā°*, which Suzuki quotes in his index corresponds to the Tibetan title, more accurately. The authorship of the work is attributed to Jetāri and the translation to Prajñākīrti and Sna-nam rdo-rje bla-ma (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3670).

The work describes the procedure of the worship of Avalokiteśvara-cintāmaṇi-cakravarti. Instructions for the drawing of the maṇḍala, making preliminary offerings and chanting the mantras, *oṃ svabhāva-śuddhā sarvadharmā svabhāvaśuddho'haṃ* and *oṃ śūnyatājñāna-vajrasvabhāvātmako'haṃ* before

26 There are some forms which represent him as being of red colour.

27 Cp. his Siṃhanāda form as described in *Sādh.* I, p. 63.

the invocation of the principal deity are given Avalokiteśvara, described here, is one-faced and two-armed. White in colour and decked with ornaments, he radiates a lustre around him. He wears a tuft of hair on the crown of the head. A jewel in the right hand and a wheel in the left are his symbols. The radiance of his compassion pervades all beings. Some of the mantras to be chanted in the course of the performance of the rite for propitiating him are: *Oṃ sarva tathāgata abhiṣiñcatu maṃ; Oṃ cintāmaṇi cakravarti maṇipadme āḥ hrīḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā; Oṃ padma bharataka āḥ hrīḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-EKĀDAŚAMUKHA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Āryāva°*), the name of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug shal bcu-gcig-pa shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 8, No. 373; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 524). This translation is attributed to Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde.

The text contains a magic formula, called the *Ekādaśa-mukha-dhāraṇī*, said to have been recited by the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the presence of the Buddha. The dhāraṇī, the first half of which is a salutation to the Triple Gem, the Dhyāni-buddha Vairocana, all Buddhas, arhats and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, is as follows: *Namo ratnatrayāya namo āryajñāna-sāgara-vairocana-vyūharājāya tathāgatāya namaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ arhadbhyaḥ samyaksambuddhebhyaḥ nama ārya-avalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya tad yathā oṃ dhara dhara dhiri dhiri dhuru dhuru .... cale cale pracale pracale kusume kusume vare ili mili ..... mapanaye svāhā.*

The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara prefaced the recitation of the dhāraṇī by an enumeration of its good effects. This dhāraṇī which was explained by eleven crores of Buddhas (presumably the name of the dhāraṇī, *ekādaśamukha*, owes its origin to this fact), the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara declared, is like a medicine to all beings. It averts epidemic diseases, dispels sins and calamities, prevents bad dreams, wards off untimely deaths caused by water and fire, counteracts the effect of poison, and secures wealth, protection and happiness. Further, he who recites the dhāraṇī, it is said, sees the Buddhas at the time of his death and is born in Sukhāvatī after death.

Two Chinese translations of the text occur in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. They are the *Shih-i-mien-kuan-shih-yin-shên-chou-ching* 十一面觀世音神咒經 by Yasogupta of the Northern Ch'ên dynasty, 557–89 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 327), and the *Shih-i-mien-shên-chou-hsin-ching* 十一面神咒心經 by Hsüan-tsang (*Nanjio*, No. 328).

R.H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-GUṆAKĀRAṆḌAVYŪHA (var. *Kāraṇḍavyūha*), a Mahāyāna work written in verse, dealing with the life, teachings and miracles of Avalokiteśvara.

The work begins with salutations to the three jewels (*triratna*) and to all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Then follows a request from Jinaśrī to Jayaśrī, a celebrated preacher, to explain the 'Three Jewels'. It is explained that the Lord Jina and the others who may attain Buddhahood are the Buddharatnas; the knowledge that leads towards Buddhahood is the Dharmaratna; Avalokiteśvara and the other bodhisattvas are the Saṅgharatnas. Then follows a detailed description of the life of Avalokiteśvara and his teachings and miracles.

In describing Avalokiteśvara's power of saving men, it relates a story about a man named Siṃhala, son of a merchant called Siṃha, who, by accident, was washed ashore on an island called Tāmaradvīpa which was inhabited by rākṣasīs, and saved himself with the help of a horse, named Balāha. This horse is identified with Avalokiteśvara. This story bears close resemblance to the story of Vijaya's landing in Ceylon.

Further, this work contains an elaborate discussion on the creation of the world. It is said that the Ādibuddha, also called Svayambhū ('self-existing'), created the world by the power of a meditation, named *lokasañjanana* (world-creation). Avalokiteśvara, who was also created by the Ādibuddha, seems himself to have co-operated in the creation of the world by producing from his eyes, the sun and the moon, Maheśvara from his forehead, Brahmā from his shoulders, Nārāyaṇa from his heart and so on.

An elaborate prose version of this work is found under the abbreviated title *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. Though in this text there are slight modifications and changes with regard to incidents and names, the underlying theme is the same. This text was edited by Satyavrata Samasrami in 1873 (R. Mitra,

Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, pp. 95 f. and 101 f.; G. K. Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, pp. 75 f.).

The corresponding sūtra in Chinese is the *Ta-ch'êng-chuang-yen-pao-wang-ching* (大乘莊嚴寶王經 *Nanjio*, No. 782; *Taishō*, No. 1050) in four fascicles translated by T'ien Hsi-tsai of the later Sung dynasty (960–1127 A. C.).

The Tibetan version is the (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Za-ma-tog bkod-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*TM*. No. 116; Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, No. 784) translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde. See also KĀRAṆḌAVYŪHA.

S. K. N.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-HAYAGRĪVA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-ava°*), the title of a text containing a magic formula of the same name. The Tibetan version of the text occurs twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug ha-ya-grī-baḥi gzuṅs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 8, No. 379; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 531).

The dhāraṇī in this text is a formula for expressing adoration to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Hayagrīva and imploring his protection. Excerpts from the dhāraṇī are quoted below: *namo ratnatrayāya namo ārya-avalokiteśvara hayagrīvāya* (*grīvāya* omitted in texts) *bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya sarvastvebhyaḥ . . . . namaḥ sarvasattvabhayoddharaṇāya namaḥ sarva? babhava praśamanakarāya namaḥ sarvasattva? vyādhi* (texts: *bodhi*) *cikitsanakarāya namaḥ sarvabandhanacchedanakarāya namaḥ sarvaduḥkhapraśamanakarāya namaḥ sarva-andhakāra-vidhamanakarāya namaḥ sarvavidyārāja. . . . . yogīśvarāya. Tasya namaskṛtvā. . . . deva-nāga-yakṣa-rākṣasa-śākya-brahma-lokapāla-viṣṇu-maheśvara-nārāyaṇa skandha-kuvera-asurendra- . . . . gaṇa namaḥ kṛtana . . . . Bhagavān Hayagrīva. . . . . khāda khāda mahāraudra . . . . rakṣa rakṣa . . . . siddha siddha . . . . siddhiṃ dehi dehi āviśa āviśa praviśa praviśa sarvagraheṣu apratihata dhuna dhuna vidhuna vidhuna matha matha pramatha pramatha . . . . sarvabhayebhyaḥ satvānām rakṣa rakṣa mama buddha dharma saṅgha anujñātaṃ me karma śīghraṃ kuru kuru phaṭ hayagrīva phaṭ vajrakhurāya phaṭ vajradaṃṣṭrotkaṭa-bhaya-bhairavāya phaṭ. . . .*

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-KHASARPAṆA-SĀDHANA (*Ārya-ava°*), a text describing the procedure of worship for the invocation of the Khasarpaṇa form of Avalokiteśvara. It has been rendered into Tibetan by Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and Śākya blo-gros (Śākyamati) and incorporated into the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3673). This translation, entitled (*Ḥphags-pa*) *spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug kha-sar-pa-ṇi sgrub-thabs*, does not strictly correspond to any of the sādhanas devoted to the worship of Khasarpaṇa which occur in the *Sādhanamālā*, though it enjoins a similar procedure of worship and gives similar descriptions of Khasarpaṇa and his attendants.

In this sādhana, as in most other sādhanas, the worshipper is instructed to sit in an easy pose at an agreeable place, in front of an image of Lokeśvara, and to perform the preliminary rites such as confessing sins, rejoicing in meritorious deeds, taking refuge in the three Jewels, chanting the mantra, *Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhā sarvadharmā svabhāvaśuddho'haṃ*, and meditating on the 'selflessness' (Tib. *bdag med-par*) of all things. He is then required to meditate on Khasarpaṇa who sits on a large lotus with his left leg folded across, as in the cross-legged posture, and the right slightly stretched, radiating the rays of a crore of moons. Adorned with all sorts of ornaments, he wears a crown of matted hair, holds a lotus with the left hand and shows the *varada mudrā* with the right. On his right are Tārā, a bedecked goddess who holds an open lotus, and Sudhana (Tib. *Nor bzaṅs*) whose hands are folded in reverence. To the left of Khasarpaṇa are Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva. The former has matted hair and she bears the figure of a stūpa on the crown of her head.[1] Four-armed, she carries a staff and a water-vessel in her left hands. The two right hands show the gesture of bowing and granting a boon (*varada mudrā*).[2]

1 According to the *Sādhanamālā* (I, p. 341), her crown is stamped with the effigy of Amitābha (*Amitābha-mudritām*).

2 According to the *Sādhanamālā*, Bhṛkuṭī carries a string of beads in the second of the right hands while showing the gesture of bowing with the other as in this text (*Sādh.* I, p. 40; *dakṣiṇe vandanābhinayākṣasūtradhara-karā*) or shows the gesture of granting a boon and carries a string of beads with her right hands (ibid. p. 341: *varadākṣasūtradharadakṣiṇa-karām*).

Chanting the mantra, *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, a hundred or a thousand times, the worshipper should make more offerings and solicit the welfare and emancipation of all beings.

R.H.

AVALOKITEŚVARAMĀTĀ-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya ava°*), the name of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan version of which is incorporated in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gi yum shes-bya-baḥi gzuns*. This Tibetan translation is attributed to Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 8, No. 389 ; see also ibid. Vol. 11, No. 534).

The text contains a magic formula called the *Avalokiteśvaramātā-dhāraṇī* from which the work takes its title. This formula is as follows : *cili mili kuntule kuntule tule sire sisire bisere vīrāya bisere gauri gandhari drāmide mātaṅgi bukkāsi kaḍḍaya mala caṇḍāli ...... tsi-le mile gṛhṇa saumyadharśani kuru candramukhi laghu-māne amate āryadakṣiṇabhuje sarvavidyā nāma prasadhane saravidyānāma aiśvari* (text : *āśvari*) *svāhā.*

Listening to the recitation of this dhāraṇī is said to purify all sins and to afford protection from all fears. He who recites the dhāraṇī three times a day, the text says, would see the bodhisattva Samantabhadra in seven days and the Buddha Amitābha in a month. He will also be firmly set on the road to enlightenment.

The Buddha preached this dhāraṇī at Vaiśālī at an assembly of five hundred monks, including Śāriputra and his companions, and a large number of bodhisattvas like Maitreya, at which the bodhisattva Samantabhadra questioned the Buddha about this dhāraṇī. The Buddha also referred to the first occasion when it was preached to the world Sukhāvatī, at the time of the Buddha Amitābha.

A Chinese translation of this work, the *Kuan-tzŭ-tsai-p'u-sa-mu-to-lo-ni-ching,* 觀自在菩薩母陀羅尼經 attributed to Fa-hsien of the later Sung dynasty (960–1127 A.C.) occurs in the Chinese Tripitaka (*Nanjio*, No. 910).

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-ava°*), the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the tittle (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gi gzuṅs shes-bya-ba* (Pek. Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 8, No. 371 ; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 535).

The work contains the six-syllabled mantra, *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*. He who recites it, remembers it, bears it in mind, takes delight in it or pays honour to it, it is said, will be cleansed of the five inexpiable sins and all other sins ; he will not be born in evil existences or be subject to the eight obstacles to happiness caused by rebirth in places or situations unfavourable to conversion ; he will be free from all fears caused by men, evil spirits and demons. He will see the face of Avalokiteśvara and be born in the Sukhāvatī heaven after death.

The deity associated with the mantra is described in the text. He takes his origin from the syllable *hrīḥ*, is white in colour and is four-armed. The two hands in front are joined in forming the mudrā of the clasped hand. He carries a string of white pearls in the right and a white lotus in the left of the remaining two hands. Adorned with jewel ornaments and wearing a crown of jewels, he sits crosslegged accompanied by Lha-mo Drug-ma (? Ṣaḍakṣarī) and Nor-bu rin-po-ches brten-pa (? Maṇidhara). This description of the god may be compared with that of Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (I, p. 27).

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-NĀMĀṢṬAŚATAKA (*Ārya-ava°*), the name of a Sanskrit text. Incomplete copies and fragments of the Tibetan translation of this text are reported to have been found among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to central Asia during the years 1906–8 (Nos. 315, 1 ; 316, 1 ; 377, 2 ; 379, 2 and 385, 3 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library* published by the Commonwealth Relations Office, Oxford University Press, 1962 ; cp. also ibid. No. 351, 2).

A full Tibetan translation of the text is incorporated twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gi mtshan brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip. ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 8, No. 381 ; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 525).

The work refers to an occasion when the Buddha preached the doctrine, at the palace of Avalokiteśvara on the mountain called Potala, to an assembly of gods and others, where Indra, Brahma and the guardian gods were also present. On that occasion, Brahma and others praised the Buddha to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Tib. *tshaṅs-pa-la sogs-pas byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥ sems-dpaḥ chen-po ḥpags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-la bstod-pa*). This

eulogy forms the theme of the work. The Buddha is here praised as one who has fulfilled his obligations, done all that ought to be done and laid down the burden ; an omniscient and a compassionate one who has overcome avarice, anger and ignorance, a possessor of the threefold knowledge (*traividyā*) and the sixfold higher knowledge (*ṣaḍabhijñā*) ; one endowed with the thirty-two major signs and the eighty minor signs of a great person and so on. The Buddha praised in this text is described as seated on a lotus, carrying a round vessel, an antelope's skin, a staff and a string of beads. An enumeration of the benefits of reciting the sūtra, ending with birth in Sukhāvatī, forms the conclusion of the sūtra.

A Chinese translation of the work, the *Shêng-kuang-tzŭ-tsai-p'u-sa-i-pai-pa-ming-ching* 聖觀自在菩薩一百八名經 (*Nanjio*, No.816), occurs in the Chinese canon. It is attributed to T'ien-hsi-tsai of the late Sung dynasty, 960–1127 A.C.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-PADMAJĀLA-MŪLATANTRARĀJA-NĀMA (*Ārya-Ava°*), the title of a work in twelve chapters, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur, under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*). *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gi rtsa-baḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po pad-ma-dra-ba shes-bya-ba*. Somaśrībhavya and Tshul-khrims-ḥod-zer are said to have translated and revised the work (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 7, No. 364).

The work contains the discourse that followed a question put to Avalokiteśvara by a deva called Padmajāla. The first chapter of the work describes the occasion of preaching the discourse. The Buddha was residing in a sandalwood grove on the Malaya mountain with a large retinue of monks, bodhisattvas, lay disciples, gods, nāgas and so on. The monks paid reverence to the Buddha and praised him. The Buddha remained absorbed in contemplation. Then the earth trembled in a sixfold manner. Seeing this, the proud king of Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa (Tib. *Sgra-sgrogs*), arrived there with his following. A radiance emanated from the body of the Buddha at this instant, whereupon all the Buddha-worlds became visible. On that occasion, the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara came there with his following, assembled on his right, and sat down. Padmajāla rose at that assembly and requested Avalokiteśvara to preach the excellent spell (Tib. *sñiṅ-po dam-pa*) which could eradicate all sins and bring benefit to all beings. Showers of flowers fell from the heavens and divine music was heard in the air.

Drawing attention to the difficulty of acquiring knowledge of this spell, Avalokiteśvara recalled some of his own past births in the dispensations of previous Buddhas, when he obtained the knowledge of this spell. He expounded in detail the advantage of knowing it. At the end of this bodhisattvas like Mañjughoṣa and Samantabhadra spoke on the nature and meaning of the spell. Thereafter, several goddesses offered flowers and incense and praised Avalokiteśvara. Some of the goddesses, whose songs of praise are quoted in the text are Locanā, Māmakī, Paṇḍaravāsinī, Tārā, Mārīcī, Sarasvatī, Varāhamukhī and Manobhadrā. Rāvaṇa and his followers trembled like grass beaten by the wind, paid homage and praised Avalokiteśvara. And the whole gathering applauded saying 'well done, well done,' and repeating the syllables *Oṃ āḥ hriḥ hūṃ svāhā*.

Larger crowds are said to have assembled on this occasion by the power of certain dhāraṇīs that were then recited. Some of these dhāraṇīs, most of which appear to be associated with the various forms of Avalokiteśvara are as follows: *oṃ hrī siṃhanāda hūṃ phaṭ ; oṃ padma mahārādhaka hūṃ phaṭ ; oṃ padmanareśvara hrī hūṃ phaṭ ; oṃ ratna agra apratihata hūṃ phaṭ ; oṃ hrīḥ trailokyavijaya amoghapāśa apratihata hrīḥ haḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā ; oṃ hālāhala hrīḥ padmagarbha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā ; oṃ padma alaṃkāra hūṃ phaṭ svāhā ; oṃ vajra dharmadhātu hūṃ svāhā ; oṃ bhrūṃ hriḥ ha hūṃ svāhā* and *oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*.

Then a deity called Lag-na-rdo-rje ḥdzin (? Vajrapāṇidhara) rose in that assembly, and asked that the principal dhāraṇīs (Tib. *rtsa-baḥi sṅags*) be expounded. The Blessed One granted his request and the dhāraṇīs he recited are quoted in extenso in the text and their beneficial effects explained. Extracts from these are quoted here against the name of the deity with whom each dhāraṇī is associated.

Avalokiteśvara-siṃhanāda : *namo ratnatrayāya namaḥ āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya tad athā oṃ akaṭe vikaṭe nikaṭe kaṭamkaṭe karoṭavīrye svāhā* (cp. *Sādh*. I, Nos. 17, 21, 23 and 25).

Yid-bshin ḥkhor-lo (? Cintācakra) : *oṃ cakravarti padmacchindha maṇijvala mahāpadme ruru tiṣṭha jvala ākarṣāya hriḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*.

Padmanarteśvara : *sarvasattvavāsanāgādhevatini namaḥ sarvastvāvisina āharani namaḥ sarvastvābhayottaraṇāya namaḥ stambhe praśamaṇāya . . . namaḥ sarvasattvabandhanacchedanakarāya namaḥ sarvasattvaduḥkhavimokṣaṇakarāya . . . . . .*

mahāyogayogeśvarāya namaskṛtvā idam āryaavalokiteśvaramukhodgīrṇa riśi nāga yakṣa rākṣasa śākya brahmalokapālāya viṣṇu maheśvaranārāyaṇa skandha kuvera asurendra maṃtrigaṇa namas kṛta . . . . *oṃ amṛtodbhavāya hū hū phaṭ phaṭ svāhā* . . . .

Mgon-po thugs-rje mi bśol-ba (? Apratihata): *namaḥ sarva* . . . *karaṃ sarvabyūdanibharakaraṃ* . . . . *satvebhyaḥ tārā samyaktārā dasadīk bodhisattvebhyaḥ namaḥ samyak sambuddhakoṭīnāṃ* . . . . *oṃ jaṭ jaṭ jiṭi jiṭi juṭu juṭu rara rara riri riri kala kala kili kili kulu kulu mahākāruṇikāya sarvatathāgata mahāsaṃgrahā anuharantu ehi ehi*. . . . .

Amoghapāśa: *namas* . . . *anugata pratiṣṭhitebhyaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ namaḥ pratyekabuddha āryaśrāvakasaṃghebhyo'tita-anāgatapratyutpannebhyaḥ*. . . *namaḥ śāradvatīputrāya mahāmatiye namaḥ āryamaitreyapramukhebhyo mahābodhisattvebhyaḥ namaḥ supratiṣṭhitaśailendrarājapramukhebhyaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyaḥ arahatebhyaḥ samyaksambuddhebhyo namaḥ suvarṇna-varṇnasupratibhavinamtiteśvararājāya tathāgatāya namaḥ siṃhavikrīḍita-rājāya tathāgatāya namaḥ ārya-amitābhāya tathāgatāya namaḥ supratiṣṭhitamaṇikūṭarājāya tathāgatāya namaḥ samantaraśmyudgata śrīkūṭarājāya-tathāgatāya namo vipaśyine tathāgatāya namaḥ. śikhine tathāgatāya namo viśvabhūpe° namaḥ krakucchandāya° namaḥ kanakamunāye° namaḥ kāśyapāya° namaḥ śākyamunāye arahate samyaksambuddhāya tadyathā oṃ mune mune mahāmunaye svāhā* . . . . *sarvasattvaāśāparipūraka sarvasattva samāśvāsanakara namo'stu te svāhā amoghāya svāhā.*

Hālāhala: *bhagavan ārya-avalokitśvara tam hṛdaya sarva karmapadaḥ sarvagrahocchedanakaraṃ bhava amara ṇi vinaśakavaśitam* . . . *he bodhisattva mahā bodhe svāhā priya-bodhistu he hā āryāvavalokiteśvarāya.*

Padma-alaṃkāra: . . . . *mahāmaṇimakuṭa-alaṃkāra dhāraṇī bhagavate padmamāle sarvaloka apāyaśamanaye vividhamukhasamaveśa*. . . . .

Rdo-rje chen-po and Mgrin-pa sṅon-po (Nīlakaṇṭha) are other deities whose dhāraṇīs are quoted. The text continues with descriptions of various rites that are to be performed.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-PARIPṚCCHĀ-SAPTADHARMAKA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-ava*°), the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gis shus-pa chos bdun-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 33, No. 817). This translation is attributed to Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and Dge-baḥi blo-gros.

The sūtra lists seven dharmas enumerated by the Buddha in response to a question raised by the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at a large assembly on the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain in Rājagṛha. 'What doctrines should a bodhisattva learn as soon as he acquires the thought of enlightenment ?' asks Avalokiteśvara and the Buddha replies that there are seven such doctrines, viz., not being lustful, not doing wrong (Tib. *mi dge-ba*, Skt. *akuśala*) even in one's dreams, (?) not having a confused perception of things (Tib. *ḥdra-baḥi sems-kyis yoṅs-su ḥdzin-pa med-pa bya-ba daṅ*), not being arrogant and selfish though skilled in knowledge and the means (Tib. *thabs*, Skt. *upāya*), depending on the realisation of *śūnyatā* as a means of deliverance, not having any delight in *saṃsāra*, the cycle of births and deaths, knowing it to be illusory and like a dream and not reviling the doctrine of cause and effect.

The sūtra ends with the formula that those in the assembly rejoiced and praised the teaching of the Buddha.

R.H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-PREṢITA-BHIKṢU-PRAKĀŚA-KUMĀRA-LEKHA (*Āryāva*°), the restored Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gis dge-sloṅ rab-gsal gshon-nu-la spriṅs-paḥi spriṅ yig*, incorporated in the Dbu-ma (Madhyamaka) and Gtam-yig (Parikathā and Lekha) sections of the Tengyur. Sarvajñadeva and Dpal brtsegs (Śrīkūṭa) are named as the translators of the work (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 103, No. 5413 ; ibid. Vol. 129, No. 5681).

As the title suggests, the work contains the text of a message sent by Avalokiteśvara to the monk Prakāśa. The youths, Avalokiteśvara and Prakāśa, were friends. When they first resolved to seek enlightenment, they promised each other that whoever reached the path first would inform the other.[1] Avalokiteśvara was the first to find the path and he sent a message to Prakāśa. The message refers to the evil nature of desire, which, resembling an abyss

1 This is reminiscent of a similar agreement made by Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna, the chief disciples of the Buddha (see *Aggasāvakavatthu* in the *DhpA*.).

of live embers, causes recurring existence. It refers to the danger of clinging to it and states the procedure to be followed by those who enter the noble path that secures deliverance from the round of rebirth.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-ṢAḌAKṢARĪ-SĀDHANA (Tib. text : *Ārya-avalokiteśvarasya-ṣaḍ*°), the Sanskrit title of a sādhana text as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gi yi-ge drug-maḥi sgrub-thabs* occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The Tibetan version attributes the authorship of the sādhana to Dpal Lhan-cig skyes-paḥi rol-pa (Śrī Sahajalalita) and the translation to Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 4153).

This sādhana corresponds to the Sanskrit text of the *Ṣaḍakṣarīlokeśvara-sādhana* (*Ārya-ṣaḍakṣarī-mahāvidyā-sādhana* according to the colophon) of the *Sādhanamālā* (I, No. 6) and is devoted to the worship of the Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara form of Avalokiteśvara. The worshipper is enjoined to perform the preliminary rites, like paying reverence to all Buddhas and bodhisattvas, taking refuge in the Triple Gem, reciting the mantra *Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho'haṃ* and contemplating on the voidness (*śūnyatā*) of all worldly phenomena and then think himself as (Ṣaḍakṣarī) Lokeśvara whose form is described. The dhyāna of the sādhana describing him and his companions has been translated as follows, " . . . Lokeśvara, who is decked in all sorts of ornaments, white in colour, and four-armed, carrying the lotus in the left hand and a string of beads in the right. The other two hands are joined in forming the mudrā of the clasped hand against the chest. To his right is Maṇidhara, with the same colour and the same number of hands, sitting on another lotus. To the left is Ṣaḍakṣarī Māhāvidyā with identical form sitting on another lotus" (*The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, B. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 125 ff.).

The formula for invoking the central deity is the mantra of the six syllables (*ṣaḍakṣarī*), viz., *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, the association of the knowledge of which gives Lokeśvara, the name Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara (loc. cit.). Other mantras cited in the text are *Oṃ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ suratas tvaṃ alalalala hoḥ aḥ aḥ aḥ aḥ* and *Oṃ vajrasattva samayam anupālaya vajrasattvatvenopatiṣṭha dṛḍho me bhava sutoṣyo me bhava supoṣyo me bhava anurakto me bhava sarvasiddhiṃ me prayaccha sarvakarmasu ca me cittaṃ śreyaḥ kuru hūṃ hahahaha hoḥ bhagavan sarvatathāgata vajra mā me muñca vajrībhava mahāsamayasatva āḥ.*

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-SĀDHANA (1), the title of a sādhana, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentry) section of the Tengyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., eḍ. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3675). Restored in full, the title would be *Āryāva*°.

The text contains four stanzas describing the Khasarpaṇa form of Avalokiteśvara, as is indicated by the concluding sentence in the text, viz., *Thugs-rje chen-po kha-sar-pa-ṇaḥi sgrub-thabs tshigs-su bcad-pa bshi-pa rdzogs-so* (Here end the four verses of the sādhana of the most compassionate Khasarpaṇa).

The deity described in the sādhana sits in the *ardhaparyaṅka* posture on the moon over the lotus, shows the *varada-mudrā* with his right hand, carries a lotus with his left, wears a crown decked with jewels and holds the image of Amitābha on the crown of his head. This description of Khasarpaṇa compares with that of him given in the *Sādhanamālā* (cp. *Sādh.* I, No. 16).

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-SĀDHANA (2), the title of a sādhana of which the Tibetan translation called (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-gi sgrub-thabs*, incorporated in the Tengyur, is attributed to Śāntākara and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan whose Sanskrit name is Śīladhvaja (See Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 3988). Restored in full, the title would be *Āryāva*°.

The text describes the procedure of the worship of a form of Avalokiteśvara. This deity is said to rise from the syllable *hrī* in the centre of an eight-petalled red lotus. Black in colour he is five faced and six-armed. The two faces on the right are white and red, while the two on the left are yellow and green. All the faces bear a grinning expression.

In his right hands the deity carries a small drum (*ḍamaru*), a magic wand (*khaṭvāṅga*), an iron hook, a noose, a vajra and an arrow, while with his left hands he shows the *tarjanī-mudrā* and carries a skull, a red lotus, a jewel, a wheel and a bow. The mantras to be recited at the ceremony are *oṃ āḥ hūṃ* and *mune para vajre ra hūṃ dzaḥ.*

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-SAHASRABHUJA-LOCANA (Tibetan: Spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug phyag-stoṅ spyan-stoṅ; Chinese: Ch'ien-shou-ch'ien-yen-kuan-tzŭ-tsai 千手千眼觀自在 or Ch'ien-shou-kuan-yin 千手觀音), the Avalokiteśvara with a thousand hands and a thousand eyes.

In the past, innumerable kalpas ago, a Buddha preached the Mahākāruṇika-mantra and told a bodhisattva, "My good man! Keep this mantra in order to benefit all beings in the corrupted ages in the future!" The bodhisattva, filled with joy, made a prayer, "If I am in a position to be able to bestow religious benefits to all beings in the future, may I have a thousand hands and a thousand eyes at once!" As soon as he made this prayer, he obtained a thousand hands and a thousand eyes, with one eye on each palm. His special vows are symbolised by forty of his hands. The *Ch'ien-shou-ch'ien-yen-kuan-shih-yin-p'u-sa-ta-pei-hsin-t'o-lo-ni* (千手千眼觀世音菩薩大悲心陀羅尼 *Taishō*, No. 1064) mentions thirty-nine objects such as the *candrabhāsa-maṇi*, a gem-bow, a gem-arrow, a thread of beads, a white lotus flower, a vajra and an image of a transformed Buddha, along with the mudrā of *abhaya-dāna*. Corresponding to each object, a mantra and a method to obtain merit are mentioned. For example, if anyone wants to advance in his secular position or wants to get a job, chanting of the mantra connected with the gem-bow should be done.

The *Ch'ien-kuang-yen-kuan-tzŭ-tsai-p'u-sa-pi-mi-fa-ching* (千光眼觀自在菩薩秘密法經, *Taishō*, No. 1065) classifies these forty merits into five sections to which five kinds of rituals are allotted: The rituals of *śāntika* for stopping calamities; those of *pauṣṭika* for success or prosperity; those of *abhicāruka* for suppressing or exorcising; those of *ākarṣaṇī* for calling or attracting (good beings or aid); and those of *vaśīkaraṇa* for seeking the aid of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The *Ch'ien-shou-ch'ien-yen-kuan-shih-yen-p'u-sa-ta-pei-hsin-t'o-lo-ni* mentions that if anyone meditates on this form of Avalokiteśvara, he will get rid of fifteen kinds of irregular deaths and will obtain fifteen kinds of good birth, e.g., to be born in a good country, to meet a good king, to have good friends and so on. The *Ch'ien-yen-ch'ien-pei-kuan-shih-yin-p'u-sa-chih-ping-ho-yo-ching* (千眼千臂觀世音菩薩治病合藥經, *Taishō*, No. 1059) mentions the rituals that should be performed in order to be released from the sufferings caused by diseases, demons, poison of insects, difficult labour and still birth. Ono-ryū, a sub-school of the Shingon sect in Japan, has a ritual to pray for conjugal harmony.

The figure of this Avalokiteśvara differs according to the texts: a golden body with one face and a thousand hands (*Ch'ien-yen-ch'ien-pei-kuan-shih-yin-p'u-sa-t'o-lo-ni-shên-chou-ching* 千眼千臂觀世音菩薩陀羅尼神咒經, *Taishō*, No. 1054); a golden body, sitting on a red lotus flower, with eleven faces and forty hands (*Ch'ien-kuang-yen-kuan-tzŭ-tsai-p'u-sa-pi-mi-fa-ching*); a golden body with one thousand hands, one thousand eyes and five hundred faces (*P'u-t'o-lo-hai-hui-kuei* 補陀落海會軌, *Taishō*, No. 1067); one thousand eyes, one thousand heads, one thousand feet, one thousand tongues and one thousand hands (*Shih-tsun-shêng-chê-ch'ien-yen-ch'ien-shou-ch'ien-tsu-ch'ien-pei-kuan-tzŭ-tsai-p'u-ti-sa-to-tan-fu-kuang-ta-yüan-man-wu-ai-ta-pei-hsin-t'o-lo-ni* (世尊聖者千眼千首千足千臂觀自在菩提薩埵怛嚩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼 *Taishō*, No. 1062); twenty-seven faces and one thousand hands (*Hsien-t'u-t'ai-tsang-chieh-man-t'u-lo* 現圖胎藏界曼荼羅).

The thousand hands symbolise his power to save all beings in the twenty-five spheres, each sphere being saved with forty hands. It is sometimes said that a thousand hands are not needed for the image and that forty hands would be enough. Eleven faces mean that this Avalokiteśvara attained supreme enlightenment through the practice of the ten ways of *prajñāpāramitā*. The twenty-seven faces indicate: twenty-five faces symbolising the saving of all beings in the twenty-five spheres, one face is his own right and the last one is that of Amitābha, the original character of this Avalokiteśvara. Five hundred faces are to correspond to the thousand eyes.

There are several kinds of maṇḍalas of which this Avalokiteśvara is the main figure.

Among Brahmanical deities, Indra, Puruṣa, Śiva and Viṣṇu were believed to have one thousand arms each. Hence, the idea of this Avalokiteśvara seems to have been derived from Brahmanical deities. The image of this Avalokiteśvara has not been found in India; but in central Asia some fragments of the images of this Avalokiteśvara have been discovered. The image and the ritual of this Avalokiteśvara were introduced into China about the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. Chih-t'ung mentions in the preface of the Chinese translation of *Nīlakaṇṭha* that, "during the era of Wu-tê (618–26) Kūṭadeva (or Guptadeva?), a priest of central India, came to China and painted

the image of the Avalokita-sahasrabhuja-locana, which was presented to the emperor along with a text on the rituals of this Avalokiteśvara. Afterwards, a priest came from northern India bringing a Sanskrit text of the dhāraṇī of Sahasrabhuja-locana, which was translated into Chinese by Chih-t'ung" (*Taishō*, Vol. 20, p. 83). In Japan, during and after the Tenpyō period (729-48), the power of this Avalokiteśvara was enthusiastically believed in. Tōshōdai-ji at Nara keeps a dry-lacquered image plated with gold. Apart from this, there are many images of this Avalokiteśvara which are officially recognised as Japanese national treasures.

K. TMR.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-SAPTĀKṢARA-SĀDHANA (*Ārya-Ava°*), the title of a sādhana, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug yi-ge bdun-paḥi sgrub-thabs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 68, No. 2989). This translation is attributed to Byams-paḥi dpal.

After paying obeisance to Avalokiteśvara, the author begins the work, which deals with the procedure of worship of Saptākṣara, who is a form of Hevajra.[1] The worshipper is enjoined to perform the preliminary rites at a chosen spot and then meditate on the voidness of all phenomena, uttering the mantra *Oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ* and on the green, red, white and yellow maṇḍalas springing from the syllables *yaṃ, raṃ, vaṃ* and *laṃ*. He is further instructed to meditate on the guardian gods and chant the mantras: *Oṃ medinī vajrībhava vajrabandha hūṃ oṃ vajraprākāra huṃ vaṃ huṃ oṃ vajrapañjara huṃ paṃ huṃ oṃ vajravitāna huṃ khaṃ huṃ oṃ vajraśara-jāla trāṃ śaṃ trāṃ oṃ vajrajvālānalārka huṃ huṃ huṃ.*[2] He should then concentrate on the central deity, i.e., Saptākṣara, who is three-faced, three-eyed and six-armed. His principal face is blue, the one on the right is white, and the one on the left red. He embraces his female counterpart with the first pair of hands with which he also carries a vajra and a bell. He carries a human skin in the second pair of hands and in the third pair, a trident, a skull filled with blood and a *khaṭvāṅga* (magic wand). On the six spokes of the wheel on which the god stands are six goddesses: the blue-complexioned Herukī, who takes her origin from the syllable *phaṭ*; Vajrabhairavī, rising from the syllable *hūṃ*, whose colour is yellow; Ghoracaṇḍī, who, red in colour, arises out of the syllable *hāṃ*; Vajrabhāskarī, green complexioned and arising out of the syllable *ha*; the smoke-coloured Vajraraudrī, who takes her origin form the syllable *hrīḥ*: and Vajraḍākinī, white in colour and arising out of the syllable *oṃ*. They are all one-faced and four-armed. They wear garlands of skulls and each carries a *ḍamaru* (small drum) and a bell with the first pair of hands. The description of Saptākṣara and the six goddesses given here is similar to that given in the *Sādhanamālā*.[3]

Some of the mantras to be chanted in the course of the ceremony of invoking the deities, making offerings to them and requesting favours from them are quoted in the text, e.g., *oṃ haḥ namaḥ hrīḥ svāhā hūṃ vauṣaṭ huṃ huṃ hoḥ phaṭ phaṭ;*[4] *oṃ aralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśyahoḥ;*[5] *oṃ kha khāhi khāhi sarvayakṣarākṣasabhūtapretapiśāconmādāpasmāraḍākinyādaya imaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇantu sarvasiddhiṃ me prayacchantu yathaivaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha pibatha jighratha mātikramatha mama sarvākāratayā satsukhavivṛddhaye svāhā.*[5]

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-SĀRA (*Ārya-Ava°*), the probable Sanskrit title of the text, the *Ḥphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs-kyi sñiṅ-po,* occurring twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 8, No. 372; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 536). The Sde-dge edition names the translators as Nag-gi-dbaṅ-phyug and Klog-skya śes-rab brtsegs (*TM*. No. 911).

The work, which begins with a salutation to the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, contains the formula *tad yathā ha ha hasane ni vasane tapa tapane jvāla jvālane cala calane pūrvayogasmara padmahastāya svāhā*, the recitation of which is said to enable one to remember a hundred thousand previous births and to ensure birth in the Sukhāvatī heaven.

R. H.

1 For Saptākṣara as a variety of Hevajra, see *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, B. Bhattacharyya, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1958, p. 162.

2 This mantra occurs in *Sādhanamālā* (II, Nos. 250, 251).

3 *Sādh.* II, Nos. 250, 251.

4 Cp. *Sādh.* II, p. 488.

5 Cp. *Sādh.* II, p. 495.

AVALOKITESVARA-SIṂHANĀDA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (text: *Ārya-Avalokiteśvarāya-siṃ°*), the title in Sanskrit of the Tibetan text, (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug seṅ-ge sgraḥi gzuṅs shes-bya-ba,* which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 8, No. 386; *TM.* No. 703). The Tibetan translation is attributed to Rdo-rje sems-ma and Śes-rab ḥbyuṅ-gnas.

The text contains the *Avalokiteśvara-siṃhanāda-dhāraṇī*, viz., *namo ratnatrayāya namaḥ āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya tad yathā oṃ akaṭe vikaṭe nikaṭe kaṭaṃkaṭe karoṭavīryye svāhā,* a magic formula preceded by an expression of adoration to the 'Triple Gem' and the most compassionate bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara. This dhāraṇī occurs in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, Nos. 17, 21, 23 and 25).

The text gives the circumstances that led the Buddha to recite the dhāraṇī, while residing in the palace of Avalokiteśvara, on the mountain called Potala. One day, he sat on the lion throne, in a large assembly of bodhisattvas, Maitreya and others, and arhats like Śāriputra. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī informed the Buddha that the people in the kingdom of king Dbaṅ-phyug ḥod (? Īśvarābha) of Magadha were suffering from leprosy, and asked him for a remedy. The Buddha then preached the dhāraṇī quoted above, as a means of curing the disease, recalling that it was of great use in the past, when Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara-siṃhanāda, born as bodhisattvas Śes-rab chen-po (? Mahāprajña) and Sñiṅ-rjeḥi mchog (? Karuṇāvara), were working for the welfare of the people of the world. Stating further that the dhāraṇī was preached by eighty million Buddhas before him, the Buddha explained the procedure to be followed in chanting the dhāraṇī. He then recited a second formula to be chanted at the ceremony, viz., *oṃ āḥ hrīḥ siṃhanāda hūṃ phaṭ.* This formula, too, occurs in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, Nos. 17,20, 22 and 25).

The recitation of these formulas is said to cure diseases, dispel sins and ensure birth in Sukhāvatī after death. Various other dhāraṇīs are also cited in the text, which are said to have similar effects.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-STOTRA (1), the title of a hymn of praise to Avalokiteśvara, composed by Candragomin. The Tibetan translation of this text occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-la bstod-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3551). The title, restored in full, would be *Ārya-Avalokiteśvarāya-stotra.*

The text contains stanzas in praise of deities forming a maṇḍala, five of whom appear to be different forms of Avalokiteśvara. Among the deities so praised are (1) the principal deity of the maṇḍala said to occupy the centre of an eight-petalled white lotus, a three-eyed, white-complexioned god, who, adorned with jewel-ornaments, bears the image of Amitābha on his head; (2) a red-complexioned, three-eyed, four-armed god covered with ornaments, who bears the image of Amitābha on his head. A vajra and a noose in his right hand and a lotus and an iron hook in the left are his symbols; (3) a one-faced, three-eyed, four-armed god, who carries a vajra and a mace in the right hand, shows the *tarjanī-mudrā* and holds a lotus with the left. His body is wrapped with a snake and tiger skin; (4) a three-eyed and eight-armed deity of wrathful expression, who carries a vajra, a sword, a mace and a skull in his right hands and a battle-axe, a lance, a skull and a noose in his left hands; (5) a one-faced, white-complexioned, three-eyed, four-armed god adorned with ornaments, who sits in the *ardhaparyaṅka* attitude, shows the attitude of worshipping with two hands and carries a string of beads and a staff with the other hands.

Other deities praised in the text are four goddesses (*lha-mo*) of fair form; the four *dvārapālas* (door-keepers) who carry an iron hook, a noose, a fetter and a bell; Brahma, Īśvara (Dbeṅ), Rudra (Drag-po), Sūrya and Candra; and the four guardians and their following.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-STOTRA (2), the title of a text, which contains five stanzas of adoration to Avalokiteśvara. The Tibetan version of this text occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title, (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-gi bstod-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3554). The title, restored in full, would be *Ārya-Ava* °.

Avalokiteśvara is praised in the work as a protector of the three worlds, who through his great compassion removes their sorrows, emits ambrosia from the palms of his hands and relieves the hunger and thirst of departed spirits and so on.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-STOTRA (3), a work of praise to Avalokiteśvara written by Dpal-mo (Lakṣmī). A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3560). Restored in full, the title would be *Āryāvalokiteśvarāya-stotra.*

The form of Avalokiteśvara, the symbols he carries and his benevolence are described in the text, which ends with the statement that he who pays reverence to Avalokiteśvara, meditates on him and recites this stotra at break of day, will gain, in this and all future births, the blessings of this world and the world beyond.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-STOTRA (4), a hymn of praise to Avalokiteśvara composed by Dpal-mo (Lakṣmī), a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3561). The text contains stanzas of adoration to Avalokiteśvara in which some of his forms are described. Avalokiteśvara is also entreated in this text to grant protection from the fears of fire, water, lions, elephants, fetters, serpents, ḍākinīs and robbers.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-STOTRA (5), the Sanskrit title corresponding to the Tibetan (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-la bstod-pa*, a text of which a fragment of thirteen *pādas* was found among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang which Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to central Asia during 1906–8 (No. 314 in the Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library, published for the Commonwealth Relations Office, 1962). Restored in full, the title would be *Ārya-Ava °*.

AVALOKITEŚVARĀṢṬOTTARAŚATAKA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ-MANTRA-SAHITA, generally referred to as *Ārya-Ava°*, a Sanskrit text extant in its Tibetan translation known by the name (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ phyug-gi mtshan brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa gzuṅs-sṅags daṅ-bcas-pa* in the Rgyud-ḥbum and Gzuṅs-ḥdus (tantra and dhāraṇī) sections of the Kangyur (*TM.* Nos. 634 & 874). The work is believed to be of Buddha-origin; but it is not known who translated the work into Tibetan.

AVALOKITEŚVARA-STUTI-NĀMA (*Śrī-arya-Avalokiteśvarasya-stu °*), the title of a work of praise to Avalokiteśvara, the authorship of which is credited to Zla-mdses (Candraśrī). A Tibetan translation, attributed to Bsod-namś rnam-rgyal, occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title (*Dpal ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-la bstod-pa shes-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3558).

As in other works of this kind, here too, Avalokiteśvara's appearance and his attainments are described. He is said to wear the figure of Amitābha on his crown and carry a golden lotus in his left hand. He has a moon-like face, lotus-like eyes, and a body and hands as soft as the petals of a lotus. He has reached the further shore of the great ocean of knowledge.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARASYA-CARPAṬIRACITA-STOTRA (*Ārya-Ava°*), the title of a Sanskrit work, attributed to Carpaṭi as indicated in the title, too (*Carpaṭiracita*). The Tibetan translation of the text occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-la car-pa-ṭis bstod-pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3546).

The work contains twenty-five stanzas in praise of Avalokiteśvara.

Giuseppe Tucci states that he saw a commentary on a stotra written by Carpaṭi among a collection of manuscripts in Nepal. This stotra, called the *Devamanuṣya stotra*, he says, is a hymn to Avalokiteśvara Lokeśvara, which was in circulation among the Buddhist community of Nepal, even at the time of his writing (*JASB.*, 1930, p. 137). It may have been the text of which the *Avalokiteśvarasya-carpaṭiracita-stotra* is a Tibetan translation.

R. H.

AVALOKITEŚVARAVIMOKṢA, name of a Sanskrit treatise, quoted as an authority by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (296.2 : *Āryāvalokiteśvara-vimokṣe ca yaduktaṃ tadapyevaṃ yojyaṃ* : " What has been declared in the *Āryāvalokiteśvaravimokṣa*, that too, has to be applied thus "), in connection with the declaration of *pariṇāmanā* (transformation, alteration, development).

AVAMĀNA-PRADĪPA (-NĀMA), the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan work, the *Shen-log sgron-ma shes-bya-ba,* attributed to Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Pek. Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 81, No. 4551).

The text professes to contain teachings, which would be of benefit to any one who wishes to destroy his own sorrows and those of others. The impermanence of worldly things is spoken of at the beginning of the text to produce in the minds of the readers an aversion to worldly things. The practice of the perfections and the cultivation of virtue are extolled.

R. H.

AVAMŪRDHA, name of a *lokadhātu* associated with Vyatyasta (*lokadhātu*). The term appears in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.). Reference has also been made in the *Lalitavistara* to Avamūrdha-lipi, a script of the Avamūrdha lokadhātu (*Lal.* 88). Avamūrdha literally means ' inverted '.

H.R.P.

AVANTAKA, name of a school of early Buddhism. According to the first list of Bhavya and Vinītadeva, the Avantakas, together with the Kurukulas, formed in the seventh century A.C. two divisions of the Sammatīyas, and their name may probably be explained geographically as the Sammatīyas of Avanti, the region to the north of the Narbada and east of the Indus basin. There is no evidence that the Avantakas branched off from the Sammatīyas on doctrinal differences, although the Sammatīyas as a whole broke away from the Vātsīputrīyas, explaining the Abhidharma of Śāriputra through the meaning of the sūtras (Demiéville, *Origine des Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 58). According to Tārānātha (Schiefner's ed. p. 175) the school of the Avantakas had disappeared by the seventh century A.C., and only the school of the Kurukulas continued till the time of the Pāla kings (9-10th cent.), greatly influenced by Mahāyāna teachings from the 7th cent. onward (A. Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques du petit Véhicule*, pp. 121, 122, 126). They are mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (9087, *BHS.* s.v.).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVAṆṬA-PHALA-DĀYAKA, an arahant thera of the time of Gotama Buddha. Eighty-four kappas ago he had given a fruit without a stalk (*vaṇṭa*) to a pacceka-buddha named Sataraṃsi and as its good result was never born in a *niraya* (*Ap.* i, 294).

AVANTI, an ancient territory of India, generally identified with those parts of the country which roughly correspond to Mālwa, Nimār and the parts which adjoined the former Central Provinces, now modified into Madhya Pradesh. Avanti is sometimes spoken of as comprising two parts, for we hear of both Ujjenī and Mahissati as its capitals (*D.* II, 235). Probably, at some time, it had been separated into two divisions. However, it is Ujjenī which is most often mentioned and, more or less, regarded as *the* capital. This city, the modern Ujjain in Gwalior, is on the Siprā which is a tributary of the Chambal (Charmaṇvati).

Avanti was counted from very early times, even before the Buddha's day, among the four, six and seven " Great Nations or Powers. " It appears in the list of sixteen such, in later times (*A.* I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260). Much of the country was rich and had been colonised by Aryan tribes coming down the valley of the Indus. The fertility of the soil is reflected in the account which Hsüan-tsang has given of it (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, IV, 460).

Assaka is a kingdom which is generally mentioned with Avanti (*J.* V, 317 f.). In the very time of the Buddha, Avanti became a centre of the religion; we find the names of many a leading thera or therī mentioned as having either been born, or lived, in Avanti. At this time, we hear of an Avantiputta (son of Avanti), probably the son of an Avanti princess. He was the king of the Sūrasenas at Madhura. According to the *Lalitavistara,* the king of Madhura in the year of the parinirvāṇa was Subāhu. The two thus seem to have been the same person.

King Caṇḍa-pajjota (Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena) was the fierce Avanti king when the Buddha was alive (*Vin.* I, 277). He was contemporaneous with Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu and had brought several of the neighbouring peoples under his dominion. He had planned, but without success, the conquest of the territory of Kosambī which belonged to his neighbour, king Udena. However, his daughter Vāsuladattā married Udena and the two kings remained friendly (*DhpA.* I, 191 ff.). There is a story that he invited the Buddha to Avanti through Kaccāna, the son of his chaplain, and seven others. The Buddha did not visit the king but sent Kaccāna, who had now become an arahant with the rest, to represent him before the king. Pajjota accepted Buddhism from Kaccāna, and the latter seems to

have lived for a long time in Avanti, in the city of Kuraraghara in the Papāta-pabbata (*ThagA.* II, 154, 207 ff.).

Besides this place, Ghanaselapabbata, Makkarakaṭa, Veḷugāma, and in the Jain works, Sudarśanapura, are others mentioned as having been in Avanti.

Buddhism does not seem to have made rapid progress in Avanti. We see this from the special relaxation of rules permitted by the Buddha for bhikkhus, to ordain whom Mahā-Kaccāna could not find the requisite chapter of ten (*Vin.* I, 195). The country was quite difficult of access, to which may be attributed the slow growth of the religion in the early stages. However, by the time of the council of Vesālī it had become an important centre of the orthodox teachings and had even sent as many as eighty-eight arahants to participate in the proceedings of the council (*Vin.* II, 299).

The king of Avanti was rumoured, in the Buddha's time, to be preparing to attack Magadha; but the attack is not recorded as having been actually made. Susunāga, who came some time after Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, absorbed Avanti into his domains. The first known Moriya (Maurya) king is said to have taken possession of the territory, and we may assume that this is the incident referred to as having occurred in the year 313 B.C., if the Jaina tradition on which it is based is reliable. Before the time of Candagutta, the grand-father of the emperor Asoka, Avanti had been incorporated with Magadha. It was a vice-royalty and, when prince Asoka was in charge of Avanti, he became the father of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā by Vedisadevī of Ujjenī (*MhvA.* 324 f.).

Avanti retained its own name at least as late as the second century A.C., as evident from the Junagaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. Owing to its position at the junction of the routes from the western coast, the Deccan and Sāvatthi in Kosala, Ujjenī became an important commercial centre. It was also a well-known centre of science and literature. Hindu astronomers reckoned their first meridian of longitude from the city, and it was before the vice-regal court here that the dramas of Kālidāsa were performed on the occasion of the spring festival, about the fourth century A.C. From about the seventh century the country came to be known as Mālava.

Hsüan-tsang (Beal, loc. cit.) described U-she-yen-na (Ujjayanī, Ujjenī) as being about 6,000 *li* in circuit and the capital some 30 *li* round. It had a dense population with wealthy establishments. The king was evidently a Hindu, for he was no believer in the "true law". Most of the Bnddhist vihāras were in ruin, only some three or five surviving. There were three hundred bhikkhus and they studied both Theravāda and Mahāyāna. There was a stūpa not far from the city and it was here that Asoka had given a representation of the horrors of hell.

According to the *Harivaṃśa* of the Jains a distinguished member of the Pratihāra line, who is named Vatsarāja, ruled in Avanti. This was after the middle of the eighth century A.C., when the dynasty was founded.

A (late) tradition in the *Buddhavaṃsa* (xxviii, 10) mentions that the mat used by the Buddha and the rug were enshrined in Avanti. The special importance of Avanti lies in the generally accepted view that it is the original home of the Pali language (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 66). It has also been suggested that "the Avanti school of monks, founded by Mahā-Kaccāna, developed branches of knowledge dealing mainly with grammar and doctrinal interpretation by ways of exegetical analysis. The Pali grammar ascribed to Kaccāyana and the *Nettippakaraṇa* were both works of this school" (*DPPN.*).

D. T. D.

AVANTIPUTTA, king of Madhurā shortly after the demise of the Buddha. He was so named because his mother was the daughter of the king of Avanti (*MA.* III, 319). Once he heard that Mahā-Kaccāna was staying in the Gundā Grove at Madhurā and went in royal state to meet him. Their discussion on the notion of superiority of the brāhmans is recorded in the *Madhura Sutta* (*M.* II, 83–90). It is said that from that day he became a lay-disciple of the Buddha.

H. R. P.

AVARAHAKHA, a mantra or sacred formula which unites the five germs (*bīja*) or essential parts of the five elements: *a* for earth, *va* for water, *ra* for fire, *ha* for air and *kha* for space. In Japanese tradition it constitutes one of the mantras of Vairocana (*Himitsujirin* by Tomita Kōjun, 23) and is spelled *a-ba-ra-ka-kya*.

ĀVARAṆA, a synonym of *nīvaraṇa*, a technical term of great importance in the Buddhist ethical system. *Āvaraṇa* is a covering or an obstacle by which something is concealed or checked, and five things, such as sensuous desire (*kāmacchanda*), ill-will (*vyāpāda*), sloth and torpor (*thīna-middha*),

agitation and scruples (*uddhacca-kukkucca*) and doubt (*vicikicchā*) are spoken of as *āvaraṇa* or *nīvaraṇa*, because these things prejudice the mind and obstruct correct vision regarding the true nature (*yathābhūta*) of things (*Divy*. 378 ; *Nd*. II, 379; *D*. I, 246; *Sn*. *vv*. 66, 1005). See NĪVARAṆA. The Mādhyamika and Yogācāra school speak of two obstructions, the obstruction of the defilements (*kleśavaraṇa*) and the obstruction to attaining full knowledge (*jñeyāvaraṇa*).

W. G. W.

ĀVARAṆA-NĪVARAṆA SUTTA occurs in the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 94–6). The sutta speaks of five obstacles or hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) which are obstructions of the mind, and seven limbs of wisdom (*bojjhaṅga*) which are no obstructions of the mind. The obstacles are so called since they distract and disturb the mind and drag a person to resort to various activities which are harmful to one's progress.

The seven ' limbs of wisdom ' are mindfulness (*sati*), investigation of the law (*dhammavicaya*), energy (*viriya*), rapture (*pīti*), repose (*passaddhi*), concentration (*samādhi*) and equanimity (*upekhā*). It is said that when a noble disciple of the Buddha (*ariya sāvaka*) directs his attention to listening to the Dhamma, the five obstructions are absent in him and the seven limbs of wisdom are developed to perfection. See NĪVARAṆA.

W. G. W.

ĀVARAṆA SUTTA occurs in the *Nīvaraṇa Vagga* of the *Pañcamaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 63). The sutta speaks of five coverings (*āvaraṇa*) or obstacles (*nīvaraṇa*) of the mind which overwhelm the mind and blunt the intellect.

ĀVARAṆATĀ SUTTA (*A*. III, 436–7) deals with six conditions which make it impossible, even if one hear the Dhamma, to enter on the path (*niyāmaṃ okkamituṃ*) which consists of good deeds. The six conditions are killing father, mother or arahant, willingly causing physical hurt to the Buddha, bringing dissension among the monks, being foolish, half-witted, deaf and dumb (*DPPN*.).

ĀVARAṆA-VIṢKAMBHI-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-āva°*), the title in Sanskrit of a text as given at the beginning of the Tibetan version, the *Ḥphags-pa sgrib-pa rnam-par sel-ba shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs* which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D T. Suzuki, Vol. 11, No. 516). The Sde-dge edition includes it in the Gzuṅs-ḥdus (dhāraṇī) section (*TM*. No. 891/46).

The work, which commences with a salutation to the Buddha, Dharma and the Saṅgha, contains the two dhāraṇīs *Oṃ śveta-vare vadzaline svāhā* and *Oṃ sarva adadnaḥi skambhine svāhā*. These dhāraṇīs are said to have the power of cleansing mental and moral defilements (Tib. *sgrib-pa*, Skt. *āvaraṇa*). He who recites the first dhāraṇī seven times will pass away peacefully at the time of death, purified of all sins accumulated during a generation. The recitation of the second dhāraṇī seven times during the day and seven times at night will remove sins accumulated in the course of several generations.

They who honour these dhāraṇīs will die peacefully, not experiencing any pain at the time of death. After death, they will be born in the world of the Thirty-three gods (*Trayastriṃśa*) or in the *Ḥthab bral* heaven, (*ḥthab-bral*, which literally means 'free from strife' could be the name of a heaven free from strife with the Asuras, the region lying above the Trayastriṃśa heaven. See S.C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902), or among the gods in the Tuṣita heaven. They will live happily in these heavens.

R. H.

AVARAŚAILA-SAṄGHĀRĀMA, the residence of the Western monks of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in south India. Hsüan-tsang describes its situation as being west of the capital city, hence the directional name of the community. He adds that during the thousand years following the Buddha's demise over a thousand monks (and others) passed here the rainy season each year, but during the century preceding his own visit the place had been deserted. This he ascribes to supernatural manifestations (S. Beal's translation). Actually, Buddhism had then lost its position in the Krishna Valley. The community is known in the local inscriptions as Aparamahāvinaseliya (q.v.). A general idea of a residential unit could be obtained from a description in an archaeological excavation. Each establishment was self-contained and comprised living quarters, an apsidal temple (sometimes two) and a thūpa. The residence, which was enclosed by a wall, consisted of a square paved hall with pillars, stone being used in both instances. The roof was wooden. A row of cells with a front verandah was laid all round the enclosure and abutting on to the outer walls.

Some of the cells served as living-rooms, some as store-rooms, whilst a few were shrine-rooms. Usually there was a large room where the residents met for meals (*ASIMem.* No. 54, pp. 9 ff.).

D. T. D.

AVARICE (*macchariya*), meanness, stinginess, one of the principal evil passions and the main cause of rebirth in the Petaloka (*PED.* s. v.). Usually five kinds of avarice and meanness are enumerated (e.g., *D.* III, 234; *A.* IV, 456) regarding one's dwelling place (*āvāsa*), family (*kula*), profit (*lābha*), recognition (*vaṇṇa*) and mental achievements (*dhamma*). Being a mental disposition, avarice cannot be overcome by physical action or by word, but it can only be abandoned by comprehending it with insight (*A.* V, 40). As a mental concomitant (*cetasika*) it is always combined with hate (*dosa*), envy (*issā*) and worry (*kukkucca*) in a mental state associated with aversion (*Abhs.* p. 7, § 6). See MACCHARIYA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVĀRIYA JĀTAKA (No. 376), related by the Buddha, while dwelling at Jetavana (*J.* III, 228–32), concerning a ferryman, who was foolish and violent. One evening a bhikkhu from the country who was on his way to the monastery to attend on the Buddha, arrived at the banks of the Aciravatī and asked the ferryman to take him across which he refused, because it was late in the evening. Ultimately, he decided to take him. The ferryman rowed badly so that the boat drew water and the robes of the bhikkhu became wet. Also, he could not reach the farther bank before it was dark. As a result, the bhikkhu could not go to attend on the Buddha. When he went to the Buddha on the following day, the bhikkhu informed him of what had happened. Then the Buddha related the story of the past.

Once the bodhisatta was an ascetic and lived in the Himālayas. On one occasion he went to Bārāṇasī for salt and seasoning and dwelt in the royal park, admonishing the king on the virtues of righteousness and compassion. Being pleased with him, the king wished to present him with a village of which the revenue was a thousand (pieces of gold), but the ascetic refused it. He lived in the royal park for twelve years, but, wishing to have a different atmosphere, left that place and arrived at a ferry on the Ganges, where lived a foolish ferryman named Avāriyapitā. He took the bodhisatta across the river on the latter's promising to tell him how to increase his wealth (*bhoga*), his welfare (*attha*) and his virtue (*dhamma*). On reaching the other side of the river the ferryman asked him for the fare. The bodhisatta advised him on the desirability of getting his fare before crossing, if he wished to increase his wealth. Then he proceeded to recite to him the stanzas on the virtue of compassion, which for twelve years he had daily recited to the king. The ferryman did not take his advice seriously, but kept on asking for the fare. The bodhisatta then said that the admonition that he gave him was the fare for taking him across the river. The ferryman was so annoyed with the bodhisatta, that he threw him down on the bank, sat on his chest and started to beat him. At that time, his wife came carrying food for him and, seeing him striking the bodhisatta, tried to stop him. The ferryman became very angry with his wife and started beating her too, upsetting the food and causing her w mb to miscarry. Then, the people took him to the king's presence and the king punished him accordingly. Good advice is wasted on fools, like fine gold on beasts.

Finally, the Buddha identified the characters by saying that the ferryman was Avāriyapitā, Ānanda was the king and the Buddha himself was the ascetic.

One of the 171 terra-cotta plaques, illustrating various jātakas represents the ascetic teaching the Law to the king who listens with folded hands, while the queen sits behind the king on the ground. These plaques were found at the eastern Pet-leik pagoda near Pagān, Upper Burma. The stūpa is locally known as the 'elder sister' owing to the fact that it was probably built first. (See *ASIAR.* 1912—13, plate LI.)

I. K.

AVAROJA, a householder in the time of Vipassī Buddha. He had a nephew of the same name, who in a later birth was born as Meṇḍaka, the banker. It is said that Avaroja, the uncle, constructed a *gandhakuṭi* for the Buddha. The nephew, too, wanted to participate in the good work, but the uncle would not allow it as he was determined to do it all by himself. So the nephew put up a magnificent *kuñjara-sālā* (elephant-hall) just opposite the *gandhakuṭi*, constructed by the uncle, and dedicated it to the Buddha, which good action secured for him the post of the king's chief treasurer (*seṭṭhi*) when he was born as Meṇḍaka in a later birth. A similar story occurs in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (IV, 202–3) of an uncle

and a nephew during the time of the same Buddha putting up a *gandhakuṭi* and a *kuñjara-sālā*, respectively, for the Buddha, and there also it is said that in a subsequent birth the nephew was born as Meṇḍaka, the treasurer. But in this story the uncle and nephew had the name Aparājita (*DhpA*. III, 364 ff.).

W. G. W.

AVAROPAṆARĀJA (text Avaropanarāja), a bodhisattva whose name occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū*. 442.7–8), whose mother will be Māyādevī.

AVARUDDHAKA, name of a yakkha. Having served Vessavaṇa, the lord of the yakkhas, for twelve years, he received as his reward the boy, who was later known by the name Āyuvaddhana. As the boy was destined to die on the seventh day after his birth, his parents entreated the Buddha to save his life.

On the day destined for the boy's death, Avaruddhaka came to gather his reward; but there he found the Buddha and his disciples chanting protective texts to avert the boy's death. On that occasion, the lesser deities and the yakkha Avaruddhaka had to step back twelve leagues in order to make room for the mighty gods who began to assemble around the Buddha.

The Buddha and his disciples chanted protective texts till the end of the seventh day and saved the boy's life, while Avaruddhaka had to go away without receiving his reward (*DhpA*. III, 237–8; *DPPN*. s.v.).

S. K. N.

ĀVĀSA, residence of monks. See ABODES (2).

AVASĀDANA, noun substantive from the verb *avasādayati*, which is derived from *ava* and *sad*, meaning 'to sit'. The term originally meant 'sinking down', 'exhausting', 'oppressing', 'disheartening', 'despiriting', 'ruining', etc.

In later works on Buddhism the term is used also to mean 'censure' and 'rebuke'. When and how this process of change of meaning took place is not quite clear. This term occurs in the *Jātakamālā* (217,8): *atha saudāsas tām avasādanāṃ amṛṣyamāṇaḥ pratyuvāca*. Here *avasādanāṃ* (fem. substantive) is to be translated either as censure or rebuke, and then the sentence would mean, 'son of Sudāsa being impatient of this rebuke replied'.

In the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (83.18), too, this form is used in the sense of censure, but with a deeper significance attached to it; *avasādanā madhyame vyatikrame* (censure is appropriate in case of transgression of middling gravity). Unlike in the *Jātakamālā*, here it means censuring with a view to perfection. This usage is found in the same text (295.21) in the phrase *avasādanā sādhyaḥ* (to be perfected by censure).

Again it is found in the *Divyāvadāna* (490.5) used in the same sense. It reads as, *kiṃ nvayaṃ utsahanāvineya āhosvid avasādanā vineyaḥ* . . . . . *avasādanā vineyaḥ* (is he to be disciplined by encouragement or else by censure ? . . . . he is to be disciplined by censure). In the index of the *Divyāvadāna* the term is translated as 'discouragement'. This is, probably, because it was considered to be the opposite of *utsahanā* (encouragement). But, when taken in the proper context, it becomes evident that it means censuring or rebuking with a view to perfection, for the words that follow (490.7) are used to imply censure, 'you are a fool, a great fool; a stupid, a big stupid' (*tvāṃ cūḍah paramacūḍo dhanvaḥ paramadhanvaḥ* : *BHS*. s.v.).

S. K. N.

ĀVĀSA DĀNĀNISAṂSA PRAKARAṆAYA, a Sinhala work of the first quarter of the twentieth century,[1] written by Kahallē Sumana thera on the merits of dedicating monasteries to the Saṅgha, the community of monks. It is a translation of a Pali work[2] on the same subject by a monk named Siddhārtha. The editor states in his introduction that he translated the book as the Pali version was not intelligible to all Buddhists.

The book is small and contains nine stories to illustrate the merits of dedicating monasteries.

Before relating the stories the author makes a reference to a discourse of the Buddha at the city of Pälalup (Pāṭaliputta) in the Magadha country. The occasion was the opening ceremony of a hall constructed by the devotees of that city. The

1 Published in 1932 for the first time by M. U. Banda at the Śrī Laṅkodaya Printing Press, Maradana, Ceylon.

2 The manuscripts are extant—K. D. Somadasa : *Laṅkāvē Puskoḷapot Nāmāvaliya* (1959) p. 11.

Buddha told them that the dedication of monasteries is a work of great merit and they should be dedicated only to virtuous monks. A description of the Buddha and his visit to the city is given in a highly descriptive style and the misdeeds of monks unworthy of receiving monasteries are also mentioned.

The first story is that of Mahāsudassana who was the bodhisatta himself in a previous birth. He became a world-ruler as a result of constructing a temple for a monk during another birth.

The second story, entitled 'the story of Mahāpanāda, relates how a poor man constructed a hut for a pacceka-buddha and as a result of it was born as king Mahāpanāda who possessed a heavenly mansion created by the god Viśvakarma. In the time of Gotama Buddha he was born as Bhaddiya thera and one day at the request of the Buddha he raised up to the sky with his toe the mansion which had sunk at the bottom of the river.

The next story about the monk Latāliya Tissa is very brief. He built a hut for a pacceka-buddha in a previous birth and was born in a rich brāhman family in the time of Gotama Buddha. Later he entered the Order and attained arahantship.

The fourth story is about the monk Soṇa Koḷivisa. In the time of Anomadassī Buddha he had decorated the residence of the Buddha, constructed a hall for the monks and done various other meritorious deeds as a result of which he was born as the son of a councillor of king Bimbisāra during the time of Gotama Buddha. He was reared in luxury and on the soles of his feet and palms of his hands grew fine down of golden colour. Later he entered the Order and became an arahant.

The fifth story is of a man who watched a sugar-cane plantation of a brāhman. One day he made a hut for three monks to stay the night. In the morning when the monks were going away he gave them some sugarcane too. The brāhman saw this and thrashed the watcher. He died of the injuries and was born in heaven. When his relatives were burning the corpse he appeared as a *devaputta* before them in the sky on an elephant and told them of his meritorious deed.

The next story is of the monk Gavampatī, a friend of Yasa, the arahant. Later he himself attained arahantship. Earlier he had been born in the Catummahārājika heaven. All these were the result of constructing a hut for a monk during the time of Kassapa Buddha.

The seventh is the story of Nandika, a layman in the time of Gotama Buddha. One day, seeing a monk looking for a place to spend the night, he arranged a place for him in his own house with the assistance of his wife. Later, they were both born in heaven in a very beautiful mansion.

The eighth story relates how a woman, a friend of Visākhā, was born in heaven as a result of the merits conferred upon her by Visākhā after constructing the Pubbārāma. She had a heavenly mansion that moved from place to place along with her.

The last story of the book is of the youth Magha who was born as Sakka in the heaven of the 'Thirty-three' (*Tāvatiṃsa*) as a result of meritorious deeds he had done as Magha, among them the construction of a hall called Sudhammā. The author gives a vivid description of Tāvatiṃsa heaven and its inhabitants.

Though the book is a translation of a Pali work, the primary sources of information have been numerous Pali texts such as the *Dīgha Nikāya*, *Theragāthā* and the *Vimānavatthu*. Apart from translating the Pali work, the author has also given ninety-three Pali stanzas quoted from other works to illustrate certain incidents.

The language of the *Āvāsa Dānānisaṃsa Prakaraṇaya* is for the most part highly sanskritised. The use of Sanskrit and Pali words even where the Sinhala words could have been used and the use of compounded phrases and long sentences is a common feature of this work. But when relating stories there is a certain degree of simplicity of language and originality in style. The social and cosmographical background depicted in the stories is ancient and Buddhistic, for information has been obtained from the various canonical works.

H.R.P.

ĀVĀSA-KAPPA, 'holding the *uposatha* ceremony in different residences (*āvāsa*) within the same boundary (*sīmā*) or parish is permissible', is one of the ten points discussed and rejected as not permissible at the second Buddhist council held at Vesālī. See DASAVATTHU.

U.K.

ĀVASATHA-CĪVARA, household robe, allowed for nuns during menstruation. See CĪVARA.

ĀVĀSIKA VAGGA, the twenty-fourth section (*vagga*) of the *Pañcaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. III, 261–7). It consists of ten short suttas on monks living in monasteries (*āvāsa*),

Each sutta refers either to five good qualities or five bad qualities of monks. The concluding stanza (*uddāna*) gives the names of the ten suttas.

H.R.P.

AVATAṂSAKA SCHOOL (Jap. Kegon-Shū). The word Avataṃsaka, probably derived from the Sanskrit root *taṃs*, to decorate oneself, prefixed with *ava*, etymologically means a small garland, a ring-shaped ornament. In the extant Sanskrit literature, both Vedic and classical, the word does not seem to have developed a preponderant secondary sense, which would attach a major significance to it. To the literary critic, however, the above-given etymological sense would appear to be suggestive of several secondary meanings, viz., beauty, felicity and luminosity, which are but latent and implicit. It is this secondary implication of the word, that seems to have attracted the mind of Mahāyāna Buddhists, who aptly ascribed the term *avataṃsaka* as the title to a collection of Mahāyāna sūtras. This set of sūtras had such a great influence on the adherents of Mahāyāna, that in course of time it became the firm foundation on which the entire edifice of the Avataṃsaka school of Mahāyāna thought was erected.

A historical retrospect of the Avataṃsaka school will show that, although India was the motherland of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Avataṃsaka school, even in its germinal stage cannot be traced back to India. But the story of Sudhana's pilgrimage, which forms the basis of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* version in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, is given in great detail in the *Divyāvadāna* and his journey is depicted in detailed sculptures in Java. It is in China that one has to find the origin of this sect. As a descendent of the Yogācāra school, the Avataṃsaka arose in China, and it claims to have been founded by Aśvaghoṣa himself.[1] However, it is only in Japan, that the Avataṃsaka developed into a full-fledged system of Buddhist thought.

The terms *Hua-yen* and *Kegon* are the Chinese and Japanese equivalents of Sanskrit *Avataṃsaka*. The principal doctrines of the Avataṃsaka school are derived from the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Jap. *Kegon-kyō*) the complete title of which is *Buddhāvataṃsa Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, wherein the mystic doctrines of the Buddha Mahāvairocana are minutely described.[2] This basic text of the *Avataṃsaka* is extant in three Chinese recensions, of which the Sanskrit originals of the first two are presumably lost and the last points to the *Gaṇḍavyūha* for its original. For details see AVATAṂSAKA SŪTRA.

In the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, the canon of this school, it is stated that the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī resides on the Ch'ing-liang mountain in China, and gives utterance to the supreme law, the *Saddharma*, at all times. This mountain is identified with the Wu t'ai (Five Heights) mountain, where exists the great Avataṃsaka monastery, sacred to Mañjuśrī. Numerous stories and legends are woven round Mañjuśrī who is pictured as the central figure among the bodhisattvas of the Avataṃsaka school. According to Japanese tradition, however, credit goes to Nāgārjuna, for bringing the whole collection of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtras* to light, from their hiding-place, the Anavatapta lake, through the kindness of the great nāga sage at the shrine of Ādibuddha.[3]

The basic scriptures of the Avataṃsaka were translated into Chinese by Buddhabhadra (Ka-Kugon) in 418 A.C. Inspiring the heart and thought of Chinese people, the new school was greatly in vogue under the Tsin (517–89 A.C.) dynasty and throughout the T'ang period. It is recorded that with the absorption of the Ti-lun school by the Avataṃsaka, there dawned a new era of Chinese Buddhism. Tradition ascribes the foundation of this school to Tu-Shun, whose priestly designation was Fa-shun. He was believed to be the incarnation of Mañjuśrī.[4] As a propagator of the Avataṃsaka doctrine he became highly reputed. In the establishment of the new school, introduced by Fa-shun, his able disciples played an important role, among whom is the famous Korean monk I-hsiang (625–702 A.C.) who founded the first Avataṃsaka school in Korea in 668. The philosophy of this school was finally systematised and regularised by the third patriarch Fa-tsang (643–712 A.C.), who is, therefore, said to be the real founder of the school. As an author, a translator and a preacher, the service rendered by him for the development and upliftment of the sect was tremendous.

Among his pupils who took to missionary activities, Shên-hsiang, Chên-kuan and Tao-hsüan stand significant, among whom the first, Shên-hsiang, is credited with the introduction of the Avataṃsaka doctrine into Japan (8th century A.C.).

1 Y. Sogen, ***Systems of Buddhist Thought***, p. 287.

2 J. Takakusu, ***Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*** (Indian edition, 1956), p. 116.

3 A. Lloyd, ***The Creed of Half Japan***, p. 165.

4 J. Takakusu, op. cit. p. 115.

Takakusu gives an interesting account of the development of the Avataṃsaka school in Japan.[5] It is said that in 477 an imperial prince went up the Ch'ing-liang mountain and burnt himself to death as token of his desire to meet Mañjuśrī. Later in 735, an Indian priest, Bodhisena, with a Malay-Indian musician, Fa-triet, went to the mountain also to meet Mañjuśrī. Being told that he was sojourning in the Far East, they crossed over into Japan and went to Osaka, where they were received by Gyōgi Bosatsu, whom they took to be Mañjuśrī himself, because of his learning and piety. Bodhisena and his companion were given some imperial grants and settled down in Nara There Bodhisena, as the officiating priest, performed the ceremony dedicated to the Grand Buddha (Mahā Vairocana) and became one of the founders of the Todai-ji (monastery). He resided in the Daian-ji (monastery) in Nara and taught the Avataṃsaka doctrine. In spite of the fact that the religious and the political aspects were confounded by the emperor Shōmu, whose intention was to rule Japan by the application of the totalistic principle of the Avataṃsaka (Kegon) school, the florescence of the Avataṃsaka of Japan is to be found in the Nara era, marked with the revival of the spiritual movement which was dormant till then. It is in this same period that the memorable monumental works (among which the Todai-ji , the sanctuary of the sect, stands prominent) were erected, which form the corner-stone of Avataṃsaka culture.[6]

Attempts were made by later teachers, Myōe of the Kamakura period and Hōtan in the Tokugawa period[7], though without success, to ramify the sect and to establish new schools and special institutes based on the fundamental doctrines of the Avataṃsaka (Kegon).

From the doctrinal point of view, the special feature of the Avataṃsaka (Kegon) lies in the fact that its canonical texts deal with the relation between one phenomenon and another, a topic which the Mādhyamika, Yogācāra and other Mahāyāna schools did not undertake to discuss.[8] The school in question marks the highest point of development of the Buddhist philosophy as professed by the eminent teachers of the Mahāyāna. Closely related to this school, mainly in its philosophical aspect, is the Tien-t'ai school. Both schools are described in terms of figurative expression as "the two most beautiful flowers in the garden of Buddhist thought, one (Tien-t'ai) called the orchid in the spring and the other (Avataṃsaka) the chrysanthemum in the autumn."[9] That they are the last and also the best products of Mahāyāna thought is the implication of the beautiful metaphor.

The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, which, in the conception of the Mahāyānists, embodies the highest doctrine of the Buddha, was according to tradition preached by the Tathāgata as soon as he attained Buddhahood at Gayā. Immersed in deep contemplation under the bodhi-tree, he realises in spiritual vision the inner secrets of all existence. The scene is graphically portrayed : all celestial beings assemble about the 'seat of enlightenment' (*bodhi-maṇḍa*) in adoration of the supremely Enlightented One, each of them bringing with him his characteristic brilliance and glories, to be fused into the all-illumining radiance of the Buddha himself. In other words, the whole cosmos here manifests a grand symphony of spiritual forces mutually pervasive and all joining in glorifying the Buddha. Expressed in philosophic terms, every existence is a reality in itself with its own nature and activity ; but these realities, though diverse in individual qualities, can perfect themselves by realising their ultimate communion with the Buddha and thereby make up the grand system of the universe.[10]

The Avataṃsaka school designates this sūtra, the *Mūladharmacakra* (Root Doctrine of Buddhism), and other sūtras with the exception of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, as the *Śākhādharmacakra* (Branch Doctrine). "Alas, alas," he is said to have declared, "all beings do not honour or see, because of their ignorance that they posses the same wisdom as the Tathāgatas. I will show them the Noble Path to enable them to become entirely free from false notions and attachment and shall make them realise that they possess in themselves the boundless wisdom which is, by no means, different from that of the Buddhas." It is said that the Buddha had to preach the 'Branch Doctrines', contained in the Āgamas, because many could not understand the 'Root Doctrine'.

The explanation of the universe as the manifestation of the One-Great Spirit (*ekacittāntaragata-dharmaloka*) is the principal doctrine of the Avataṃsaka. This one spirit is said to be infinite

5 op. cit. p. 109.

6 B. Steinilber Oberlin, *The Buddhist Sects of Japan*, p. 18.

7 J. Takakusu, op. cit. p. 117.

8 Y. Sogen, op. cit. p. 287.

9 loc. cit.

10 Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, p. 98.

and absolute, a seemingly parallel to the definition of Ātman-Brahman in the Upaniṣad philosophy. The one mind, which is also called *dharma-kāya*, has a fourfold activity (*caturdharmaloka*) : (1) the *dharmaloka* considered from the phenomenal (i.e. the objective) standpoint (Jap. *ji-hok-kai*), (2) the *dharmaloka* considered from the noumenal standoint (Jap. *ri-hok-kai*), the analytical view of the activity of the *dharmaloka*, which regards all things in the obje tive world as one : " Heaven and earth have the same source and all is one " and (3) the *dharmaloka* considered from the standpoint of identity between noumenon and phenomenon (Jap. *ji-ri-muge-hok-kai*, explanation of the law that ' one is many and many are one ') forms the third aspect of the *dharmaloka* phenomenology. The close relationship, harmony and interdependence of the noumenon on the phenomenon and *vice versa*, as regards cause and effect, action and reaction, is brought to light by this third doctrine of the Avataṃsaka. This fact is exemplified by the simile of the water and the waves. (4) The fourth aspect of the *dharmaloka* phenomenology is formed by the *dharmaloka* considered from the standpoint of identity of one phenomenon and another (Jap. *ji-ji-muge-hok-kai* : concord and harmony of all phenomena). " The discussion of this subject ", says Sogen, " entirely belongs to the Avataṃsaka school. Just as the different waves of the ocean are but manifestations of the self-same water, even so all phenomena are the manifestations of the one, original being, reality, noumenon, or spirit of life, as it is variously called, and hence their non-distinction, their identity. This is the conception of the Avataṃsaka. This doctrine of the equality among things animate and inanimate is the view of the fully-developed Mahāyānism."[11]

Thus, the entire system of Avataṃsaka philosophy revolves round the central doctrine of the school, viz., the theory of universal causation of *dharmadhātu*, which term is also used synonymously with ultimate truth. " The theory of causation by Dharmadhātu ", says Takakusu, " is the climax of all the causation theories ; it is actually the conclusion of the theory of causal origination, as it is the universal causation and is already within the theory of universal immanence, pansophism, cosmotheism, or whatever it may be called.[12] This *dharmadhātu* idea is also expressed by the term *Tathāgatagarbha*. Both express the theory that the universe is universally co-relative, interdependent and mutually originating, the dependence being both temporal and spatial.

' Truth is Buddha, and Buddha is truth', this is the concept of Buddhakāya in the Avataṃsaka sect. This supreme truth (identical with the Buddha), propounded and expounded in no nebulous terms by the Śākyamuni, becomes cosmic and extends far and wide, even to the very spirit and core of beings and non-beings alike. Even in a speck of dust the Buddha makes his luminous manifestation, which is the truth.[13] As denoted by the title of the canon of this school (*Mahā-vaipulya Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*, which is also called the *Mahāvairocana-Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*), the Buddha is infinite, all pervasive, ubiquitous and omnipotent. " He is the spirit of infinite life. He fills all the universe with himself alone, so that all is from him and in him, and there is nothing that is outside of him."[14] Buddha-kāya and Dharmakāya are one.

The establishment of a " harmonious whole of all beings having the perfectly enlightened Buddha as the centre "[15] is the primary object of the teaching of the Avataṃsaka school. The theory of selflessness (*anātman*) and the belief in the existence of Buddha-nature dormant in every being form the very basis of this totalistic principle of the Avataṃsaka school of Mahāyāna thought.

As regards the bodhisattvas, we see that Mañju (Mañjuśrī) and Fugen (Samantabhadra) are portrayed as the chief bodhisattvas in the Avataṃsaka conception of the world. Mañju, who stands for *prajñā*, is pictured as sitting on a lion, holding a sword which is meant to cut all intellectual and affectional entanglements in order to reveal the light of transcendental *prajñā*. Fugen, delineated as mounting an elephant, is supposed to be representative of *karuṇā*, love. In this connection Suzuki observes : " *Karuṇā* is contrasted with *prajñā* in that *prajñā* points to annihilation and identity, whereas *karuṇā* points to construction and multiplicity. The one is intellectual and the other emotional: the one unifies and the other diversifies."[16] See also KEGON-SHŪ.

The Avataṃsaka school aims at a world in which realities or practi al facts are interwoven in perfect harmony by mutual penetration and mutual identification. To elucidate the possibility of such

11 loc. cit.

12 J. Takakusu, op. cit. p. 118.

13 Y. Sogen, op. cit. pp. 292, 293.

14 Loc. cit.

15 J. Takakusu, op. cit. p. 122.

16 D. T. Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, p. 161.

an ideal world, the "Ten Profound Theories" have been set forth: 1. The theory of co-relation in which all things have co-existence and simultaneous rise. 2. The theory of perfect freedom in which all beings commune with each other without any obstacle. One action, however small, includes all actions. 3. The theory of mutual penetration of dissimilar things. Many in one, one in many, all in unity. 4. The theory of mutual identification which, in fact, is self-negation. One in All, All in One, the great and small moving harmoniously together. 5. The theory of complimentarity by which the hidden and the manifested make the whole by mutual supply. If one is inside, the other is outside. 6. The theory of construction by mutual penetration of minute and abstruse matters. 7. The theory of inter-reflection, e.g., jewels reflecting brilliance on one another. 8. The theory of elucidating the truth by factual illustrations. Truth is manifested in fact. 9. The theory of 'variously completing ten time-periods creating one entity', the 'vertical connection' of all beings separated in periods of time. 10. The theory of completion of virtues by which the chief and the retinue work together harmoniously.

These theories mean general interdependence, universal relativity, causes and effects being interwoven everywhere, a world of dynamic becoming, based on selflessness (*anātmatā*), one perfect whole, an all-comprehensive *maṇḍala* (circle) and the cycle of permanent wave, illumined by the great compassionate Sun-Buddha (Vairocana). The ideal world in perfection is called the Lotus-store or the universe of one truth, or the world illumined by the Buddha, the Perfectly Enlightened.

Being a primary source of spiritual inspiration for the Buddhists of Japan, the Avataṃsaka school saw its climax during the Nara era (circa 8th century A.C.) after which it declined in influence, yielding place to the all-embracing Shingon-Tendai sect.[17]

W.S.Kr.

AVATAṂSAKA SŪTRA (華嚴經 *Hua-yen-ching*), the full Sanskrit name of which is *Buddhāvataṁsaka-mahavaipulya-sūtra*, is a text revealed by the Buddha, after attaining enlightenment at the site of the bodhi-tree and elsewhere, through the agency of Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī and many other great bodhisattvas. Here he speaks of the causative deeds of a Buddha and their resulting merits, very much like a garland of miscellaneous flowers—*avataṃsa* means a ring-shaped ornament—and propounded the vast, perfect, inexhaustible and irresistible tenets of this sūtra.

There are three translations of this sūtra in Chinese:

1. By Buddhabhadra in East Tsin dynasty, which is called 大方廣佛華嚴經 (*Ta-fang-kuang-fu-hua-yen-ching*) in 60 fascicles and which in order to be distinguished from the later T'ang translation, is also called the *old version of Hua-yen* or *Hua-yen in 60 fascicles* (*Taishō*, No. 278). 2. By Śikṣānanda in Wu-chou 武周 times of T'ang dynasty. Its title is the same as that of the above. It contains 80 fascicles and is also called *the new version of Hua-yen*, or *Hua-yen in 80 fascicles* (*Taishō*, No. 279). 3. By Prajña during the Chên-yüan 貞元 reign of the T'ang dynasty. Its Chinese title is the same as that of the two previous versions. It contains only 40 fascicles. Its name in Chinese is *Ta-fang-kuang-fu-hua-yên-ching* (*Gaṇḍavyūha: Taishō*, No. 293).

The Sanskrit text of the first translation originally contained 36,000 ślokas and was brought back by Chih Fa-lin 支法領 from Khotan. The translation was begun by Buddhabhadra on the tenth day of the third month in the 14th year of I-hsi's reign (418 A. C.) at Tao-chang monastery in Yang-tu (now Nanking). He orally translated the Sanskrit text into Chinese; Fa-yeh wrote it down; Hui-yen, Hui-kuan and others polished the composition while two officials, Meng-yi and Chu Shu-tu, acted as patrons. The work was finished on the 10th day of the sixth month of the second year of Yüan-hsi's reign (420 A.C.) and the re-checking was not completed till the next year (see the postscript to *the Collection of the Records of the Translations of the Tripiṭaka* 出三藏記集 *Ch'u-san-tsang-chi-chi*, fasc. IX). At first the translation was divided into 50 fascicles, but later it was redivided into 60. It consisted of 34 chapters and was based on the idea that the texts were preached in seven places and in eight assemblies. Later, in 680 (the first year of Yung-lung of the T'ang dynasty). Divākara and Dharmagupta re-checked the text and found that in the translation of *the chapter Gaṇḍavyūha* (which is called in Chinese translation *On Entering into Dharmadhātu: Ju-fa-chieh-p'in* 入法界品) there were paragraphs beginning from "Māyā" and ending at "Bodhisattva Maitreya" missing and they filled

17 A. Lloyd, op. cit. p. 165.

them in accordingly (see *Records on Searching the Depth of Hua-yen-ching : Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan-chi*, 華嚴經探玄記 fascicle 1). This is the version of *the Hua-yen in 60 fascicles* now extant.

The original Sanskrit text of the second translation contained 45,000 ślokas and was brought back from Khotan by a special messenger sent by empress Wu Tsê-t'ien. In the meantime a master of Tripiṭaka of that country, Śikṣānanda, was invited to come to China. On the 14th day of the third month of the first year of Chêng-shêng (695), he began the translation in the Ta-pien-k'ung monastery of Lo-yang. Empress Wu personally came to the site of the translation and first wrote out the titles of the chapters by way of an opening ceremony. Both Bodhiruci and I-Ching read out the Sanskrit text; Fu-li, Fa-tsang and others took part in writing down the translation and polishing the composition. On the 18th day of the tenth month of the second year of the Sheng-li reign (699), the translation work was finished at the Fu-shou-chi monastery (see the *Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books of the K'ai-yüan Period* 開元釋教錄 *K'ai-yüan-shih-chiao-lu* fasc. ix). This version contains 80 fascicles and is divided into thirty-nine chapters. This was based on the idea that the texts were preached in seven places (like the older translation) and in nine assemblies (the additional assembly being at the *All-permeating Light Dharma Hall*). Later, Fa-tsang discovered that in the chapter *On Entering into Dharmadhātu* some lines had been left out. Then he and Divākara collated the Sanskrit text and found the omitted portion at the beginning of the eightieth fascicle, between "Bodhisattva Maitreya" and "the good friends as numerous as the atoms contained in the chiliocosms of three grades" and they inserted there fifteen lines starting with "Mañjuśrī stretched his hand to stroke Sudhana's crown". (See *Commentary on Hua-yen-ching*, 華嚴經疏 *Hua-yen-ching-shu* fasc. 3 and *Brief Course on Hua-yen-ching* 華嚴經略策 *Hua-yen-ching-liao-t'sê*). This translation is *the Hua-yen in 80 fascicles* now prevalent.

The original Sanskrit text of the third translation comprised 16,700 ślokas (see the *Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books of the Chên-yüan Period : Chên-yüan-shih-chiao-lu*, 貞元釋教錄 fasc. 17) and was presented as a tribute by the king of Uḍa in south India who personally wrote the manuscript and sent a special envoy to present it to the Chinese emperor in the eleventh month of the eleventh year of the Chên-yüan reign (795). In the sixth month of the next year emperor Tê-tsung ordered Prajñā, a master of Tripiṭaka from Kaśmīra, to translate it at Ch'ung-fu monastery, in Chang-an. Kuang-chi transmitted the words; Yüan-chao wrote down the translation; Chih-jou and Chih-t'ung transposed the order of words wherever necessary; Tao-hung and Ling-chien polished the composition; Tao-chang and Ta-Tao checked the meaning; Ch'êng-Kuan, Ling-Sui and others made the detailed examination and gave the final settlement. In the second month of the fourteenth year (798) the translation was completed in forty fascicles. The contents of *The Chapter on Entering into Dharmadhātu* were checked with both the older and new versions, but the number of words was greatly increased; especially in the fortieth fascicle the ten great vows of Samantabhadra and the newly increased stanzas about the great pure vows of Samantabhadra were not to be found in the two previous versions.

The account so far given is about the three Chinese translations of this sūtra. Besides these, there are also many translations of a particular chapter or parts of the sūtra into Chinese. In the middle of the second century A.C., during the Later Han dynasty, Chi-lou-chia-ch'an translated the *Tou-sha-ching* 兜沙經 in one fascicle. This was the beginning of separate and partial translations of this sūtra. Later on, Chi-ch'ien of the Wu State, Dharmarakṣita and Nieh Tao-chên of the West Tsin dynasty and many others in the East Tsin, the South-and-North dynasties, the Sui and the T'ang dynasties, all translated parts or sections of the sūtra. According to *The Records on Hua-yen-ching* (華嚴經傳記 *Hua-yen-ching-chuan-chi*) fasc. 1, written by Fa-tsang, there were altogether 35 separate translations of this kind. Those which are still extant can be compared with their corresponding chapters in the T'ang versions. (The titles of chapters given in the brackets in the following are those of T'ang versions.)

1. *Tou-sha Sūtra*, 1 fascicle (*chapter on Tathāgata's names and chapter on full enlightenment*) translated by Chi Lou-chia-ch'an in the Later Han dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 280).
2. *Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the original actions of the bodhisattvas*, 1 fascicle (*chapters on pure deeds and ten stations*) trsl. by Chi Chien of the Wu State (*Taishō*, No. 281).
3. *Sūtra on original deeds of bodhisattvas for acquiring Buddhahood*, 1 fascicle (*chap. on pure deeds*) trsl. by Nieh Tao-chen in the West Tsin dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 282).
4. *Sūtra on the ways of practice in the ten stations of the bodhisattvas*, 1 fascicle (*chap. on ten stations*) trsl. by Dharmarakṣita in the West Tsin dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 283).

5. *Sūtra on the ten stations of bodhisattvas*, 4 fascicles (loc.cit.) trsl. by Gītamitra in the East Tsin dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 284).

6. *Sūtra on making gradually complete all wisdom and virtue*, 5 fascicles (*chap. on Daśabhūmi*) trsl. by Dharmarakṣita (*Taishō*, No. 285).

7. *Sūtra on the ten stations*, 4 fascicles (loc.cit.) trsl. by Kumārajīva in the Later Ch'in dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 286).

8. *Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on Daśabhūmi*, 9 fascicles (loc. cit.) trsl. by Śīladharma in the T'ang dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 287).

9. *Sūtra on the samādhi asked by the bodhisattva Samacakṣus*, 3 fascicles (*chap. on ten concentrations*) trsl. by Dharmarakṣita (*Taishō*, No. 288).

10. *Sūtra showing the boundless merits of the Buddha's Land*, 1 fascicle (*chap. on longevity*) trsl. by Hsüan-tsang in the T'ang dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 289).

11. *Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on comparing the merits of all Buddha-worlds*, 1 fascicle (loc. cit.) trsl. by Dharmabhadra in the Sung dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 290).

12. *Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the appearance of the Tathāgata*, 4 fascicles (*chap. on the appearance of Tathāgata*) trsl. by Dharmarakṣita (*Taishō*, No. 291).

13. *Sūtra on ferrying across 'the stream of existence'*, 6 fascicles (*chap. on leaving the world*) trsl. by Dharmarakṣita (*Taishō*, No. 292).

14. *Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on Rāmaka*, 3 fascicles (*chap. on entering into Dharmadhātu*) trsl. by Shêng-chien in the West Ch'in dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 294).

15. *Sūtra on Mañjuśrī's vows*, 1 fascicle (loc. cit.) trsl. by Buddhabhadra in the East Tsin dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 296).

16. *The chapter on entering into Dharmadhātu in the Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*, 1 fascicle (loc. cit.) trsl. by Divākara in the T'ang dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 295).

17. *Buddhāvataṃsaka-tathāgataguṇācintyāvatāra-nirdeśa*, 2 fascicles (*the assembly at the all-permeating Light Dharma Hall*) trsl. by Jñānagupta in the Sui dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 303).

18. *Tathāgataguṇajñānācintyāvatāra-nirdeśa*, 1 fascicle (loc. cit.) trsl. by Śikṣānanda in the T'ang dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 304).

19. *Sūtra on the Tathāgata's inconceivable world*, 1 fascicle (a separate text of *Hua-yen-ching*) trsl. by Śikṣānanda (*Taishō*, No. 301).

20. *The part on the Acintyaviṣaya in the Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, 1 fascicle (loc. cit.) trl. by Devaprajñā in the T'ang dynasty (*Taishō*, No. 300).

21. *A part on the practice of compassion in the Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, 1 fascicle (loc. cit.) trsl. by Devaprajñā (*Taishō*, No. 306).

22. *Mahāvaipulya-sūtra spoken by Samantabhadra* (loc. cit.) trsl. by Śikṣānanda (*Taishō*, No. 298).

Of the three translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, that of Prajñā in 40 fascicles is also another text of *the chapter on Entering into Dharmadhātu*.

The Tibetan translation of the sūtra was done by the Indians Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi and the Tibetan Ye-śes-sde. It was called *Sańs-rgyas phal-po-che shes-bya-ba śin-tu-rgyas-pa chen-poḥi mdo* and was checked by Vairocana-rakṣita. It consists of 115 fascicles (according to Snar-than edition 130 fascicles; according to Sde-dge edition 116 fascicles) and is divided into 45 chapters. The first 44 chapters correspond to the first 38 chapters of the T'ang version (in 80 fascicles), while the forty-fifth chapter corresponds to the thirty-ninth chapter *On Entering into Dharmadhātu* of the T'ang version. Compared with the Chinese translation the Tibetan version has two extra chapters, viz., the eleventh and the thirty-second.

According to what is told in the Liang translation of *The Commentaries on Mahāyāna-Saṅgraha-śāstra* (15th fasc.) the Sanskrit text of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* contains 100,000 ślokas and is therefore called *The One-hundred-thousand-sūtra*. Again it is stated in the first fascicle of *The Records on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: "The master of Tripiṭaka, Paramārtha, said that the tales of the Western Regions said that Nāgārjuna went to the Dragon's Palace and saw three texts of the *Avataṃsaka, the Great Inconceivable Liberation Sūtra*: the longest text contained ślokas as numerous as the atomic particles of ten chiliocosm of three grades and chapters as numerous as those of the four spheres; the middle text contained 498,800 ślokas in 1200 chapters; the smallest text contained 100,000 ślokas in 48 chapters. As the longest and the middle texts were beyond the power of ordinary mortals to comprehend, they lay hidden and were not propagated; only the smallest text was made prevalent in India." Here the statement that the smallest text prevalent in India contained 100,000 ślokas entirely agrees with what is told in the one hundredth fascicle of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* which says that the *Inconceivable Liberation*

Sūtra contained 100,000 ślokas and also agrees with what is told in the *Postscript to Hua-yen-ching in 60 fascicles* which says that the Sanskrit text of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* contained 100,000 ślokas. This proves that the sūtra was also entitled the *Inconceivable Liberation Sūtra* and that its whole text contained 100,000 ślokas and that the *Hua-yen ching in 40 fascicles* is only a part of it. The 17th fascicle of the *Chen-yüan Catalogue* says: "The Sanskrit text of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya Sūtra* was contained in six 'baskets' containing altogether 100,000 ślokas. The 80 fascicles of the T'ang translation comprise the second basket. The text now presented by the king of south India corresponds to the third basket (i.e., the text of the *Hua-yen-ching in 40 fascicles* translated by Prajñā) containing 16,700 ślokas." Again, the *Post-script to the Hua-yen-ching in 40 fascicles* also says that the Sanskrit text was the manuscript copy by the king of Uḍa of south India of the *Chapter on Samantabhadra's Vows* in which Sudhana, as a result of his discipleship to well-informed masters as numerous as the atoms of the Buddha-Land, particularly to the fifty-five saints, entered the inconceivable worlds, and which is taken out of the 100,000 ślokas of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya Sūtra*. Moreover, if we refer to Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna*, its commentaries by Vajrasena and Sthiramati and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* written by Śāntideva, we find that citations have been made of many stanzas in *Ratnolkādhāraṇī* (i. e., the *Chapter on Bhadraśrī* of this sūtra). We can thus easily imagine that *Entering into Dharmadhātu* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*), *Daśabhūmi* and many other chapters were disseminated as separate sūtras in ancient India. Among these, *Entering into Dharmadhātu* and *Daśabhūmi* were two of the nine Vaipulya-sūtras which were generally taught and recited by Buddhists in Nepal. Consequently, in that country the Sanskrit text of these two chapters has always been preserved. In the middle of the nineteenth century the Sanskrit text of the two chapters and other canonical works in Sanskrit were brought from Nepal into India, England, France, Japan, etc. and many critical editions have been published in those countries. Thus, we have J. Rahder's and R. Kondo's collated editions (Paris, 1926; Tokyo, 1936) of the *Daśabhūmīśvara*; D. Suzuki's and H. Izumi's collated edition (Kyoto, 1934-6) of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and K. Watanabe's collated edition (Leipzig, 1902) of the *Bhadracarī-praṇidhānarāja*. As to the Sanskrit text of other chapters, they have been probably all lost or at least have not been discovered up to the present.

Of the three Chinese translations of this sūtra the T'ang translation in 80 fascicles is the most eloquent and expressive and its chapters are comparatively more complete. Therefore, it is the one most prevalent in China. Based on this translation a brief account of its contents is given below:

The T'ang translation (in 80 fascicl s) is a combination of doctrines preached in nine as emblies. The first assembly tells us how the Buddha attained his enlightenment on the site of the bodhi-tree; how the site of the bodhi was decorated with innumerable jewels; how the Buddha Vairocana sat on his diamond throne, bright with his perfect, infinite merits; how bodhisattvas, nārāyaṇas, devas and others, as numerous as the atoms making up the worlds of the ten directions, and equipped with limitless merits, all came together in a moment and chanted anthems in praise of the Buddha; how all the worlds in the sea of Pure Lands (Flower-Womb Worlds) simultaneously turned into the Buddha's World (chap. i, *The Glorious Decorations of the Lords of all Worlds*). The bodhisattvas and the lords of all the worlds praised the Buddha by singing hymns. The Buddha showed auspicious features, radiated light, chanted hymns and revealed supernatural powers. Sarvadharma Jinaśrāva and other bodhisattvas all sang hymns to extol the Buddha (chap. ii, *Tathāgata revealing His Characteristics*). In the meantime the bodhisattva Samantabhadra entered the *buddha-samādhi* and all Buddhas praised him and each of them stroked his crown. When he came out of his samādhi, the Tathāgatas from all the ten directions radiated light and chanted hymns to praise him and all the bodhisattvas joined in one accord (chap. iii, *Samantabhadra's Samādhi*). Samantabhadra, relying on the mysterious power of the Buddha, related ten events about the sea of worlds to innumerable bodhisattvas on the site of the bodhi, describing the appearances and causes of formation of kṣetras (worlds) in all the ten directions (chap. iv, *The Formation of Worlds*). Samantabhadra again spoke about the infinite, precious and embellishing merits which Vairocana in past incarnations had cultivated in order to beautify and purify the sea of Flower-Womb Worlds, and about the adornments and the names of Buddhas in them (chap. v, *Flower-Womb Worlds*). Again, he said that this was the effect of the boundless deeds and infinite merits which Vairocana in his past birth as the 'great effulgent prince' had accomplished in paying tribute to all Buddhas (hap. vi, *Vairocana*).

In the second assembly, the Buddha sat on the lotus-throne in the palace of universal light and showed supernatural powers, while bodhisattvas from the ten directions came to join the assembly. Mañjuśrī, by relying upon the awe-inspiring power of the Buddha, told them of the names and epithets of Buddhas and said that owing to the difference in the knowing and perceiving faculties of sentient beings. there were differently named Buddhas preaching different texts to them (chap. vii, *Names of Tathāgatas*). Again, he talked about the different names used in this Sahā-lokadhātu for the Four Noble Truths: suffering, its cause, its extinction and the way to such extinction, and he talked about their different names in all the worlds of the ten directions; with these Four Noble Truths the mind of all sentient beings could be disciplined and brought into meekness (chap. viii, *Four Noble Truths*). At this time, from the two feet of the Buddha there radiated light shining in the ten directions and showing the Buddha's work of transforming all beings there. Mañjuśrī chanted hymns to praise the Buddha's infinite merits and vows (chap. ix, *Bright Enlightenment*). He again repeatedly, questioned and answered nine bodhisattvas about how to approach the ten kinds of the most profound Buddhist doctrines (chap. x, *Bodhisattvas asking for Illumination*). In answering the question raised by bodhisattva Jñānaśrī, Mañjuśrī enumerated 140 pure vows and deeds which a bodhisattva should take and perform in regulating his bodily, oral and mental activities and even in keeping silence in order to benefit all sentient beings (chap. xi, *Pure Deeds*). Replying to Manjuśrī's questions, Bhadraśrī said in hymns that a bodhisattva should cultivate unlimited superior merits, be sincere in his belief and loyal to his vows, and bring his samādhi and wisdom to perfection, etc. (chap. xii, *Bhadraśrī*).

In the third assembly the Buddha, without leaving the bodhi tree, ascended to the palace of Indra on the top of Mt. Sumeru. The lord of devas decked the palace and invited the enlightened one to the throne and sang his praises with the gods of many heavens (chap. xiii, *Ascending to the top of Mt. Sumeru*). Dharmamati and innumerable other bodhisattvas all came to the assembly and chanted hymns in consonance, to extol the boundless superior merits cultivated by the Buddha (chap. xiv, *Chanting Hymns on the Top of Mt Sumeru*). Depending on the majestic power of the Buddha, the bodhisattva Dharmamati entered the 'infinitely-convenient' samādhi wherein all Buddhas praised him and stroked his crown. Coming out of his intense contemplation, he talked about the doctrines of the ten dwellings and about the ten methods of hearing and cultivation in each dwelling (chap. xv, *Ten Dwellings*). At this time the deva Samyaksmṛti came to ask questions and Dharmamati told him of various methods of the contemplation on *animitta* (nothingness) for cultivating pure living (chap. xvi, *Pure Living*). Again, Indra put to him questions and he explained the infinite merits which a bodhisattva can get at the beginning of his career in search of bodhi and said that one who has made up his mind to acquire bodhi is on an equal footing with the Buddha, but he added that in reality nothing is to be acquired (chap. xvii, *The merits of first making up Bodhi-citta*). When Vīryamati asked him how a bodhisattva, having conceived his *bodhicitta* should cultivate himself, he gave an account of the methods and the achievements of the tenfold effort and the resultant ten purities, ten Buddha's delights, ten ways of tranquil dwelling, ten ways of entering the Daśabhūmi, ten ways of doing pure deeds, ten pure vows, ten ways of fulfilling the great vows and ten inexhaustible treasures (chap. xviii, *Elucidating the Dharmas*).

The fourth assembly. At this time the Buddha ascended to the palace of Yama-deva. The deva decked his throne and invited the Tathāgata to sit on it amidst a chorus of encomiums (chap. xix, *Ascending to the Palace of Yamadeva*). The bodhisattva Guṇavana and innumerable other bodhisattvas flocked to the assembly. Ten great bodhisattvas chanted hymns to praise the vows, performances and merits of the Buddha, which had their beneficial effects permeating the whole Dharmadhātu (chap. xx, *Chanting Hymns in the Palace of Yamadeva*). By relying upon the Buddha's majestic power the bodhisattva Guṇavana entered the 'good-thinking' samādhi. Thereupon, all the Buddhas praised him and stroked his crown. When coming out of intense contemplation, he extensively explained the methods of the ten practices of bodhisattvas and distinguished their special characteristics one by one (chap. xxi, *Ten Practices*). He also talked to the bodhisattvas about the mental activities leading to ten inexhaustible treasures, thereby enabling their attainments (chap. xxii, *Ten Inexhaustible Treasures*).

The fifth assembly. The Buddha ascended to Tuṣita-loka where the reigning deva adorned his throne and invited the Tathāgata to sit on it amidst a chorus of encomiums (chap. xxiii, *Ascending to the Palace of Tuṣitadeva*). Vajradhvaja and nine great bodhisattvas and numerous other bodhisattvas, came from the worlds of the ten Buddhas,

each singing hymns to extol the Buddha's virtues (chap. xxiv, *Chanting Hymns in the Palace of Tuṣita-loka*). Relying upon the majestic power of the Buddha, Vajradhvaja entered the 'wisdom-light' samādhi. Thereupon, all the Buddhas praised him and stroked his crown. Coming out of the samādhi he extensively explained to the bodhisattvas the methods of ten turnings (*pariṇāmanā*) towards the great bodhi and distinguished one by one the characteristics of their cultivation (chap. xxv, *Ten Turnings towards "Great Bodhi"*).

The sixth assembly. The Buddha was in the Muṇi Palace of Paranirmita-vaśavartin, made of pearls, and great bodhisattvas from worlds of different directions came to the assembly. Owing to the Buddha's majestic power the bodhisattva Vajragarbha entered the 'great-wisdom-light' samādhi. Thereupon, all the Buddhas praised him and stroked his crown. Coming out from his intense contemplation he spoke out the names of the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*). At this time Vimukticandra and other bodhisattvas requested him to give explanations. The Buddha radiated light on him to increase his supernormal power. Vajragarbha then talked to the assembled bodhisattvas about the deep doctrines of entering the Daśabhūmi and their particular characteristics (chap. xxvi, *Daśabhūmi*).

The seventh assembly. The Buddha was in the palace of all-permeating light. The bodhisattva Samantanetra asked the Buddha how Samantabhadra brilliantly developed his samādhi. Instead of telling him directly, the Enlightened One referred him to Samantabhadra himself to explain it. At this juncture all present wished to see this great bodhisattva and prostrated themselves in token of earnest expectation. Then Samantabhadra made his appearance by means of his supernatural power and talked with them about the profound methods of the ten kinds of samādhi (chap. xxvii, *Ten Kinds of Samādhi*). Again he spoke before the assembly about the ten ubiquitous supernatural powers (chap. xxviii, *Ten Ubiquitous Supernatural Powers*), and the ten kinds of patience attained through dharma to overcome all illusions (chap. xxix, *Ten Kinds of Patience through Dharma* to the overcoming of Illusion). Then, on the request of the bodhisattva Cittarāja, the Buddha talked about the innumerable and unspeakable events and laws of both the mundane and the supramundane dharmas (chap. xxx, *Asaṅkhya*). The bodhisattva Cittarāja then talked about the longevity of all Buddha-worlds and compared their differences in years (chap. xxxi, *Longevity*). Again, he told them the names of the places where the bodhisattvas of the ten directions and their retinues lived and of those places where they used to live and preach (chap. xxxii, *Bodhisattvas' Living Places*). At this time, as the bodhisattvas in the whole assembly wished to know about the original vows, lineages (*varṇa*), manifestations, bodies, voices, wisdom, freedom, dynamic omnipresence and emancipation found in Buddha-lands, the Buddha empowered the bodhisattva Utpalagarbha to talk extensively to the bodhisattva Padmagarbha about the ten inconceivable means which the Buddha used (chap. xxxiii, *The Buddha's Inconceivable Dharmas*). Then, Samantabhadra described the Buddha's physical characteristics as innumerable as the particles of the ten Flower-Womb Worlds and particularly the 97 major characteristics (chap. xxxiv, *The Tathāgata's Personal Features*). The Buddha told Ratnapāṇi that each of his minor features could radiate light to illuminate the whole Dharmadhātu and extricate suffering beings from the hells and bring them up to Tuṣitaloka and even enable them to achieve the great, boundless merits of Daśabhūmi (chap. xxxv, *The Merits of the Light of the Tathāgata's Minor Features*). The bodhisattva Samantabhadra told the audience that the Buddha made his appearances in the world with the deliberate purpose of liberating all sentient beings from the bondage of the wheel of birth and death and that anger is the great obstacle to the understanding and cultivating of millions of dharmas and deeds, and that one should diligently cultivate ten dharmas, possess ten purities, ten kinds of great wisdom and ten kinds of universal penetration, undergo ten stages of superior and subtle contemplation and thereby attain ten kinds of the Buddha's expedient wisdom (chap. xxxvi, *Samantabhadra's Deeds*). At this juncture the Buddha radiated from the midst of his eye-brows a light, called the Tathāgata-light, while making his appearance. The bodhisattva Tathāgataniyātaguṇa begged the Buddha to preach his great doctrine. Thereupon, the Buddha radiated light into the mouth of Samantabhadra. Acting on this hint, the latter then said extensively that the Buddha could make his appearance through ten kinds of innumerable phenomena and that he had attained his Buddhahood as a result of the innumerable deeds performed during ten immeasurable *asaṅkhyas*. When Samantabhadra finished his discourse all Buddhas praised him and gave predictions to all those who were present in the assembly. Finally, the great bodhisattva chanted

hymns to encourage the audience to accept and keep in mind what he had said (chap. xxxvii, *The Appearance of the Tathāgata*).

The eighth assembly. The Buddha was in the Palace of all-permeating light. When Samantabhadra came out from the 'buddha-flower-decorated' samādhi into which he had entered, Samantamati asked him about the bodhisattva's confidence and deeds and about the Buddha's entering Parinirvāṇa and many other questions which altogether amounted to two hundred. To each question he gave ten answers, thus showing two thousand ways of approaching the 'dharma'. All Buddhas expressed their delight. Then, he used hymns to repeat what he had said about the bodhisattva's meritorious deeds (chap. xxxviii, *On Leaving the World*).

The ninth assembly. The Buddha was in Jetavana vihāra with a gathering of five hundred great bodhisattvas, headed by Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, great śrāvakas and innumerable lords of worlds. The Buddha with his great compassion entered the 'lion's yawning' samādhi and radiated all-permeating light. Innumerable bodhisattvas from worlds of the ten directions flocked to the assembly, each paying tribute with miraculous offerings which even the great śrāvakas could neither know nor see. The ten great bodhisattvas sang hymns to praise the Buddha. The bodhisattva Samantabhadra then talked about the ten ways of entering the 'lion's yawning' samādhi. The Buddha revealed various supernatural powers, various methods to enlightenment and various kinds of samādhi. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī chanted hymns to express his admiration and the bodhisattvas all learned and acquired the innumerable methods of showing great compassion so as to benefit and bless all sentient beings in the worlds of the ten directions. Now the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and a great many other bodhisattvas took leave of the Buddha and went southward. Arhat Śāriputra and six thousand bhiksus, owing to the Buddha's supernatural power, made up their mind to accompany them. They all went to the 'City of Bliss' and in the Śāla Grove on the east of the city, preached the doctrine in the temple with a great stūpa. At this time Sudhana and two thousand persons came forward to hear them and, as a result of this, all of them conceived their desire for enlightenment, *bodhicitta*. Sudhana in particular most earnestly wished to seek the path leading to bodhi and sang hymns to ask for further instruction. Mañjuśrī told him to seek well-informed friends. Sudhana then went gradually southward and paid visits to bhikṣu Guṇanmegha, bodhisattva Maitreya and many others, making a total of fifty-three, from whom he learned innumerable methods of acquiring *amṛta*. At last he met the bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Because of the latter's instruction, he realised step by step the infinite actions and vows which the great bodhisattva had done before him and he finally realised the Dharmadhātu. In the end Samantabhadra chanted hymns to praise the Buddha's 'sea of merits' (chap. xxxix, *Entering into Dharmadhātu*).

The above is but a brief account of the contents of the nine assemblies, in thirty-nine chapters, of the new translation of the sūtra. In the old translation in sixty fascicles there are only eight assemblies in thirty-four chapters. Because the old translation misses the chapter on *Ten Kinds of Samādhi* and regards the eleven chapters succeeding the chapter on *Daśabhūmi* as forming the sixth assembly, it lacks one assembly. Again the five chapters in the new translation following the chapter on *The Tathāgata Revealing His Characteristics* are included in the chapter on *Vairocana* in the old translation. Consequently, the difference between the two versions is that of one assembly and five chapters.

Since a new translation of this sūtra had been made in the eighth century, almost all scholars in China based their studies, discussions and commentaries on it. But before it made its appearance even the commentaries of Hsien-shou Fa-tsang of the T'ang dynasty had been generally based on the sixty-fascicle version of the Tsin dynasty. Therefore, when this well-known master wrote his *Records on Searching the Depth of Truth* and *An Outline of the Meanings* (*Wên-i-kang-mu* 文義綱目) he used the old translation and divided it into five parts: 1, On the Causes and Conditions of the Teaching (chapter i, in old version, on *The Pure Eye of the World*) which serves as the introduction to the sūtra; 2, The fruit and bliss of the Buddha with the purpose of awakening belief (chapter ii, in the old version, on *Vairocana*) which reveals the fruitful virtues and the past causal deeds of Vairocana in order to persuade listeners to believe; 3, On the Cause corresponding to the Effect so as to promote understanding (in the old version, thirty chapters beginning from chapter iii, *Names of Tathāgata* and ending at chapter xxxii, *Appearance of the Gem King Tathāgata from His Essence*) which reveals the causal deeds of ten beliefs, ten dwellings, ten practices, ten turnings towards the great bodhi and the causal deeds of ten stages and their corresponding fruits of

buddhahood in order to arouse the listeners' understanding; 4, On Cultivation by adhering to the Law (chapter xxxiii, in the old version, on *Leaving the World*) which reveals the methods of cultivation which a bodhisattva should adopt in order to bring his deeds to perfection; 5, On realising Dharmadhātu and perfecting virtues by relying upon well-informed friends (chapter xxxiv, in the old version, on *Entering into Dharmadhātu*) which shows how one, through the teachings of well-informed friends, can realise the Dharmadhātu and achieve the merits of Nirvāṇa. Again, Hsien-shou Fa-tsang pronounced the contents of the sūtra as dealing with the fivefold cause-and-effect: 1, The believed causes and effects (in the old version, the chapter on *Vairocana*); 2, The different causes and different effects (in the old version, the 25 chapters from *Names of the Buddha* to *Bodhisattvas' Living Places* which give the different causes, while the 3 chapters from *Buddha's Inconceivable Dharmas* to *Light and Merits of Buddha's Minor Features* deal with the different effects); 3, Undifferentiated causes and effects (in the old version, the chapter on *Bodhisattva Samantabhadra's Deeds* gives the undifferentiated causes, while the chapter on the *Appearance of the Tathāgata* deals with the undifferentiated effects); 4, The causes and effects of perfecting the deeds (in the old version, the chapter on *Leaving the World*); 5, The causes and effects of realising the Dharmadhātu (in the old version, the chapter on *Entering into Dharmadhātu*). Later the famous Buddhist scholar Chêng Kuan in his *Commentary on Hua-yen-ching* (華嚴經疏 fascicle 4) also adopted this theory of five parts and fivefold cause-and-effect to divide and comprehend the contents of the 80 fascicles, i.e., 39 chapters of the new translation. And this pronouncement has been prevalent among scholars of the Hsien-shou school (i.e., Hua-yen school) ever since Hsien-shou Fa-tsang first announced it.

Furthermore, commentators in the past also divided this sūtra into three parts, i.e., the introduction, the contents proper and the advice for its propagation. Generally, the first chapter is regarded as the introduction; the chapters coming after *Vairocana* (new version: *Tathāgata Revealing His Characteristics*) form the contents proper. As regards the part on the advice for propagation, opinions differ. For example, Hui-kuang of the North Wei dynasty regarded *Entering into Dharmadhātu* as the advice for propagation. Hui-yüan of the Sui dynasty thought that only the texts beginning from Sudhana in *Entering into Dharmadhātu* are meant to be the advice. Ling-yü of the Sui dynasty regarded the last hymn to be the advice; and some people even regarded the last two hymns in the last chapter as the advice. Some scholars have said that, as the text of this sūtra is not complete, therefore the advice is lacking. Some have regarded other kindred sūtras as the advice of this sūtra. Still others have said that as the dharmas dealt with in this sūtra are inexhaustible and endless, so there is no final advice for its dissemination. Ch'êng-kuan in his *Commentary on Hua-yen-ching* (fascicle 4) regarded Ling-yü's theory as the most reasonable. Consequently the theory concerning three parts with the last hymn in *Entering into Dharmadhātu* as the advice for propagation has ever been in vogue in the Hua-yen school.

So far as the main thesis of the sūtra is concerned there were also many different views advanced in the past. For instance, T'an-yen of the Ch'i dynasty has said that the chief tenet is about the 'unhindered Dharmadhātu.' Ling-yü held that the chief tenet is about the world of the 'very deep Dharmadhātu'. Some say that the chief tenet is causal or an igination; others that the theory of 'consciousness-only' is the chief tenet this sūtra aims to propound. The two masters, Min and Yin of the T'ang dynasty, maintained the theory about cause-and-effect being its chief tenet. Hui-yüan of the Sui dynasty regarded 'flower-ornament' samādhi as the chief tenet, Dharmagupta (also of the Sui dynasty) regarded meditative contemplation as the chief tenet; others regarded the 'ocean-symbol' samādhi as the chief tenet and Hui-kuang of North Wei regarded the truth of cause-and-effect as the principal teaching of the sūtra. Hsien-shou Fa-tsang of the T'ang dynasty supplemented Hui-kuang's theory and maintained that the chief tenet of the sūtra is to show that the theory of causal origination actually refers to the Dharmadhātu (See Ch'êng-kuan's *Commentary*, fascicle 3). This has become the view commonly held by later scholars of the Hsien-shou school.

The truths and implications expounded in this sūtra are far-reaching and sublime and, therefore, it has ever been revered by all Buddhist scholars. Since the time of the South-and-North dynasties, the three masters on the south of the Yangtze river, who were renowned for their pronouncements on the critical division of the Buddha's teachings, regarded this sūtra as belonging to the 'Abrupt Doctrine' (q.v.) and regarded other canonical texts as belonging to the 'Gradual Doctrine' or to the 'Indeterminate Doctrine'. Though the seven masters in the North were then quite at variance in their pronouncements of the critical division of the Buddha's teachings, they all

acknowledged this sūtra to be the highest and the 'Round Doctrine' or the 'Abrupt Doctrine' or to belong to the 'True sect' or the 'Dharmadhātu sect' etc. Later on, Chi-tsang of the Sui dynasty established the theory that the Buddha had thrice turned the wheel of the Law and regarded this sūtra as belonging to the fundamental Wheel of the Law. Chih-i of the T'ien-t'ai school advocated four doctrines as to the modes of teaching and placed this sūtra under the category of 'Abrupt Doctrine'. When he further propounded the four doctrines as to the methods of teaching, he regarded the sūtra as belonging to both the 'Distinct' and the 'Round' Doctrine. K'uei-chi of the T'ang dynasty critically divided the Buddha's teaching into three periods and regarded this sūtra to belong to the Middle Path teaching. When the masters of the Hsien-shu school classified the Buddha's teachings into five doctrines they considered it to be the 'Round Doctrine' of the Ekayāna. When they classified them into ten sects he subsumed it under the 'Round and Illuminating Sect of Full Virtue'. In a word, it is perfectly obvious that this sūtra has always been regarded as the most perfect and direct of all the teachings of the Buddha.

With regard to the conditions of the propagation of the sūtra, it was said that after the Buddha entered Nirvāṇa it lay concealed. Later, when Nāgārjuna glorified and spread abroad Mahāyāna he saw the text of 100,000 ślokas in the Dragon's Palace, recited it and propagated it. He also wrote the *Great Inconceivable Śāstra* in 100,000 ślokas to interpret it. The *Daśabhūmivibhāṣā-śāstra* in 16 fascicles which is now still extant in Chinese translation is only a part of this śāstra and gives an interpretation of the first two bhūmis of the chapter on *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna* to interpret and develop its important implications. Vajrasena, Sthiramati, Sūryasiddhi, Śākyamati and many other masters all wrote commentaries on the *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna*; those of Sūryasiddhi and Śākyamati in Tibetan translation are still preserved. From these facts we can imagine how this sūtra was disseminated in part for a time in ancient India. As to the conditions of the propagation of the whole sūtra, little is known.

Since the Later Han dynasty, many of the chapters were separately translated into Chinese at different times, but the propagation of the sūtra was not very successful. Not until the East Tsin dynasty, when Buddhabhadra translated it in sixty fascicles, did the sūtra begin to be heeded by Chinese Buddhist scholars. Recitations, studies and commentaries of it gradually appeared. For example, Fa-yeh, who took part in its translation, personally gleaned utterances from Buddhabhadra's mouth and wrote the *Records of Meanings* (*I-chi*, 義記) in 2 fascicles. Later Guṇabhadra in the Liu Sung dynasty explained the sūtra many times; Hsüan Ch'ang of the North Ch'i dynasty commented on it, chapter by chapter and word by word. Ratnamati in the North Wei dynasty also expounded and disseminated it. Liu Ch'ien-chih made a profound study of it and wrote a treatise on it in six hundred fascicles. About this time Bodhiruci further translated the *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna* (i.e., *Bhūmi-śāstra*). Owing to the wide spread of the *Bhūmi-śāstra*, this sūtra had its corresponding development in its propagation. Hui-kuang, a master of the *Bhūmi-śāstra*, wrote both a fuller commentary and a shorter one on *Hua-yen-ching* (only 1 fascicle of which is now extant) and pronounced it to be the perfect teaching and widely spread it. Sêng-fan of the Ta-chüeh monastery in the Ch'i dynasty wrote five fascicles of commentary on it; T'an-tsun, seven fascicles; T'an-yen, seven fascicles; Ling-pien of the Later Wei dynasty, one hundred fascicles (only one fascicle being now extant); Chih-chü, seven fascicles. Later in the Sui dynasty Ling-yü of the Yen-k'ung monastery in Hsiang-chou wrote eight fascicles of commentary (only the sixth fascicle of the *Records of Some Meanings*, *Wên-i-chi* 文義記 of the text is now extant) and one fascicle entitled *The Tenet Pointed Out* (*Chih-kuei* 旨歸). T'an Ch'ien of the West monastery wrote the *Commentary on the Chapter Asking for Illumination of Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-ming-nan-p'in-shu* 華嚴明難品疏) in ten fascicles; Hui-tsang of the West capital, wrote a commentary on the sūtra in ten fascicles; Hung-tsun a commentary in seven fascicles and Hui-yüan of the Ching-ying monastery, another commentary in seven fascicles. Besides, Hung-tsun also wrote seven fascicles of *Commentary on the Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* (four fascicles now extant). Chi-t ang of the Chia-hsiang monastery wrote *Wandering Ideas* (*Yu-i* 遊意) in one fascicle (still extant). Hui-chüeh of the Wu-tê monastery wrote ten fascicles of *Commentary on the Chapter on Daśabhūmi*. Fa-min of Yüeh-chou in the T'ang dynasty wrote seven fascicles on the sūtra, Chih-chêng of the Chung-nan mountain, twenty-two fascicles; Ling-pien of the T'zŭ-ên monastery, twelve fascicles. The atmosphere created by such writings and studies in different places in both the South and North of China gave a great impetus to the wide propagation of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.

With the extensive dissemination of the sūtra in Sui and T'ang times there was gradually formed

the Hsien-shou school (i.e., Hua-yen school) which specialised in this sūtra and used it in its teachings and meditations. At first, Tu-shun of the Chung-nan mountain in the Sui dynasty made a profound study of it and wrote *Contemplation of Five Doctrines Based on Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-wu-chiao-chih-kuan* 華嚴五敎止觀, one fascicle, now extant) and *An Approach to the Contemplation of Dharmadhātu Based on Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-fa-chiai-kuan-mên* 華嚴法界觀門 one fascicle, now extant), in order to expound the profound tenets of the sūtra and lay the foundation of a sect. His disciple, Chih-yen of the Chih-hsiang monastery, again developed his chief ideas and by making use of the theories of those masters of the *Bhūmi Śāstra* wrote *Records of Probing the Depth of Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-shou-hsüan-chi* 華嚴搜玄記) in nine fascicles (now extant) which has ever been regarded as the earliest and most famous work of the Hsien-shou school based on the old translation. Furthermore, Chih-yen also wrote *The Main Doctrines of Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-k'ung-mu-chang* 華嚴孔目章) in four fascicles (now extant), *Questions and Answers on Fifty Important Points in Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-wu-shih-yao-wên-ta* 華嚴五十要問答) in two fascicles (now extant), *The Ekayāna of Hua-yen with Its Ten Profound Theories* (*Hua-yen-i-ch'êng-shih-hsüan-mên* 華嚴一乘十玄門) in one fascicle (now extant), and *On Six Characteristics* (*Liu-hsiang-chang* 六相章) in one fascicle (now lost), in order to express the essential ideas of the sūtra. Later, Hsien-shou Fa-tsang, who founded the Hsien-shou school, extensively developed its teachings and wrote *Records of Searching the Depth of Hua-yen* in twenty fascicles (now extant) which is the most famous and important commentary of the Hsien-shou school, based on the old translation. The other works written by him are *The Outlines of the meaning of Hua-yen* in one fascicle (now extant), *The Tenets of Hua-yen Pointed Out* (*Hua-yen-ching-chih-kuei* 華嚴經旨歸) in one fascicle (now extant). *On the Eight Assemblies of Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-pa-hui-chang* 華嚴八會章) in one fascicle, *The Translation of Sanskrit Terms in Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-fan-fan-yü* 華嚴翻梵語) in one fascicle, *The Pronunciation and the Meaning of Sanskrit Terms in the old version of Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-chiu-ching-fan-yü-chi-yin-i* 華嚴舊經梵語及音義) in one fascicle, etc. Besides, he also wrote several famous works to expound the doctrines of this school, such as *The Five Doctrines in Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-wu-chiao-chang* 華嚴五敎章, now extant), *One Hundred Approaches to the Sea of Meanings in Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-i-hai-pai-mên* 華嚴義海百門 now extant), etc. His disciple Tsung-i of the Ho-ên monastery also wrote *A Critical Estimation of Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-ching-liao-chien* 華嚴經料簡) in twelve fascicles and *Commentaries on Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-ching-shu* 華嚴經疏) in twenty fascicles. It must be noted that all the above-mentioned commentaries and works about this sūtra were based upon the old translation in sixty fascicles done in the Tsin dynasty.

In the times of Wu-chou, Śikṣānanda made a new translation of the sūtra in 80 fascicles. Fa-tsang, in spite of his old age, took part in the work of writing down the oral translations, and basing his ideas on the new versions he wrote *Records of Tracing the Ramifications of Thoughts* (*K'ai-mê-i-chi* 開脈義記) in one fascicle, *A Record of the Principles of the New Translation* (*Hsin-ching-san-mei-chi* 新經三昧記) in one fascicle, *Hymns in Praise of the Seven Places and Nine Assemblies* (*Ch'i-ch'u-chiu-hui-sung* 七處九會頌) in one fascicle and *Brief Commentary on Hua-yen* (*Hua-yen-liao-shu* 華嚴略疏) in twelve fascicles, in order to interpret the doctrines in the newly translated sūtra. Fa-tsang's disciple, Hui-yüan of the Ching-fa monastery, basing his judgments on the new translation, wrote *Continuation of the Commentary on Hua-yen-ching*, (*A Record of Collating, Hsü-hua-yen-ching-shu-k'an-ting-chi* 續華嚴經疏刊定記) in thirty fascicles (now extant), breaking the bounds of the theories of his master and expressing his own independent opinions. He also wrote *The Pronunciations and Meanings of Terms in Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-yin-i* 華嚴經音義) in four fascicles now extant, *Remarks on the Nine Assemblies* (*Chiu-hui-chang* 九會章) in one fascicle, etc. Later Ch'êng-kuan revived the tradition of the Hua-yen school, rectified Hui-yüan's incorrect views and developed Hsien-shou's orthodoxical theory. He wrote *A Deep Discourse on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-hsüan-t'an* 華嚴經玄談) in nine fascicles (now extant), *Commentary on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-shu* 華嚴經疏) in 60 fascicles (now extant), and *Amplifications of the Interpretations in the Commentary* (*Sui-shu-yen-i-ch'ao* 隨疏演義鈔) in 30 fascicles (now extant), thus forming the most famous works of the Hsien-shou school based on the new translation. Besides, he also wrote *An Analysis of the Commentary on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-ch'ao-k'o* 華嚴經鈔科) in ten fascicles (now extant), *A Brief Course on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-liao-t'sê* 華嚴經畧策) in one fascicle (now extant), *Explanations of the Hymns in Praise of the Seven Places and Nine Assemblies of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-ch'i-ch'u-chiu-hui-sung-shih-chang* 華嚴經七處九會頌釋章)

in one fascicle (now extant) etc. During the reign of Chên-yüan he took part in the translation of *Hua-yen-ching in 40 fascicles*. Again, he wrote *A Separate Commentary on the Chapter on Samantabhadra's Actions and Vows* (*P'u-hsien-hsing-yüan-p'in-pieh-hsing-shu* 普賢行願品別行疏) in six fascicles (now extant), and *Commentary on the Chên-yüan Version of Hua-yen-ching* (*Chên-yüan-hua-yen-ching-shu* 貞元華嚴經疏) in ten fascicles (now extant), in order to expound the deep meanings of the *Hua-yen-ching in 40 fascicles*. Ch'êng-kuan's disciple, Tsung-mi of the Ts'ao-t'ang monastery on the Kuei Peak also wrote *The Separate Commentary, Notes on the chapter of Samantabhadra's Actions and Vows* (*P'u-hsien-hsing-yüan-p'in-pieh-hsing-shu-ch'ao* 普賢行願品別行疏鈔) in six fascicles (now extant), and *An Analysis of the Commentary on the chapter of Samantabhadra's Actions and Vows* (*Hsing-yüan-p'in-shu-k'o* 行願品疏科) in one fascicle (now extant), in order to interpret his master's most important ideas. To sum up, the five masters, Tu-shun, Chih-yen, Fa-tsang, Ch'êng-kuan and Tsung-mi specially propagated this sūtra and they have been called the five patriarchs of the Hua-yen school; they have been the chief scholars in disseminating the *Hua-yen-ching* in China.

Outside the school there were also scholars who were well versed in the sūtra. The elder Li T'ung-hsüan wrote *A Treatise on the New Hua-yen-ching* (*Hsin-hua-yen-ching-lun* 新華嚴經論) in 40 fascicles (now extant) to expound the new translation and he actually propounded fresh meanings of it. He also wrote *A Brief Account of the Main Ideas in Each Chapter of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-chung-chüan-chüan-ta-i-liao-hsü* 華嚴經中卷卷大意略叙) in one fascicle (now extant), and *Removal of Doubts on the Steps of Cultivation Shown in Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-hsiu-hsing-tz'ŭ-ti-chüeh-i* 華嚴經修行次第決疑) in four fascicles (now extant). Again Chan-jan, a monk belonging to the T'ien-t'ai school also wrote *Essentials on the Vows and Actions and Contemplation Methods in Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-yüan-hsing-kuan-hsing-ku-mu* 華嚴經願行觀行骨目) in two fascicles (now extant). Ching-chü wrote *The Deep Doctrines of Hua-yen-ching Preached at the Lin-tê Palace* (*Lin-tê-tien-chiang-hua-yen-ching-hsüan-i* 麟德殿講華嚴經玄義) in one fascicle, etc.

After the T'ang dynasty the study and propagation of the sūtra continued to be wide-spread. Important commentaries were written during different dynasties. In the Sung dynasty there were Kuan-fu's *Records of Synthetic Interpretations of Commentaries on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-shu-ch'ao-ho-chiai-chi* 華嚴經疏鈔合解記) in ten fascicles, Fu-Ar's *Synthetic Studies of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-lun-kuan* 華嚴經綸貫) in one fascicle (now extant), Chieh-huan's *Important Interpretation of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-yao-chiai* 華嚴經要解) in one fascicle (now extant), Tung-to's *A Collection of the Comprehensive Doctrine of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-t'un-hai-chi* 華嚴經呑海集) in three fascicles (now extant) and *An Outline of the Aspects of Dharmas of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-fa-hsiang-kai-chieh* 華嚴經法相概節). In the Liao dynasty there was Hsien-yen's *Ascertainment of the Deep Discourse on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-hsüan-t'an-chüeh-chê* 華嚴經玄談決擇) in six fascicles (now extant). In the Yüan dynasty there was P'u-jui's *Symposium of the Deep Discourse on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-hsüan-t'an-hui-hsüan-chi* 華嚴經懸談會玄記) in forty fascicles (now extant). In the Ming dynasty there were Tê-ch'ing's *Essentials of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-kang-yao* 華嚴經綱要) in 80 fascicles (now extant), Shan-chien's *Main Ideas of Hua-yen ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-ta-i* 華嚴經大意) in one fascicle (now extant), Fang-chê's *Compilation of the Essentials of the Treatise on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-ho-lun-tsuan-yao* 華嚴經合論纂要) in three fascicles (now extant) and Li-chih's *Essentials of the Treatise on Hua-yen ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-ho-lun-chien-yao* 華嚴經合論簡要) in four fascicles (now extant). In the Ch'ing dynasty there were Yung-Kuang's *A Unifying Study of the Synopses of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-kang-mu-kuan-shê* 華嚴經綱目貫攝) in one fascicle (now extant) and *The Main Ideas of the Thirty-Nine Chapters in Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-san-shih-chiu-p'in-ta-i* 華嚴經三十九品大意) in one fascicle (now extant), etc.

Since the T'ang dynasty the traditional methods of studying the sūtra and of practising contemplation of the Hua-yen school have spread abroad. In the middle of the seventh century I-hsiang of Silla came to China and became a disciple of Chih-yen. When he returned home he widely propagated the sūtra and became the first patriarch of the Hua-yen school in Korea. In the meantime Yüan-hsiao of Silla made a deep study of the sūtra and wrote *An Outline of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-kang-mu* 華嚴經綱目) in one fascicle and *A Commentary on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-shu* 華嚴經疏) in ten fascicles (now only one fascicle extant). Again, in Silla, T'ai-hsien wrote *Records on Ancient Remains* (*Ku-chi-chi* 古迹記) in ten fascicles; Piao-yüan wrote *Questions and Answers on the Essentials*

of Hua-yen-ching (*Hua-yen-wên-i-yao-chüeh-wên-ta* 華嚴文義要決問答) in four fascicles (now extant); and they extensively propagated the sūtra in that country. In the middle of the eighth century, this sūtra was currently copied and disseminated in Japan. Later, the Chinese monk Tao-hsüan went to Japan to preach on the *Hua-yen-ching* and thus he became the first patriarch of the school in that country. Thenceforward, this sūtra was widely circulated. In Japan, so far as writings on the sūtra are concerned, there are Shiusho's *Commentary on Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-i-ch'ao* 華嚴經義鈔) in forty fascicles (now extant), Gionen's *Explanation of the Titles of Chapters in Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-p'in-shih* 華嚴經品釋) in one fascicle (now extant) and *Elucidation of the Records of Searching the Depth of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan-chi-tung-yu-ch'ao* 華嚴經探玄記洞幽鈔) in 120 fascicles (now extant); Hotan's *Deep Discourse on the Records of Searching the Depth of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan-chi-hsüan-t'an* 華嚴經探玄記玄談) in one fascicle (now extant); Koryu's *An Outline of the Records of Searching the Depth of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan chi-ta-liao-ch'ao* 華嚴經探玄記大略鈔) in 49 fascicles (now extant); Fujaku's *Amplifications of the Records of Searching the Depth of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan-chi-fa-hui-ch'ao* 華嚴經探玄記發揮鈔) in ten fascicles (now extant), *Discourse on the Essentials of the Records of Searching the Depth* (*T'an-hsüan-chi-chiang-yao* 探玄記講要) in eight fascicles (now extant), etc.

K. Ku.

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AVAṬA-PHALIYA, an arahant thera. In a former birth he offered an avaṭa fruit to Buddha Sataraṃsi when he was going for alms. On account of that good act he never experienced life in any lower state (*Ap.* ii, 409).

W. G. W.

AVATĀRA, (from *ava*+*tarati*, to descend from above), descent of a deity into the human world as a man or an animal in order to correct the growing evils of the world and continuing to live in that form till his mission is fulfilled. This is an idea found both in Hinduism and in later Mahāyāna Buddhist theology. The development of this theological concept is important to Buddhism, because the Buddha is treated by the Hindus as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

The doctrine of *avatāras* is first formulated in the *Bhagavad-gītā* where Viṣṇu claims to incarnate himself in some form on earth when the religious life of the people is endangered (ch. iv, *vv.* 5—8). This idea is found already in the *Ṛgveda* (vii, 100, *v.* 6) where Viṣṇu is said to assume a particular form in battles. But no *avatāra* is mentioned. In the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* Prajāpati is said to have assumed the forms of fish (*matsya*), tortoise (*kūrma*), and boar (*varāha*) on different occasions (*ERE.* VII. p. 193; *Bhārata-kaumudī*, *R.K. Mookerji Commemoration Volume*, pt. I, 1945, pp. 61 ff.). When Viṣṇu came to be regarded as the supreme being and the *avatāra* idea was associated with him, these incarnations of Prajāpati were transferred to this composite god.

In the *Gītā* passage referred to above, the reference to Viṣṇu's *avatāras* is a general one without giving them a definite number. In course of time their number came to be fixed at ten, with the Buddha being regarded as the ninth.

The *Buddha-avatāra* cannot be clearly understood unless the circumstances that led to it are investigated. Chronologically, the recognition of the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu seems to have been completely effected somewhere around the 10th century A.C., when Buddhism was on the way out in India. It is referred to for the first time in the *Purāṇas* such as *Bhāgavata*, *Varāha*, *Viṣṇu* and *Agni* (See *Bhārata-kaumudī*, loc. cit.). Haraprasad Shastri says (*JRAS.* Bengal Br. 1895, pt. I, p. 285) that the antiquity of the orthodox list of ten goes back to the time of Ksemendra (11th century) and Jayadeva (12th century). It may be legitimate to conclude that the Buddha was definitely accepted as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu in the usual list of ten when

with the degeneration of Buddhism during this period the brāhmanic writers began to produce the Purāṇas for the purpose of educating the masses.

The recognition of the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is part of the brāhmanic attempt to make a compromise with Buddhism. But this recognition is qualified and those brāhmans who accommodated the Buddha in this way did not do so with any love for him. The Buddha's attack on the Vedic ritual, specially animal sacrifices, began to tell on the brāhmans. Their unique position as 'deities on earth' was being undermined. Sanctity of animal life began to be an article of faith among the Indians. Although unwillingly, the brāhmans had to accept that the Buddha was an important personage, who, from their point of view, had to be explained by the intervention of a deity. Therefore, quite half-heartedly, they represented the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu after their usual fashion of absorption and assimilation.

Their animosity against the Buddha as well as their disappointment at the success of his teaching is remarkably portrayed in a story about the Buddha-avatāra occurring in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (III, chs. 17, 18). The gods and the demons (*daitya*) were usually at war and normally the former were victorious. But once, after a disastrous engagement, the celestials were overthrown. The demons were victorious because they had adhered to and practised the teaching of the Vedas. The gods were unable to destroy them because the demons were strengthened by the practice of Vedic injunctions. The discomfited deities praised and implored Viṣṇu to come to their rescue. Viṣṇu decided that he should persuade the demons to abandon the Vedas. Accordingly, he produced from himself an illusory form (*māyāmoha*) and gave it to the gods with the instructions that that phantom would deceive the demons and persuade them to forsake the Vedas, resulting in their destruction. This illusory form first appears as a naked ascetic (*digambara*),[1] when the demons were engaged in penance on the banks of the river Narmadā and performed his mission. Viṣṇu's task was not yet complete. His next appearance was in a red garb (*raktāmbara*) as a Buddhist monk,[2] who spoke soft words to the effect that if they wished to secure liberation they should abandon the cruel practice of offering animal sacrifices. When the deceiver said to them 'understand' (*budhyadhvam*), they answered 'it is understood' (*budhyate*).[3] He also persuaded them to speak against the gods, to ridicule the brāhmans and to condemn sacrifices. "If an animal slaughtered in sacrifice goes to heaven, why cannot one immolate one's own father and secure him a place in heaven?" they argued. Once the demons had been deceived in this way, the deities saw their opportunity. Hostilities were resumed and the demons were vanquished.[4] The writer minces no words when attacking the vanquished. He calls them robbers of the dead and of the gods. Their curse falls on them who rob them of their food.

The story is significant for a number of reasons. It is the story of both Buddhism and of Hinduism in India. It also explains the circumstances that led to the Buddha being made an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. It is a fact that the Buddha's teaching broke down the sacrificial citadel of the Vedic brāhmans. He was the greatest champion of the sanctity of animal life, which was anathema to the sacrificing brāhmans whose sacrifice often meant butchery. Despite the attempt of the brāhmans, the Buddha's teaching made a tremendous impact on Brāhmanism and when it re-appears as Hinduism during the post-Buddhist period it is very different from its pre-Buddhist type. The popular doctrines of Buddhism, such as that of non-injury (*ahiṃsā*), were absorbed into Hinduism and, when Buddhism lost its individuality, it disappeared from the land of its birth, but not before leaving its imprint there. It was absorbed, not expelled.

Once the teaching had been absorbed, the teacher too had to be accommodated. This they did by converting him into an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The so-called victory referred to in the above story is a pyrrhic victory. The fact that the brāhmans unwillingly accorded a place to the Buddha in their pantheon is an indirect recognition of the Buddha's greatness and influence over their religion. Bnt they never wanted to be considered inferior to anyone else. Whoever invented the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* story, also implied their disappointment at the loss of their position as sacrificers, which position was of economic importance to them. The same attitude of mind prevented the Buddha from being accorded a higher place. It was only half-heartedly that they allowed him to be worshipped as an *avatāra*. Even this kind of worship had to be done under their auspices and in allowing it they attacked him with his own weapons. It is highly doubtful whether the brāhmans in general sympathised with the attitude shown in the above story. Śaṅkara's

1 This is a reference to the Jainas.
2 This signifies the Buddha.
3 A pun on the word Buddha.

4 This probably refers to the brāhmanic revival under the Guptas.

teaching shows that it was not so. The modern Hindus would be even farther away from that view. It may be mentioned here that Rādhakrishnan puts the whole *avatāra* concept on a rational basis when he interprets the series as a gradual progress of man from his animal stages (*Indian Philosophy*, I, pp. 545—6). The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* interpretation is a violation even of the original *avatāra* concept of the *Gītā* referred to earlier.[5]

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1, ch. 3) mentions the *Buddha-avatāra* as something yet to come. But, this descent will also be for the same purpose of destroying the foes of the gods.

The idea that God condescends to be born among men out of compassion for them seems to be a doctrine of gradual Indian growth. It is not impossible that Mahāyāna theology, dealing with so many celestial Buddhas and bodhisattvas, was responsible for the growth of this idea among the Hindus. And even among the Theravādins, we get an analogous conception in the belief that the Buddhas appear periodically to save and instruct mankind. This idea is certainly to be found in the story of the seven Buddhas as given in the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*D.* II, 1 ff.). The concept of a loving god who is born on earth to help mankind is one that captivates the hearts of men easily.

The Hindus do not worship the Buddha *in propria persona*, and even his *avatāra* is not accorded a place of supremacy. However, according to J. Stevenson (*JRAS.* 1843, pp. 64–73), a late Vaiṣṇava sect (circa 14th century) of south India is said to worship Viṣṇu as the Buddha-avatāra. They are the *Viṭṭhal Bhaktas* whom he also designates as *Bauddha Vaiṣṇavas*. He quotes a story from a text called *Bhakta-vijaya*, belonging to this sect, according to which Viṣṇu sits still and silent as the Buddha-avatāra and, seeing how the kṣatriyas have destroyed the brāhmans, he bids his followers, who have met him in assembly, to incarnate themselves in various places sacred to him, and to rectify matters. Viṣṇu's character here reminds one of the Buddha's advice to his first disciples to go and preach the Dhamma for the welfare of the people. These *Viṭṭhal Bhaktas*, who are mainly Marāthas, are said to have no special respect for the Vedas and Vedic rituals and also to disregard caste distinctions in religious matters, in keeping with the Buddhist view as opposed to the brāhmanic.

Although the *avatāra* concept is not developed as a separate doctrine under this particular term, it is not unknown to Mahāyāna Buddhism. Early Buddhism recognised the Buddha as a human being like any other mortal, whereas the concept of *avatāra* implied that the incarnated person was a divine or supernatural being and as such it was impossible to regard the Buddha as an *avatāra*. Later, with the development of Mahāyāna ideas, when the Buddha came to be treated like a god, there also developed the tendency to regard his birth upon earth as a descent from heaven. Hence, according to the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* and the Lokottaravādins, the Buddha is the paramount god of gods, who has been living from eternity and who is to live for ever. According to this theory his entering Nirvāṇa as Śākyamuni is only an illusion, and he only makes a show of it (*nirmāṇa kāya*). It is here that the theory of his birth on earth is regarded as a descent from heaven, on the same analogy as that of Viṣṇu in Hindu theosophy. This god of gods lives in heaven and when he sees that people are given to folly and lead lives of immorality, he produces a semblance of his entering Nirvāṇa, in order to lead them on the correct path. Hence the Buddha says (*Sdmp.* xv, 21–23). "I am the father of the world, the healer, the protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated and ignorant, I teach final rest, myself not being at rest. What reason should I have to continually manifest myself? When men become unbelieving, unwise, ignorant, fond of sensual pleasures and from thoughtlessness run into misfortune, then I, who know the course of the world, declare: I am so and so; how can I incline them to enlightenment? How can they become the partakers of the Buddha-law?"

These words remind us of Viṣṇu's words in the *Bhagavad-gītā* (loc. cit.) where he says that he makes his appearance in the world whenever there is a decline in dharma, for the protection of the virtuous and the destruction of the wicked. The attempt of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* is to represent the Buddha as a superhuman being, the supreme god and saviour of mankind. His relations with men are very similar to those of Viṣṇu in the *Gītā*.

In the story of the conception of the Śākyamuni as given in Buddhist literature, there are certain elements in which the idea of *avatāra* is present. The anecdotes which relate how the bodhisattva

5 Sir Charles Eliot informs us that the Buddha is regarded as a brother of Śiva in Bali (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 148, nt. 2).

before his descent to earth from the Tusita heaven made various investigations about the country of his birth, his future mother etc. and those that describe his entry into Māyā's womb in the form of an elephant from the right side of her body etc. are some examples of this fact. But there is no full-fledged theory of *avatāra*.

According to the theory of the Ādi-Buddha, the human Buddhas are regarded as his emanations and not as *avatāras*.

A very common form of *avatāra* referred to in Buddhist literature is that of Śakra, the king of the gods. Frequent mention is made of the fact in Buddhist literature, specially in the *Jātakas*, that whenever a virtuous man is in trouble, this is made known to Śakra by his seat becoming uncomfortable and he at once comes down to earth assuming a human or an animal form and acts the part of the 'good Samaritan.'

The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is regarded as perpetually incarnating and re-incarnating himself and 333 such manifestations are mentioned (*Sdmp.* 410-11). The purpose of these manifestations, almost all of which have been human, was to save mankind. He is said to have been incarnated in the Tibetan king Srong-tsan-sgam-po as well as in every successive Dalai Lama (Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1962, p. 59).

B. Bhattacharyya gives some interesting information (*A volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, F. W. Thomas Commemoration Number*, 1939, Karnatic Publishing House, Bombay) about the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. He quotes ten verses from a text called *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, each verse giving the time and the date of the birth of each *avatāra*. The translation of the verse [6] telling of the Buddha-avatāra is as follows: "The Lord manifested himself in the form of the Buddha in the Kali age in the year called *khara* in the month of *āṣāḍha* on the tenth day of the bright fortnight, a Sunday, when the *Śukla-yoga* was on and when the moon occupied the constellation of *viśākhā* and when the day had advanced but six *ghaṭis* from sunrise: listen to what will happen in the same Kali age" (and gives the date of the future Kalki *avatāra*).

Haraprasad Shastri (see *JRAS.* Bengal Branch, 1895, pt. I, pp. 284-5) has given some interesting information about a game of cards probably invented by the Malla kings of Viṣṇupura of about the 8th century A.C. The cards are said to be circular, a pack containing 120 pieces, with 10 groups of 12 each. Each group is named after one of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, the cards of each such group having the picture of the particular *avatāra* drawn on them. It is noteworthy that the Buddha is given the 5th place in this list.

A.G.S.K.

AVATĀRAPREKṢIN, one of the thousand sons of Māra, who was ill-disposed towards the bodhisattva (*Lal.* 311.16).

AVAVĀDA, admonition. See OVĀDA.

AVAVĀDAKĀ, a daughter of a nigaṇṭha. Her father who was skilled in maintaining five hundred different theses (*vāda*) came to Vesālī, where the Licchavīs of the ruling family lived, to hold discussions. At the same time, a female nigaṇṭhī, equally clever, arrived at the same place. The Licchavī chiefs arranged a disputation between them and having learnt that they were equally skilled, got them married thinking that they would have clever children. Avavādakā was one of their four daughters. She had three sisters, Saccā, Lolā and Paṭācārā, and a brother, Saccaka. All five of them learnt a thousand different theses for discussion, five hundred from their father and five hundred from their mother. At their death the parents advised the four daughters saying, "If any layman refutes your theses, you are to become his wives and if a bhikkhu refutes them, you are to take orders at his hand." The sisters became paribbājikās and the brother lived at Vesāli, studying the lore of the Licchavīs. In the course of their wanderings the sisters set up at the city-gate a jambu-twig, as a challenge to anyone who might wish to hold a philosophic discussion with them. In Sāvatthi, Sāriputta accepted the challenge and when they propounded to him the thousand different theses he solved them all. Then, Sāriputta put just one question to them and they were unable to reply. The paribbājikās informed Sāriputta about the wish of their parents and begged him for ordination. He had them ordained as nuns and before long the four sisters attained arahantship (*J.* III, 1-2).

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6 *kalau ca vatsare caiva — khare cāṣāḍhake tathā*
śuddhā ca daśamī devi — ravivāreṇa saṃyutā
śuklayoge viśākhāyāṃ — divā nāḍī ca ṣaṭ tathā
bauddho 'vatīrṇo deveśi — tataḥ kaliyuge śṛṇu.

The story of their past is given in the *Culla-Kāliṅga Jātaka.*

I.K.

AVAVĀDĀNYA-PAÑCADEVATĀSUSĀSANA, the title of a text as given in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, the corresponding Tibetan title being *Gdams-ṅag gshan-gyi lha lṅa legs-par bstan-par bya-ba* (*TM.* No. 3256). The *TM.* records also an alternative title *Athāvavad . . . suśāsanaṃ.* In the Peking edition, where the text is incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, the Sanskrit title cited is *Athāmnāyāntareṇa-pañcadeva-toṣiṇī* and the Tibetan *De-nas gdams-ṅag gshan-gyi°* (Pek. Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D.T. Suzuki, Vol. 80, No. 4079).

The text contains the following descriptions of five deities: 1. So-sor ḥbraṅ-ma chen-mo (Mahāpratisarā) is yellow-complexioned and three-faced, with three eyes in each face. She is ten-armed. With her five right hands she carries a sword, a vajra, an arrow, displays the *varada-mudrā* and holds a parasol against her chest. With her five left hands, she carries a bow, a banner, a jewelled umbrella, a spear and a conch-shell. She is decked with many ornaments. 2. Rma-bya chen-mo (Mahāmāyūrī), green in colour, has one face and two arms. She displays the *varada-mudrā.* 3. Stoṅ chen-mo rab-tu ḥjoms-ma (Mahāsāhasrapramardanī) is similar in form to the preceding goddess. 4. Gsaṅ-sṅags rjes-su ḥbraṅ-ba chen-mo (Mahāmantrānusāriṇī) is a black-complexioned, one-faced, four-armed goddess. She carries a sword with one of her right hands and shows the *varada-mudrā* with the other. A spear and a noose are the symbols in her left hands. 5. Bsil-baḥi tshal chen-mo (Mahāśītavatī), red in colour, has one face and four arms. She carries a sword with one of her right hands and shows the *varada-mudrā* with the other, while carrying a spear and a noose with her left hands.

These five deities, called the *rakṣā* deities, the protectresses, are described in the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī.* For an English rendering of the description of the five *rakṣā* deities as appearing in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* which varies from that given in the present text, see *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* by B. Bhattacharyya (Calcutta, 1958, pp. 303 ff.). According to the *Sādhanamālā,* the five *rakṣā* deities, when worshipped, grant long life and protect people from evil spirits, diseases, famines and other possible dangers (ibid. p. 302).

R.H.

AVEKṢITA, name of a Buddhakṣetra (*Mhvu.* I, 124.14).

AVELA, name of a palace in which resided Revata Buddha in his last life as a layman (*Buv.* vi, 17).

ĀVEṆIKA DHARMA. The word *āveṇi* is used to convey several shades of meaning in Pali and Sanskrit. In the *Cullavagga* (*Vin.* II, 204) it is used in the sense of 'special' (*āveṇi-uposathaṃ karonti,* they do a special uposatha ceremony), in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* I, 71) it is used in the sense of 'traditional' (*āveṇiyam parihāraṃ dammi,* I shall perform customary rites) and in the *Jātaka* (IV, 358 and VI, 128) it is used in the sense of hereditary (*taṃ me āveṇiyaṃ dhanaṃ,* the wealth that is my inheritance). Again, it is used in the sense of 'inherent' in the statement: 'Five things are inherent in an intelligent woman' (*pañcāveṇikā dharmā ekatye paṇḍitajātiye mātṛgrāme : Avś.* p. 7.24-5). It is also used in the sense of 'peculiar' in the line 'there is a fivefold suffering peculiar to women-folk' (*āveṇikadukkhāni : S.* IV, 239).

The word *āveṇika* is mostly used when speaking of the Buddha and sometimes of the bodhisattva. A Buddha is supposed to possess eighteen unique qualities (*aṣṭādaśa āveṇika dharma*). In the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 3) these eighteen are enumerated as follows: (1) The Tathāgata does not tremble (*nāsti skhalitaṃ*); (2) there is no unsteadiness in him (*na ravitaṃ*); (3) his mind is not puzzled (*nāsti muṣitasmṛtitā*); (4) nor ever scattered (*nāsti asamāhitacittaṃ*); (5) his thoughts are not diffused (*nāsti nānātvasaṃjñā*); (6) his equanimity is not due to want of judgement (*nāsti apratisaṅkhāye upekṣā*); (7) there is no weakening in his determination (*chandasya hāniḥ*); (8) no wavering in his striving (*viriyasya hāniḥ*); (9) no flaw (*hāniḥ*) in his memory (*smṛti*); (10) nor in the concentration of his mind (*samādhi*); (11) nor in his knowledge (*prajñā*); (12) nor in his release (*vimukti*); (13-15) all his actions of body, speech and mind are preceded by knowledge (*jñānapūrvagama*); (16-18) his vision into the past, present and future is clear and unobstructed.

These eighteen are grouped under four headings of development, viz., through conduct (*cāra*), through knowledge (*adhigama*), through action (*karma*) and through wisdom (*jñāna : Sūtrāl.* xx, 57). In the *Mahāvastu* (I, 160) too, there is an identical list of eighteen *buddhadharmas,* though the arrangement of the items is different. Several references to eighteen *āveṇika buddhadharmas* are

also found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu* (*BHS*.). Reference to *āveṇika buddhadharmas* is made also in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* but without detail (*BHS*.). According to the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (88. 27 ff. and 375.3 ff.) there are one hundred and forty *āveṇika buddhadharmas* including thirty-two characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) and eighty minor characteristics (*anubyañjana*) etc. but not the eighteen normally recognised. According to the *Mahāvastu* (I, 160) the eighteen *āveṇika buddhadharmas* constitute the fifth eye of a Buddha (*buddha-cakṣuḥ*), the other four being the normal eye (*māṃsa-cakṣuḥ*), the divine eye (*divya-cakṣuḥ*), the eye of wisdom (*prajñā-cakṣuḥ*) and the eye of the norm (*dharma-cakṣuḥ*).

In the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1509), *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*Taishō*, No. 222) and *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 220) the same list occurs with one variation, namely, instead of the tenth item of the *Mahāvyutpatti* list it says that there is no flaw in the knowledge and insight about his release (*nāsti vimukti-jñānadarśanaparihāniḥ*), and in the *Dharmasaṅgraha* (*Moc*. p. 2365) the same statement is made regarding the 17th item, the rest of the list being identical.

Again in the *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1552), *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1579), *Mahāyāna-saṅgrahopanibandhana* (*Taishō*, No. 1598), *Abhidharmapiṭakaprakaraṇa-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1563) and *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyākhyā* (*Taishō*, No. 1606) a different list of eighteen *āveṇika buddhadharmas* occurs, made up of ten powers (*bala*), four confidences (*vaiśāradya*), three bases of mindfulness and *mahākaruṇā*. In the *Mañjuśrīparipṛcchā* (*Taishō*, No. 486) under the eighteen *āveṇika buddhadharmas*, the ten powers, the four confidences, and *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *upekṣā* and *mahākaruṇā* are enumerated.

There is no reference to a list of eighteen *āveṇika buddhadharmas* in early Theravāda Buddhism, apart from the late list from the *Jinālaṅkāra* cited by Burnouf in the *Lotus*, appendix IX. Though this list is not identical with the lists found in the *Mahāvyutpatti* and *Mahāvastu*, it agrees substantially with them (*BHS*.).

A list of eighteen *āveṇika bodhisattvadharmas* occurs in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB*. XIII, p. 13) and *Ratnamegha-sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 660) which differ essentially from those discussed in connection with a Buddha. The eighteen are ; (1) a bodhisattva's generosity is uninstructed (*anupadiṣṭa*) ; (2) so is his virtue (*śīla*) ; (3) his patience (*kṣānti*) ; (4) his striving (*vīrya*) ; (5) his concentration of thoughts (*dhyāna*) and (6) his knowledge (*prajñā*) ; (7) he serves all in the right spirit of service (*saṅgrahavastu*) ; (8) he knows the ways of maturing thoughts (*pariṇāmana vidhijña*) ; (9) he instructs all beings in the noble vehicle by employing expedience according to the mentality of beings (*upāyakauśalya-sarvasattvacaritādhipatyaparamayāna niryāṇa saṃdarśaka*) ; (10) he is not fallen from the 'great vehicle' (*Mahāyānācyuta*) ; (11) he points out the mouth (i.e., exit) from saṃsāra and (the entrance) into Nirvāṇa (*saṃsāra nirvāṇa mukha saṃdarśaka*) ; (12) he is clever in the technique of yoga practices (*yamakavyatyastāhāra kuśala*) : (13) his conduct in all births is blameless and free from accumulation of karmic force, but is always guided by knowledge (*jñānapūrvaṃgamānabhisaṃskāra-niravadya-sarva-janmābhimukhapravṛtta*) ; (14) his bodily, verbal and mental activities are directed towards the ten meritorious actions ; (15) he takes upon himself and endures the mass of suffering to relieve all beings of such misery ; (16) he does not waver even slightly in his determination to attain omniscience though he lives among foolish people and śrāvakas ; (17) he directs the entire world to realise what is cherished by it and (18) he does not turn away from the search for the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, a search which crowns him with the knowledge of all dharmas.

W.G.W.

ĀVEṆIKA SUTTA (*S*. IV, 239). The Buddha gives five special tribulations which a woman has to undergo as distinct from a man ; at a tender age she goes to her husband's family, leaving her relatives ; she is subject to menses, to pregnancy and to labour at child-birth ; and she has to wait upon a man.

U.K.

AVERSION, repugnance, resentment (*paṭigha*, literally : striking against), a form of hate (*dosa*) and ill-will (*vyāpāda*). The two classes of consciousness which are associated with aversion (*paṭigha-sampayutta*) are also accompanied by grief (*domanassa-sahagata*) and are rooted in hate (*dosa-mūla* : *Abhs*. p. 1, §2). It is one of the seven kinds of latent bias (*anusaya*), for, even when not actually bursting with anger, one continues to foster a smouldering feeling of aversion (*D*. III, 254 and commentary). In the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D*. I, 25) an instance is given where some recluses (*samaṇa*) and brāhmans refrain from expressing any opinion, fearing to be influenced by their wish (*chanda*) or desire (*rāga*), by their ill-feeling (*dosa*) or resentment (*paṭigha*).

This ethically unskilful (*akusala*) mental state should not be confused with the psychologically dying-out of the consciousness of sense-reactions (*paṭigha-saññānaṃ atthagama* : *D.* III, 224) which is a state of mind, experienced in mental absorption (*jhāna*) in infinite space. See DOSA, PAṬIGHA.

H.G.A.v.Z.

ĀVEŚA (Jap. *a-bi-sha* ; Chin. *a -wei-shê* 阿尾奢), the entering of a deity or a demon in a medium which becomes 'possessed'. This phenomenon is described in detail in several texts, especially *Taishō*, No. 1277 : *Method of āveśa, taught by the deity Maheśvara*. If one wants to know things of the future, one has first to select four or five boys or girls, seven or eight years of age, without facial scar or mark, sharp in hearing and bright in intelligence. For at least three days or a week they should be kept on a frugal diet. Then, on a day auspicious for the ceremony, they should be bathed, perfumed with incense and dressed in clean clothes, holding some camphor in their mouth. In front of the reciter, who carries the mantras and faces the east, the child is then placed on a small white sandalwood altar surrounded with incense at the distance of a cubit (18 inches) and strewn with flowers. The reciter burns incense in a cauldron, sprinkles scented water and pronounces the 'mantra of the great seal' with a sevenfold blessing. The smoke of the incense is made to rise through the hands of the child covering its face, while once more the blessing is recited seven times and red flowers are offered. Soon afterwards the child will begin to tremble, which is the sign of possession, and that is the time to put questions about good luck or ill fate in the future. This part of the ceremony is called *hashina* (鉢私那 *po-szŭ-na*) from the Sanskrit *praśna*, interrogation.

In *Taishō* (No. 2061.1) it is related that Vajrabodhi in the imperial palace of China bound by his mantras two girls of seven years, who became possessed by two deceased princesses. Similar practices are wide spread even now in China and Annam. (Cp. *Hbg.* s.v. *abisha.*)

H.G.A.v.Z.

ĀVEYYA, name of Samādapaka (q.v.) thera, in a previous birth as a king.

AVĪCI. Used in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 75) and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 159) as a simile to describe the density of population, and translated by T. W. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha,* III, p. 73) as 'waveless deep', it has come to signify, probably in latter times, a subdivision of hell in Buddhist cosmology.

Except for one instance in the *Itivuttaka* (86) where the word *Avīci* is definitely used to denote a hell, none of the nikāyas use the word in this sense. The *Itivuttaka* passage, however, recurs in the *Vinaya* (II, 203) and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (1280).

The nikāyas (e.g., *Saṃyutta*, I, 152 ; *Suttanipāta*, pp. 126 f.) refer to a different system of hells (which we might for convenience call the Ababa system, as it begins with Ababa Niraya), but Avīci is not included in this list. Several passages are found in the nikāyas, on the other hand, describing what is there designated as the great hell, or *mahāniraya*. For instance, in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (III, 165) the Buddha, on being requested for a simile to describe the mahāniraya, presents a vivid picture of the sufferings and tortures undergone by one condemned to its fires. The *Devadūta Sutta* of the same nikāya (*M.* III, 183) gives a similar description, as does also the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 141).

On the other hand, the only sense in which the word *Avīci* is known to the commentaries is in its use as a designation for one of the worst hells. Buddhaghosa (*AA.* I, 876) identifies this Avīci with the mahāniraya of the nikāyas, explaining the *Suttanipāta* list (the Ababa system) as being the names for periods of suffering to be spent in Avīci. The *Jātakas* (e.g., V. 266), however, classify Avīci as one of eight major hells, the others being, Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Roruwa, Mahāroruwa, Saṅghāta, Tapana and Patāpana.

The nikāya descriptions of Mahāniraya, which Buddhaghosa has identified with Avīci, are almost identical with each other. The *Bālapaṇḍita Sutta* (*M.* III, 165), the *Devadūta Sutta* (*M.* III, 183) and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 141) are all agreed as to the description of Mahāniraya as :

'Four-cornered and with four gates,
It is divided into equal portions
Encircled with an iron wall,
With a roof of iron above.
Its incandescent floor is made of glowing iron
All round, it stands a hundred *yojanas* square'.

The *Devadūta Sutta* adds that the flames from each wall beat against the opposite wall, the flames from the floor beat against the roof, and those from the roof beat against the floor below. Its gates keep opening and closing to tantalise the inmates trying to escape from its fires which burn their skin and scorch them to the marrow of their bones. Lurid

descriptions are given of the tortures to which the sinner is subjected by the guardians of hell. After Yama, the lord of death, has given his verdict, the 'sinner' is subjected to a sort of crucifixion known as *pañcavidha bandhana*, whereby his hands and feet and breast are pierced with iron stakes. He is then hurled into the Mahāniraya, where the guardians of hell use adzes and razors to plane him and saw him. They tie him to a chariot and drag him to and fro over blazing ground. He is boiled in a cauldron and when he is allowed to escape from there he escapes only to the adjacent hell, the Gūthaniraya (See NIRAYA), from which he enters another and another. Having completed the cycle, he is returned once again to the Mahāniraya. The *Saṅkicca Jātaka*, too, says that 'escape from hence is hopeless' (*J.* V, 266).

The commentaries, although they are direct in their reference to Avīci as a hell, are not clear in their description and are varied in their opinion. They differ, for instance, as to its location. It is, according to one commentary (*SnA.* II, 443), part of a *cakkavāḷa*, while another (*DhpA.* I, 127, 147) assumes it to be under the earth. The notorious sinners of the Buddhist scriptures, e.g., Devadatta are dragged down to Avīci by the earth opening wide beneath them, the flames which emerge pulling them in. The *Visuddhimagga* (p. 413) refers to it as the lowest point of the universe. The *Milinda-pañha* (p. 5) places it outside the sphere of the earth. A Sinhala tradition, reported by Spence Hardy, considers it to be seven hundred miles below the bodhi-tree at Gayā.

The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, describing the tortures suffered by Devadatta in Avīci, presents a picture, almost identical with that given in the nikāyas, of the Mahāniraya. The tortures there, too, begin with the *pañcavidha bandhana*. The *Suttanipāta* commentary, however, gives the extent of Avīci as ten thousand leagues while the nikāyas are satisfied with a hundred leagues for their Mahāniraya.

The nature of the sins for which birth in Avīci is the punishment is indicated in the biographies of the wrong-doers who according to the scriptures were dragged down there, i.e., Devadatta, Cunda, Ānanda who raped Uppalavaṇṇā, Jambuka the murderer of the pacceka-buddha Sunetta, Sīvali, Suppabuddha, Mallikā, Ciñcā and Kapila.

B.J.

AVĪCISAMSOSAṆA, name of one of the many samādhis entered into by Avalokiteśvara. At the request of the bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (text reads—ṇīvaraṇa) the Buddha gives a list of samādhis, acquired by Avalokiteśvara, in which this particular one is also mentioned (*Kvyū.* p. 51).

S.K.N.

AVIDDHAKARṆA SAṄGHĀRĀMA, an ancient monastery in Benares mentioned by Hsüan-tsang in his account of India (trsl. by Beal, pp. 304–5). He calls it A-pi-t'o-chieh-la-na, meaning "Ears not pierced." The monastery is so named because it was built by the king of that country for the residence of some monks, with unpierced ears, who had been travelling in India to propagate the doctrine of the Buddha. The king also decreed that the monastery be built for the special entertainment of strangers and that no priest with pierced ears should ever dwell there.

Describing the monastery, Hsüan-tsang says that the encircling wall was not very great, but the ornamental work of the building was very artistic. The priests were well behaved and of great dignity.

Beal is of opinion that a place called Baliya was the site of the monastery, whereas Cunningham suggests that it was Bikapur, about one mile east of Baliya (*Beal*, p. 304, n. 52).

H.R.P.

AVIDYĀ, ignorance. See AVIJJĀ.

AVIDYĀNDHAKĀRAVIDHVAMSANAKARA, a name of a Buddha, occurring in a list of names of former Buddhas. He is the 35th in a list which has 81 names (*Svyū.* 6).

AVIGATA-PACCAYA, the condition of continuity, one of the twenty-four relationships or modes of conditionality in which mental and physical phenomena are related to, and dependent on, one another.

Although this condition of relative continuity is very much like the condition of presence (*atthi-paccaya*, q.v.) it is in a certain sense its complement. The relation between two states which is described as being in the presence of one another might be misconstrued as a simultaneous presence of two entities, unless this 'being present' is understood as the simultaneous occurrence of two actions in the presence of one another without mutual prevention or hindrance. It is this particular relationship of non-disappearance (*a-vigata*) which fills the vacuum caused by the absence of any 'reality' in the presence of action. For, it might be argued, how can two or

more phenomena condition one another 'by their presence' (*atthi*), if they have no real 'existence' according to the doctrine of insubstantiality (*anattā*)? Absence of reality, of a substance, or a soul, does not involve a disappearance of actuality, i.e., of action and reaction; and thus, it is this relationship of non-disapperance (*avigata*), which safeguards the actual conditioning which is the relationship of actuality, i.e., of action and reaction. See PACCAYA.

H.G.A.v.Z.

AVIGRAHA, name of a *buddhakṣetra*, a Buddha-field, in the western region. In answer to a question by Mahākāśyapa, Mahākātyāyana gives a list of *buddhakṣetras* in all the four directions (*Mhvu.* I, 124). See BUDDHAKṢETRA.

AVIHĀ, a class of deities, believed to inhabit the lowest of the five Pure Abodes (*suddhāvāsa*) which are the highest sphere of beings of the Rūpaloka (*Abhs.*v, 21 f.). The name *aviha* literally means 'not falling from prosperity' (*attano sampattiyā na hāyantīti Avihā: DA* II, 480; *VbhA.* 521). The *Saṅgīti Suttanta* (*D.* III, 237) lists them among its 'fives'.

The Buddha, according to the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*D.* II, 50 f.), when he decided once to visit the Pure Abodes, first visited the Avihā devā who reported to him various details of the lives of previous Buddhas as well as those of his own, finally confessing that 'we being those who lived the holy life under the Exalted One, and purged the lusts of the flesh, have been reborn here' (trsl. Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Luzac, London, 1951, II, 39). It is after having visited first this heaven that the Buddha resorts to the other four of the Pure Abodes. Again, explaining in the *Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta* (*M.* III, 103) how beings are born in various states of existence through and according to their aspiration, the Buddha mentions Avihā along with Vehapphalā, Attappā, Sudassī and Akaniṭṭhā as those heavens in which a monk possessing faith (*saddhā*), moral habit (*sīla*), learning (*suta*), relinquishment (*cāga*) and wisdom (*paññā*) may be reborn according to his aspiration. He, however, speaks lightly of such achievements as compared to that of freedom from the cankers (*āsava*).

Bhaddiya, Bāhudanti, Kuṇḍadeva, Palagaṇḍa, Pukkusāti and Piṅgiya are said to have attained arahantship immediately after their birth in Avihā (*MA.* II, 999). Anāgāmins are born in Avihā and attain arahantship there (*ItA.* 40).

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā* (*PsA.* 319) says that *uddhaṃsotas* begin their careers in Avihā and end up in Akaniṭṭha.

The Avihā devas are beautiful in appearance and are long-lived (*M.* III, 103). Their life-term lasts one thousand kappas.

See further, COSMOLOGY, SUDDHĀVĀSA.

B.J.

AVIHIṂSĀ, non-violence. See AHIṂSĀ

AVIHIṂSĀ SUTTA, a name for *Ākodha-avihiṃsā Sutta* (q.v.).

AVIJJĀ (Skt. *avidyā*; from *a*+√ *vid*). The word means 'ignorance' and signifies the lack of direct and objective understanding of the nature of reality as pertaining to man and his destiny in the universe. As such, in the earliest expositions, the term is defined to mean the lack of knowledge regarding the Four Noble Truths, namely, ignorance regarding the unsatisfactoriness of things, the cause of this unsatisfactoriness, the cessation of unsatisfactoriness and the path leading to the cessation of this unsatisfactoriness (*S.*II, 4; IV, 256; V, 429).

According to this conception there is continuity of the causally conditioned individuality within the cosmos. But such cosmic existence is inevitably marked by periods of physical pain, mental anguish and the insecurity resulting from the impermanency of the pleasures experienced, whatever their quality or duration may be, in view of the fact that they are all causally conditioned. One's very ignorance of what is actually taking place is said to be one of the main causes, if not the main cause, of the conditioned continuity. It is said that one cannot trace a first beginning of this continuity of individuality which is grounded in ignorance (*S.* II, 178; *A.* V, 113), since, however early we go back, there is a possibility of going back still earlier in the immense epochs of time of an oscillating universe which is contracting and expanding (*saṃvaṭṭa-vivaṭṭa-kappa*) with no known beginning.

However, by discovering the causal factors operating within us and in our reactions with our environment, it is considered possible to put an end to conditioned existence, which coincides with the attainment of the unconditioned. The means for doing so is outlined in the Noble Eightfold Path which is thus a means of getting rid of our ignorance (*S.* IV, 256). We thus see the central part played by

ignorance in reality as well as in the scheme of emancipation which is accomplished by the cessation of ignorance (*avijjā-nirodha*).

Ignorance is also one of the main motivating factors which tend to keep us tied down to conditioned cosmic existence. Greed (*rāga, lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and ignorance are considered to be the springs of action which actuate us to commit evil acts. The word used to describe ignorance in this context is usually *moha* (confusion), but often the word *avijjā* (ignorance) replaces it (e.g., *yassa rāgo ca doso ca avijjā ca virājitā : It.* 68, 69). The two are in fact identified (*avijjā h'ayaṃ mahāmoho : Sn.v.*730) and the 'confusion which is the root of evil' (*moho akusala-mūlaṃ*) is held to be synonymous with 'the element of ignorance' (*avijjādhātu : Vbh.* 86). If the universe was strictly determined either in a theistic or a natural sense, it could not have been possible for man to get rid of his ignorance with his own efforts, but since causation (*paticca-samuppāda*) in the Buddhist sense stands between the extremes of strict determinism (*niyativāda*) and total indeterminism (*adhicca-samuppāda*), it is considered possible for man, by the exercise of his limited free will (*purisakāra*), to adopt the 'right philosophy of life' (*sammādiṭṭhi*) by an intellectual appreciation (*ākāravatī saddhā*) of the Buddhist conception of the nature and the place of man in the universe. This makes it possible for him to bridge the gap between ignorance and knowledge by the adoption of 'right beliefs ' which eventually culminate in 'right knowledge' (*sammā-ñāṇa*).

It is important to realise that, although we translate *avijjā* as 'lack of knowledge', the negative in Indian thought has a positive connotation (e.g., *ārogya* means 'a state of health' rather than 'the absence of disease') and *avijjā* includes the totality of the false or erroneous beliefs that we entertain about man and his destiny in the universe.

Thus, the entertaining of false speculations about the past (*pubbantānudiṭṭhi : D.* I, 12) or the future (*aparantānudiṭṭhi : D.* I, 30) and the building of theories or views based on them, in conflict with the understanding of the nature of things, would constitute *avijjā*. The failure to grasp the theory of causation (*paṭicca-samuppāda*), with its emphasis on mutual dependence (*idappaccayatā*) and its difference from both determinism as well as indeterminism, would also constitute an important part of *avijjā*.

We find, therefore, that in the next stratum of thought (*Abhidhamma Piṭaka*) a more explicit definition is given of *avijjā* to include the above, although this was implicit in the earlier definition. Thus, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* defines confusion(*moha*) or the impediment of ignorance (*avijjā-nīvaraṇa*) as follows: "ignorance regarding the unsatisfactoriness of things, the cause of this unsatisfactoriness, the cessation of unsatisfactoriness and the path leading to the cessation of this unsatisfactoriness, ignorance regarding the past (*pubbante aññāṇa*) ignorance regarding the future (*aparante aññāṇa*), ignorance regarding the past and the future, ignorance regarding the mutual dependence of causally conditioned events (*idappaccayatā paṭicca-samuppannesu dhammesu aññāṇa*)—and any such ignorance, lack of insight, of understanding, of comprehension, of enlightenment, of penetration, of verification, unwisdom, naivety, unintelligence, the confusion of stupidity, bewilderment, ignorance (*avijjā*), the flood of ignorance, the yoke of ignorance, subliminal ignorance, the obsession of ignorance, the barrier of ignorance, the confusion which is the root of evil—this is said to be confusion (*moha : Dhs.* § 1061) . . . this is said to be the impediment of ignorance" (*avijjā-nīvaraṇa : Dhs.* § 1162 ; cp. *avijjāsava*, similarly defined at *Dhs.* § 1100). This 'impediment of ignorance' is said to be present in all beings who are subject to re-becoming (*M.* I, 294), while those beings who have attained knowledge, do not go on to re-becoming (*vijjāgatā ca ye sattā nāgacchanti punabbhavaṃ : Sn. v.* 730).

The definition of *avijjā* given in the Chinese Āgamas in the counterpart of the *Vibhaṅga Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* II, 2–4) reads as follows: "It is ignorance of the past, the future, both past and future, the interior, the exterior, both interior and exterior, action, consequence, both action and consequence, the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha, unsatisfactoriness, its arising, its cessation and the path. It is ignorance of cause, causally conditioned things, good and evil, transgression and non-transgression, what is suitable and what is not, what is inferior and what is superior, what is defiled and what is pure, discrimination and causality. It is absence of right understanding with regard to the six spheres of sense-contact, ignorance of things as they are, the absence of knowledge and perception of such and such things, the absence of perfect enlightenment. It is confusion, absence of illumination the great mass of darkness that is called ignorance (*wu-ming : Taishō,* 2.85 a-b, *Tsa-a-han-ching, Saṃyukta,* fasc. 12, sūtra No. 16). The same description is found in the *Yüan-ch'i-ching* (*Pratītya-samutpāda Sūtra*) translated by

Hsüan-tsang (*Taishō*, No. 124, Vol 2. 547 f.). The Sanskrit version of this sūtra was found in two brick inscriptions from Nālandā and edited by N. P. Chakravarti (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, 179–99) and translated by P. C. Bagchi (ibid. 201–4).

It will be seen that it is only a further explication of the same theme. Concepts which are included with the Four Noble Truths, such as action, consequence etc., are elaborated for the sake of emphasis and clarity.

Vijjā or knowledge is thus represented as the contradictory of *avijjā* or ignorance. Thus, it is stated that 'knowledge is the counterpart of ignorance' (*avijjāya kho vijjā paṭibhāgo : M.* I, 304). The two are constantly contrasted throughout the nikāyas and it is held that with the elimination of ignorance (*avijjā*), knowledge (*vijjā*) comes into being, as much as light arises with the disappearance of darkness (cp. *M.* I, 22 ; *A.* II, 196 ; *S.* IV, 49).

It is, however, a mistake to think that the state of pure knowledge about the nature of things is identical with the state of emancipation. Such direct knowledge results in deliverance (*sammā-ñāṇassa sammā-vimutti pahoti : M.* I, 76). It is pointed out that one does not put an end to (*antakara*) one's self-centred cosmic existence by means of knowledge (*vijjā*), conduct (*caraṇa*), both or neither, since such knowledge is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition of salvation, although, as a result of knowing and seeing things as they are, one attains final emancipation (*A.* II, 163, 164). The process as described is almost simultaneous, for it is said that, as one sees and comprehends the Four Noble Truths pertaining to unsatisfactoriness and the inflowing impulses (*āsava*), one's mind is emancipated from the inflowing impulses, pertaining to the gratification of the senses (*kāmāsava*), to self-centred pursuits (*bhavāsava*) and ignorance (*avijjāsava*), and there arises the realisation that emancipation has been attained (*D.* I, 84).

It is necessary to stress that the kind of knowledge required for emancipation in the earlier and later stages of moral and spiritual progress is knowledge that concerns man's nature and place in the universe and not knowledge concerning aspects of nature which have no bearing on the former, but which may be legitimate fields of investigation for modern science. Thus, there could be branches of secular knowledge which have no relevance for man's moral progress and spiritual salvation. Ignorance of the body of knowledge in these branches of study would not constitute an impediment to the pursuit of salvation and, therefore, is not reckoned as part and parcel of ignorance (*avijjā*) as understood in Buddhism. The study of the various arts and sciences, referred to as 'branches of study' (*vijjaṭṭhānāni* : *J.* I, 259) at the time, was, therefore, not required for the elimination of ignorance. As the parable of the *siṃsapa* leaves (*S.* V, 437) brings out, the Buddha confined himself to teaching only that which man ought to know about himself and the universe for the sake of his moral development and eventual emancipation.

This is not to deny that there may be branches of study which have a bearing on matters moral and spiritual, such as aspects of psychology and physics, the study of which may be helpful in the understanding of the nature of man and reality as set out in the Dhamma. Such studies may, therefore, be legitimately cultivated by monks bent on the understanding of the Dhamma for the sake of salvation. It is worth mentioning here that, except as regards the knowledge or the realisation of the transcendent reality of Nirvāṇa beyond space, time and causation, the knowledge about man and the cosmos as set out in Buddhism is not in principle different from scientific knowledge. This is due to the fact that the Buddha, like the scientist, conceives of nature as a causal system in which non-deterministic causal laws operate and causal correlations are discernible. The aim of the Buddha is to see 'things as they are' (*yathā-bhūta*) to the impartial and unbiassed mind and not as they seem to a mind which is obsessed by and confused with different types of perversions (*vipallāsa*). The Dhamma is presented as a body of verifiable (*ehipassika*) truths, to be verified by each person for himself (*paccattaṃ veditabbo*), and such verification is in terms of perception (sensory and extra-sensory) and inference. Even with regard to extra-sensory perception, rational psychological reasons are suggested for bringing about the conditions under which mystical states and extra-sensory powers may develop in the mind.

If, with the removal of all ignorance with regard to matters moral and spiritual, the mind slips into a state of emancipation, the non-emancipated mind is in a state of ignorance. This means that, right up to the attainment of 'right knowledge' (*sammā-ñāṇa*), which is hastened by the right attunement of the mind (*sammā-samādhi*) in the jhānic states (*sammāsamādhissa sammāñāṇaṃ pahoti : M.* III, 76), the mind is in a state of ignorance. It would, therefore, follow that the

entertaining of right beliefs or views (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) at the initial stage of the Noble Eightfold Path should take place in a state of ignorance and cannot be influenced by a state of knowledge. Thus, we find the statement that "the occurrence of evil states of mind in the wake of a lack of a sense of moral shame or fear is preceded by ignorance (*avijjā*) and the ignorant person, lacking in foresight, tends to entertain false views" (*micchā-diṭṭhi pahoti: S.* V, 1). But in the same breath it is said that "the occurrence of good states of mind in the wake of a sense of moral shame or fear is preceded by knowledge (*vijjā....pubbaṅgamā*) and a man with knowledge (*vijjāgata*), possessed of foresight, tends to entertain right views" (*sammādiṭṭhi pahoti: A.* V, 2).

This passage seems to suggest the very opposite of what we surmised, namely, that long before the attainment of right knowledge (*sammā-ñāṇa*) at the culmination of the Noble Eightfold Path, it is possible to be led by knowledge (*vijjā*) which precedes and actuates the adoption of right views or beliefs. Strictly, both right or true beliefs, as well as wrong or false beliefs, must be included within ignorance (*avijjā*), the latter because the beliefs are false and the former because they are still beliefs, not amounting to knowledge. Yet, we find in tradition that 'right views' or 'beliefs' (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) are held to be synonymous with, or are included within knowledge (*vijjā*). Thus, the definition of knowledge (*vijjā*), given in the *Nettippakaraṇa* (76), includes such concepts as investigation (*vicaya*), the factor of enlightenment consisting of investigation into the Dhamma (*dhamma-vicaya-sambojjhaṅga*), cogitation (*cintā*), scrutiny (*upaparikkhā*) and right views (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), although the earlier part of this definition is the exact opposite of the definition of *avijjā*, viz., *dukkhe ñāṇaṃ dukkha samudaye ñāṇaṃ.... idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppannesu dhammesu ñāṇaṃ....*

The resolution of this paradox or apparent contradiction may lie, partly, in the recognition of the fact that the destruction of all ignorance (*avijjā*) about matters moral and spiritual is only the final stage of a continuous process in which aspects of ignorance are being gradually eliminated. Thus, when it is said that "one sees and knows that the eye is impermanent, ignorance (*avijjā*) is being eliminated and knowledge (*vijjā*) comes into being" (*S.* IV, 50), what could be meant here is not the final knowledge resulting in deliverance, but an item of knowledge which one acquires in due course and builds on. It is also in this sense that one could speak of acquiring the intuitive faculty of seeing one's past lives which is described as 'the first (important item of) knowledge one has' (*ayam assa paṭhamā vijjā adhigatā hoti : A.* I, 164), the second (*dutiyā vijjā*) being clairvoyance, and only the third (*tatiyā vijjā*) the verification of the Four Noble Truths concerning Ill, and the inflowing impulses (*āsava : A.* I, 165).

Yet, this would not explain how 'right views' (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) can be construed as constituting knowledge, even though the adoption of right views may be preceded by the realisation that things are impermanent. If one examines the definition of *sammā-diṭṭhi* in this stratum of thought (*Abhidhamma Piṭaka*) we find that it is the same definition as that given of *vijjā* therein, viz:

"Now what are right views? The knowledge concerning unsatisfactoriness, the knowledge of the origin of unsatisfactoriness...." (*Vibhaṅga,* 104). This would appear to be strange, for if one begins with knowledge concerning the Four Noble Truths from the very start, there is no necessity for a path, or it would appear, as if the Noble Eightfold Path is trodden all at once and that *sammā-diṭṭhi* should be translated as 'right vision' rather than 'right views'. But this would be in conflict with the central teaching that the path constitutes a gradual course of training (*ānupubbī sikkhā*), culminating in final enlightenment.

The source of this confusion could be traced to the earlier description of 'right views' (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) as being of two types, viz., 'associated with the inflowing impulses' (*sāsava*) and 'not associated with the inflowing impulses' (*anāsava : M.* III, 72). The definition of the latter reads as follows : "*yā.. ariyacittassa anāsavacittassa ariyamaggassa samaṅgino ariyamaggaṃ bhāvayato paññā paññindriyaṃ paññābalaṃ dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅgo sammādiṭṭhi maggaṅgā*". A comparison with the definition of *vijjā* in the *Nettippakaraṇa* shows that all the epithets underlined are included, viz. "*....yā evarūpā paññā ....paññindriyaṃ paññābalaṃ....sammādiṭṭhi dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅgo maggaṅgaṃ....*" (76). Thus, it seems to be a mistake to interpret *anāsavā sammādiṭṭhi* as 'right views not *affected by* the āsavas', for in such a case there would be no necessity for one to cultivate the path. It should rather mean the 'right views not associated with āsavas' in the sense that such a person is conscious of the need for getting rid of all these āsavas, while the other entertains them in the hope of

reward in future states of becoming.[1] If so, the *Netti* is mistaken in including *sammādiṭṭhi* and *dhammavicaya sambojjhaṅga* in the definition of *vijjā*, since even true beliefs or investigation do not amount to knowledge.

One of the most significant statements made about ignorance (*avijjā*) is that it is one of the main causes, if not *the* main cause, of conditioned, individual, saṃsāric existence. The nexus of causally correlated factors, which describe the nature of the individual's reactions to the environment, and the conditioning which promotes continued becoming, usually stem from ignorance (*avijjā*), which is said to have no known beginning (*S.* II, 178; *A.* V, 113). Thus, it is said that "ignorance is correlated with volitional activities" (*avijjāya kho sati saṅkhārā honti avijjā-paccayā saṅkhārā : S.* II, 7) and that "when there is no ignorance there are no volitional activities and that with the cessation of ignorance there is a cessation of volitional activities" (*avijjāya kho asati saṅkhārā na honti avijjānirodhā saṅkhāranirodho : S.* II, 9). Again it is said: "If it is asked what is the causal condition (*upanisā*) of volitional activities the answer should be 'ignorance' " (*S.* II, 31).

The fact that ignorance is mentioned at the head of a list of causally correlated factors has led many scholars (Kern, Jacobi, Pischel, Schayer) to identify 'ignorance' mistakenly as the first-cause of a 'kosmische Emanations-formel', despite the fact that the texts clearly state that there is no known 'first beginning' (*purimā koṭi*) of ignorance (*A.* V, 113) and it is said that the causal formula beginning with ignorance is an attempt to explain phenomena in terms of causally correlated factors 'in the middle' (*majjhe*) instead of seeking for first or final causes (*M.* I, 265; cp. *S.* II, 20, 21). The attempt to regard the whole nexus of causally correlated factors as being present in a single moment (Paul Dahlke) leads to a paradox like birth (*jāti*) and death (*maraṇa*) being simultaneously present.

There is no need to discard the traditional explanation which is not only consistent with the text but also quite intelligible. According to the text, as a result of ignorance (*avijjā*) we perform volitional acts of the body (*kāya-saṅkhāra*), of speech (*vacī-saṅkhāra*) or of the mind (*mano-saṅkhāra*), either of our own accord (*sāmaṃ*) or at the instigation of others (*pare*), with full awareness of what we are doing (*sampajāno*), or without full awareness of what we are doing (*asampajāno : S.* II, 40).

These volitional acts of body, speech and mind are classified into three sorts. It is said: "when a person under the influence of ignorance performs a meritorious volitional act, his consciousness tends to become meritorious; if he performs a demeritorious act his consciousness tends to become demeritorious; and if he performs a volitional act associated with the imperturbable states, his consciousness tends to become imperturbable" (*S.* II, 82). This is further explained in the *Vibhaṅga* (135), where ignorance is defined as the lack of knowledge concerning the Four Noble Truths and the volitional acts are classified as meritorious, demeritorious, or imperturbable, of body, speech and mind. The meritorious volitional activities are further defined as "the good volitions (*kusalā cetanā*), associated with the spheres of sense-gratification (*kāmāvacara*) and subtle material form (*rūpāvacara*), such as the giving of alms (*dānamaya*), the practice of virtuous actions (*sīlamaya*) or meditation (*bhāvanāmaya*). Demeritorious volitional activities are the evil volitions (*akusalā cetanā*), associated with the sphere of sense-gratification (*kāmāvacara*) and the imperturbable activities are the good volitions (*kusalā cetanā*) associated with the formless sphere (*arūpāvacara*). The volitional activities of body, speech and mind are defined as conditioned acts of will (*sañcetanā*) of body, speech and mind, respectively.

It may be asked how 'ignorance' (*avijjā*) could occasion or be the cause of meritorious volitional acts. The explanation given by Nyānatiloka, in an article on 'Paṭicca Samuppāda' (*Guide Through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, First Ed., Lake House, Colombo, 1938, p. 146) which tries to present some of the expositions of the *Paṭṭhāna*, is that when we act so as to eliminate our own ignorance or that of others, ignorance becomes an object (*ārammaṇa*) of contemplation or a basis (*upanissaya*) for meritorious volitional activity and thus, by becoming the occasion or reason, instigates meritorious volitional acts.

A somewhat different explanation may be given as follows: According to the Buddhist theory of motivation the impelling factors (*hetu-paccaya* : cp. *hetu* from √ *hi*, to impel, instigate) or the springs of action are greed (*lobha*, *rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and ignorance (*moha* or *avijjā*) and their opposites. Greed consists of the desire for sense-gratification (*kāma-rāga*, °-*taṇhā*), as well as the desire for self-centred pursuits (*bhava-rāga*, °-*taṇhā*), while hatred

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1 cp. *sammādiṭṭhi sāsavā puññabhāgiyā upadhivepakkā*, i.e., right views associated with the inflowing impulses, partaking of meritorious reward and finding fruition with substrata (orr re-becoming).

springs from the desire for destruction (*vibhava-taṇhā*). Ignorance consists of the sum-total of true and false beliefs. We are motivated to act according to these desires and beliefs and it is said that the desires promote the false beliefs (illusions, rationalisations) while the false beliefs in turn promote the desires.

Avijjā or *moha*, as one of these springs of action, consists of erroneous, false beliefs about the nature and destiny of man in the universe, based on various theories and speculations regarding the past (*pubbanta*) and the future (*aparanta*). Some of these theories, though erroneous as a whole, may contain elements of truth, such as beliefs in free will, moral responsibility and survival. Man acting under the influence of such philosophies containing elements of truth, could perform meritorious actions. It is in this sense that the *Visuddhimagga* explains the performance of meritorious-volitional activities under the influence of ignorance (*avijjā*) : "Craving for becoming is the specific condition of action which leads to a happy fate. Wherefore ? Because the average man, overcome by the craving for becoming, strives to do the various kinds of deeds leading to a happy fate, such as abstinence from life-taking. . . ."

The *Visuddhimagga* (xvii, §§ 118–19) further amplifies this as follows, quoting an ancient verse in support of its point of view :

"Blinded by ignorance, he is like a blind man who wanders about the earth, encountering now right and now wrong paths, now heights and now hollows, now even and now uneven ground, and so he forms formations (plans acts) now of merit, now of demerit and now imperturbable. Hence this is said :

As one born blind, who gropes along
Without assistance from a guide,
Chooses a road that may be right
At one time, at another wrong,
So while the foolish man pursues
The round of births without a guide,
Now to do merit he may choose
And now demerit in such plight.
But when the Law he comes to know
And penetrates the Truths beside,
Then ignorance is put to flight
At last, and he in peace may go."

(trsl. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 626)

It is not only the wrong views of life containing elements of truth, but even the right philosophy of life (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) can strictly be regarded as ignorance by virtue of the fact that its adoption comprises the acceptance of true beliefs (with or without a few elements of knowledge) not amounting to knowledge. It seems to be in this wise that one has to understand the statement that "ignorance is correlated with volitional activities" (*avijjā-paccayā saṅkhārā*) which has given rise to so much misunderstanding amongst scholars.

K.N.J.

AVIJJĀPACCAYA SUTTA. Two shortened discourses given by the Buddha at Sāvatthi occur by this name in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 60–64). They are based on the well-known formula of dependent origination (*paṭicca - samuppāda*, q. v.). The unusual treatment here of the common subject lies in the interruptions by some unidentified monk, which the Buddha dismisses as an incorrect question (*na kallo pañho*), pointing out that when one says that the process of birth, decay and death is different from the person who grows old and dies, they are really the same in meaning, only differing in form. The Tathāgata rejects both views and maintains that decay and death are conditioned by birth, and that ultimately the entire chain is dependent on, and originates from, ignorance (*avijjā-paccaya*). Only with the complete cessation of ignorance will all other dependents find no root nor arise in the future.

H.G.A.v.Z.

AVIJJĀ SUTTA, a common name for several discourses in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, elaborating on this most important link in the origination and cessation of all phenomena, ignorance (*avijjā*). *Avijjā* is defined by the Buddha as not knowing the nature of the five aggregates of existence, viz., the body, feelings, perceptions, ideations and conscious thought, not knowing how they arise, not knowing their cessation, not knowing how to make them cease (*S.* III, 162). It is, in other words, ignorance as regards the Four Noble Truths as applied to the physical and psychic phenomena of existence.

The cessation of ignorance, then, is brought about by observing the impermanence of the six senses, their organs, objects and consciousness. And with the vanishing of ignorance, knowledge arises (*S.* IV, 30–1).

Again, it is said by the Buddha that ignorance is the one thing to be abandoned, and this can be done by realising the impermanent nature of the senses and their objects, by realising how all happiness and

woe, and even neutral states, arise in dependence on sense-contact. The understanding of their fleeting nature dispels all ignorance (*S.* III, 49–50). This is further enlarged in the next sutta when someone asks the Buddha how to achieve this realisation. His reply is that by non-attachment, deep understanding will arise ; and in this comprehension one will realise the otherness (*aññato* : ibid. 50), the changeability, the impermanence, the insubstantiality of all phenomena.

Sāriputta gives the most conventional explanation of ignorance as consisting of non-understanding the nature of conflict, its origin, cessation, and method of cessation, the approach to the abandoning of this evil being along the Noble Eightfold Path (*S.* IV, 256).

On another occasion the Buddha shows the evil which will follow when ignorance leads the way (*avijjāpubbaṅgamā : S.*V, 1) : shamelessness (*ahirika*) and recklessness (*anottappa*) follow in its train ; wrong views (*micchāsaṅkappa*) arise and these give rise in turn to evil language, evil action evil living, wrong effort, wrong mindfulness and wrong concentration.

As long as one is in ignorance one is a victim of ignorance (*avijjāgato hoti : S.* V, 429) and to realise this, an effort must be made (*yogo karaṇīyo*) to tread the road which leads to the cessation of all conflict.

H.G.A.v.Z.

AVIJÑAPTI, a psychological concept of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism. The term means 'not manifested', 'not expressed', 'latent', etc.

The Sarvāstivādins classify the constituent elements of beings into five aggregates (*skandha*) of which the first aggregate is bodily form or matter (*rūpa-skandha*) which is further sub-divided into three categories, namely, the five sense-organs, the five sense-objects and *avijñapti.* This *avijñapti* is of twofold nature, viz., unmanifested matter (*avijñapti-rūpa*) and unmanifested activity (*avijñapti-karma*). But, when examined closely, it becomes quite clear that *avijñapti* is neither mere matter nor mere activity. On the one hand, it is not mere matter like visible and audible objects, because it always implies some kind of activity ; on the other, it is not mere activity, because it is a product of material elements. This is due to the fact that *avijñapti-karma* partakes of the nature of its cause, namely, *vijñapti-karma* (manifested activity) which is produced by body (*kāya*) and speech (*vācā*), both of which come under the category of matter (*rūpa*). Due to this twofold nature of *avijñapti,* both *avijñapti-rūpa* and *avijñapti-karma* are used, in general, to mean 'unmanifested activity'. Sometimes the term *avijñapti* alone is used in this sense.

Karma is broadly divided into two categories, as mental acts (*cetanākarma*) and physical acts, i.e., corporeal and vocal (*kāyika* and *vācika*). Physical acts are further divided into manifested bodily acts (*kāyika-vijñaptikarma*) and unmanifested bodily acts (*kāyikāvijñaptikarma*) ; manifested vocal acts (*vācika-vijñaptikarma*) and unmanifested vocal acts (*vācikāvijñaptikarma*). According to the Sarvāstivāda school, as soon as one performs an act or expresses an idea (i.e., *vijñapti-karma*), a latent energy is impressed in the individual which they call *avijñapti.*

Stcherbatsky defines *avijñapti* as a variety of karma. When a person takes a vow, he performs a physical, vocal act which is manifest (*vijñapti*) ; but the lasting result of that manifested act is some moral excellence hidden in consciousness, and this is *avijñapti.* This also constitutes a link between the manifested act and future retribution (*The Central Conception of Buddhism,* p. 28).

Once produced by *vijñapti-karma, avijñapti-karma* develops on its own accord, without the agency of thought, whether a person is waking, sleeping or absorbed in deep contemplation. Vasubandhu (*NIA.* I, 69 ff.), in his *Abhidharmakośa,* define's *avijñapti-rūpa* (= *avijñapti-karma*) as follows :

Vikṣiptācittakasyāpi yo' nubandhaḥ śubhāśubhaḥ mahābhūtānyupādāya sā hyavijñapti-rucyate.

" *Avijñapti* is that stream of action which, being either good or bad, is present even in the mind of a distracted or an unconscious person and which is a product of the gross-elements. " Again in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (op.cit.) it is said, " *avijñapti* is that physical element which, being either good or bad, is produced from either manifested activity or deep contemplation " (*vijñaptisamādhisambhūtaṃ kuśalākuśalaṃ rūpaṃ*). Saṅghabhadra in his *Samayapradīpikā* criticised Vasubandhu's definition as inaccurate and put forward a definition of his own :

Kṛte'pi visabhāge'pi citte cittātyaye ca yat vyākṛtāpratighaṃ rūpaṃ sā hyavijñaptiriṣyate.

" *Avijñapti* should be defined as that physical element which, being either good or bad, knows no impediments and which is found in either the wakeful or the concentrated or the absent mind. "

Keeping in mind the criticism levelled at him by Saṅghabhadra, Vasubandhu in his *Pañcaskandhaka* (op.cit.) defines *avijñapti* as follows: " *Avijñapti* is that physical element which is produced from either manifested activity or from a state of contemplation and which is neither impeded nor capable of being illustrated (*vijñaptisamādhisambhūtaṃ rūpaṃ anidarśanaṃ apratighaṃ*).

Sthiramati in his commentary to the *Pañcaskandhaka* gives a detailed classification of *avijñapti*, and except for slight modifications and elaborations, this is more or less similar to the account found in the *Abhidharmakośa*. In this classification, *avijñapti* is said to have three spheres of activity. Firstly, in the world of desires (*kāmāvacara*), where *avijñapti* produced from bodily or vocal acts is of a fourfold nature: (1) binding oneself to the observance of the laws of discipline (*prātimokṣa-saṃvara*); (ii) binding oneself to the observance of the bodhisattva-discipline (*bodhisattva-saṃvara*); (iii) setting oneself in the path of indiscipline (*asaṃvara*); (iv) setting oneself neither in the path of discipline nor in the path of indiscipline (*nobhayagata*).

With this should be compared the *Abhidharmakośa* (4.13) where Vasubandhu classifies *avijñapti* into three divisions, namely, discipline (*saṃvara*), indiscipline (*asaṃvara*) and the third division, which is neither discipline nor indiscipline (*naivasaṃvaranāsaṃvara*). It is evident that *bodhisattva-saṃvara* in Sthiramati's classification is an addition to the classification occurring in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

The second sphere is the world of forms (*rupāvacara*) and here *avijñapti* is of the nature of a moral resolution, produced from a state of meditation (*dhyāna-saṃvara*). In the third sphere of its activity, which is devoid of worldly evils and where pure matter exists (i.e., *anāśravā*), *avijñapti* is in the form of a moral resolution formed in a state of passionlessness (*NIA*. I, pp. 69 f.).

Many schools accepted this concept, but did not assign to it a place among matter (*rūpaskandha*). In the *Sattvasiddhi*, Harivarman assigns it to a group of elements (*dharma*) which are neither mental nor physical (*citta-viprayukta*). The Dharmalakṣaṇa school regards this as a mental phenomenon, but the Sautrāntikas do not admit this. The T'ien-t'ai and the Hua-yen schools of Chinese Buddhism accept that the effect arising from physical and verbal actions are material (*rūpa*). Japanese Buddhism, too, in its concept of *muhyōshiki*, seems to have a parallel to the concept of *avijñapti*

However, it is difficult to establish with any certainty how this concept arose. It could be presumed that as the Buddhists did not accept any kind of acts which have no results, the concept of *avijñapti* was put forward to account for such acts as have no manifested results, and as such it is very much similar to the Indian philosophical concepts of *adṛṣṭa*, *apūrva* and *saṃskāra* (see also McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, I, pp. 128-9; Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, pp. 120, 149-50).

S. K. N.

AVIKALPA, a state 'free from vain imaginings'. The procedure of acquiring this state, relating to the five aggregates of body and mind, is found in the (*Ārya-*) *Avikalpa-praveśa-nāma-dhāraṇī* (q.v.).

AVIKALPABHĀVANĀDEŚA, the title of a text, the authorship of which is ascribed to Vimala, quoted in a Tibetan index, under the title *Rnam-par mi-rtog-paḥi sgom-luṅ* (*Cordier*, III, p. 156, No. 103). The text does not occur in the Sde-dge or Peking editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Cordier (ibid. p. 148) states that the incorporation in the Tengyur of this and some other specified works is not affirmed.

R. H.

AVIKALPA-PRAVEŚA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-avi°*), the name of a work occurring in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Chinese translation, the *Ju-wu-fên-pieh-fa-mên-ching* (入無分別法門經) is attributed to Shih-hu of the later Sung dynasty, 960–1127 A.C. (*Taishō*, No. 654; *Nanjio*, No. 942). The Tibetan version of the text, credited to Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Śrīkūṭarakṣita, occurs in the mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *rnam-par mi-rtog-par ḥjug-pa shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs* (Pek. Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 32, No. 810).

The text contains a Mahāyāna sūtra on the procedure of acquiring the state of *avikalpa*, that is a state free from 'vain imaginings' (For this rendering of *vikalpa* see *BHS*. s.v.). The Buddha is said to have addressed a large assembly of bodhisattvas and others at Rājagṛha, and spoken of this Mahāyāna doctrine, when a bodhisattva, called Rnam-par mi snaṅ-ba, rose in that assembly and requested the Buddha to preach it, so that the bodhisattvas may hear it, grasp it, read it, perceive it and expound it to others. The Buddha then

proceeded to explain the doctrine stating the necessity to renounce all 'vain imaginings' (*vikalpa*) relating to the nature of *rūpa, vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskāra* and *vijñāna*, and so on. He also outlined the beneficial effects of acquiring this knowledge and of expounding it.

Fragments of a text called *Avikalpa-praveśa-dhāraṇī* have been found among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to central Asia during the years 1906-8 (Nos. 51-2 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang*, published for the Commonwealth Relations Office, 1962).

R. H.

AVIKĀRA, (Tibetan : Ḥgyur-ba med-pa ; Chinese: Pu-huai or Pu-pien-i) one of the Mahāyāna samādhis. Its literal meaning is 'non-change' or 'non-modification.' According to the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (p. 1412), it is Avikāra-samādhi wherein, if one concentrates, the modification of all phenomena (*dharma*) is not obtained. The same explanation can be found in some Mahāyāna texts, such as the classical Chinese translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 220, vol. 7, p. 76 a), that of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*Taishō*, No. 223, Vol. 8, p. 252 b) and that of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1509, Vol. 25, p. 398b ; *Mhvyut.* 575).

S. Mo.

AVIKKHEPA, absence of distraction. In the *Dukanipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 83) the term is coupled with energy (*paggāho ca avikkhepo ca*) in a list of paired states of mind. The commentator explains the term as one-pointedness of mind (*citt' ekaggatā*). The same combination is found in the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* (*D.* III, 213) and translated as mental grasp and balance (*Dial. of the Buddha*, III, p. 206).

Avikkhepa is one of the characteristic marks of mental concentration (*samādhi*). It is the stability, solidity, absorbed steadfastness of thought (*cittassa ṭhiti saṇṭhiti avaṭṭhiti : Dhs.* § 11), unperturbed mental procedure. The presence of distraction and loss of evenmindedness are attributed to the presence of excitement (*uddhacca*) and of perplexity (*vicikicchā : Dhs.* §§ 429 and 425).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVIKṢIPTĀṂŚA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while as a bodhisattva he was striving for perfection and enlightenment in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

AVIPRANAṢṬARĀṢṬRA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while as a bodhisattva he was striving for perfection and enlightenment in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.*I, 138).

AVIRAHŪṄKHAṂ (Jap. *a-bi-ra-un-ken*, Chinese, *a-wei-lo-hung-ch'ien* 阿尾囉吽欠), one of the great formulas of the Shingon sect. Actually it is one of the formulas of Vairocana, but it is used also as a mantra for all Buddhas.

Vairocana teaches this mantra in order to subject the four Māras and to be delivered from six evil destinies. *Taishō* (No. 1796) gives an interpretation to each syllable, but the Kōbō Daishi tradition links them with the five elements, the five types of wisdom, and the five Buddhas (cp. *Hbg.* s. v. *abiraunken*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVIRAKTARĀṢṬRA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni, while preparing himself in the ninth bhūmi for supreme enlightenment, acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140).

AVIRASA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni, while preparing himself in the ninth bhūmi for supreme enlightenment, acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 141).

AVIRUDDHAKA, a class of non-Buddhist ascetics during the time of the Buddha, occurring in a list of such ascetics at *A.* III, 276. Etymologically the term means 'not opposing', 'friendly', but nothing more could be known about them as they are not mentioned anywhere else. Even Buddhaghosa does not comment on the term (See also *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 222).

A. G. S. K.

AVIṢAHYA, the bodhisattva, born in Jambudvīpa as the son of a rich merchant. When his father died he succeeded as the chief treasurer and possessed immense wealth. He was extremely generous and went all out to feed and satisfy the

needy. One day Śakra, to test his sincerity, took away all the wealth from his house, leaving only a rope and a sickle. When Avisahya saw this he was very much moved, thinking he would not be able to satisfy his guests as he used to do before. Nothing undaunted, he daily cut grass with the sickle and the rope and with whatever money he obtained by selling the grass he fed his needy guests, and for himself took something just enough to keep alive.

Śakra was greatly impressed, but to test him further, he appeared in disguise and advised Avisahya to give up his charity and save whatever he earned with difficulty so that he might again have some wealth. But Avisahya laughed at the idea and said that for wealth he did not care much; it was only a means to engage in meritorious deeds. Greatly pleased, Śakra restored to him all his wealth (*Jm.* 22, 15).

W. G. W.

AVIŚUṢKAMŪLA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while he was preparing himself for supreme enlightenment in the ninth bhūmi, as a bodhisattva (*Mhvu.* I, 14).

AVITAKKA SUTTA. Ānanda, seeing Sāriputta, remarks on his calm demeanour and his translucent colour, and asks him how they came about. Sāriputta explains that it is because he had spent the day in the second stage of mental absorption (*jhāna*), in one-pointedness of mind, apart from thought applied and sustained (*vitakka-vicāra* : *S.* III, 236).

Elsewhere (*S.* IV, 263) Moggallāna describes the nature of the second stage of mental absorption. A monk, by the calming down of thought, applied and sustained, gains inward calm, that one-pointedness of mind, apart from thought applied and sustained, born of concentration, full of zest and ease, which is the second stage, and he abides therein; this is called the second *jhāna*.

U. K.

AVIVARTA, a samādhi or state of concentration. See AVAIVARTA.

AVIVARTYA-DHARMADHĀTU-NIRGHOṢA, name of a former Buddha (*Gvyū.* 296. 12).

AVOIDANCE of evil through the restraint of one's senses is the first of the four great exertions (*sammappadhāna*), also named the four supreme efforts (*uttama-viriya*) of self-control, eliminating, developing and safe-guarding. The avoidance of evil through self-control (*saṃvara-padhāna* : *D.* III, 225–6) consists in not being entranced by the general appearance or by the details of an object presented to any of the senses of body and mind, but in restraining and avoiding that which may give rise to covetousness, through watchfulness over the sense-faculties, by controlling and mastering the sense-organs. It is one of the kinds of right effort (*sammā-vāyāma*) included in the Noble Eightfold Path (*aṭṭhaṅgika magga*, q. v.). See PADHĀNA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀVOPUPPHIYA, an arahant thera of the time of Gotama Buddha. During the time of Sikhī Buddha he listened to his preaching and threw some flowers over him as an offering. As a result he was never born in hell for thirty-one kappas and twenty kappas hence he was born as a cakkavatti king, named Sumedha, possessing the sevenfold royal treasure. As an arahant he possessed the fourfold analytic insight (*catupaṭisambhidā*) and the six branches of higher knowledge (*chaḷabhiññā* : *Ap.* I, 112).

H. R. P.

AVṚHA, (var. Abṛha and Abṛhat) is the name of the lowest class of *Suddhāvāsa* deities, the popular etymology of the word, given in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Mhvyut.* 3102), being 'not great'. Edgerton suggests (*BHS.* II, 79) that these gods may have been called (relatively) 'not great'. The Pali name of the heaven is *Avihā*. The only noted occurrence of *abṛhat* is in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Gvyū.* 249). The form *abṛha* occurs in the *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy.* 68). See further: AVIHĀ, BṚHATPHALA.

B. J.

AVUKANA, modern Sinhala name of an ancient monastic site about four miles north-west by motor road from Kalāvāva in the North-Central Province of Ceylon. The site of the modern vihāra contains several natural caves which contain short donative records incised on them in the Brāhmī script of about the first century B.C. to the second century A.C.

The fame of Avukana rests on a colossal image of the Buddha which has been hewn out of a boulder. This image is very nearly in the round and stands 38 ft. 10 in. high. It is considered to be one of the finest works of its class in Ceylon. The head measures 6 ft. 6 in., tne right forearm 11 ft. 8. in., the hand 5 ft. and each foot 6 ft. 10 in. A lotus-shaped stone pedestal was added on some later occasion; it is 3 ft. 10 in. high. See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, plate XXXIX.

The image is attached to the boulder in the rear by a narrow strip of stone which the sculptor had left undressed. The reverse of the image, however, has been as carefully dressed and the details worked as in the front itself.

According to H. C. P. Bell, the right hand is in the *āsīva-mudrā* [1] whilst the left palm is bent towards the left shoulder which it seems to grasp.

The date of the work is as unknown as the ancient name of the site. Writing on archaeological operations at the site in 1955, S. Paranavitana took the view that Avukana Vihāra was called Kalāgal Vihāra in documents of the eighteenth century and interpreted the later name as equivalent to Kālasela in Pali. Kālasela is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. 38, *v.* 66) as containing an image for which king Dhātusena (455–73 A.C.) had got 'a diadem of rays' made. The opinion has been expressed that, archaeologically, the image could well belong to the fifth century A.C.

The operations conducted by the Archæological Commissioner included also the investigation of the remains of a shrine of later date which had been erected in front of the image. This was built of heavy stonework of a unique style of construction which, from an epigraph revealed as a donative record, is dated to the 8–9th centuries A.C. This, in turn, provides the latest chronological limit for the work at the ancient site.

Five bronze statues of about this later phase were found in a cavity in the rock at the back of the lotus pedestal. The cavity had been used as a deposit-cell, and within were found arranged these five figures which are of the Hindu pantheon, made here to subserve a Buddhist purpose. The central figure was of a four-faced but four-armed Brahmā on a tortoise. It was attended by the figures of Indra, Kuvera, Yama and Varuṇa. The cavity in which they had been deposited is 6 ft. below the feet of the Buddha image.

1 Later scholars, notably Dr. J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and Dr. Prematilake, consider this gesture to be a local variation of the *abhaya-mudrā*.

Paranavitana gave it as his opinion that the purpose of burying these images below the Buddha's feet was to express the idea that the Buddha was 'the god of gods' (*devātideva*), an epithet applied to him in Pali writings (*ASCAR.* for 1955, pp. 23 f.).

D. T. D.

AVUṬṬHIKA SUTTA, a discourse which mentions three kinds of people. The first is likened to a drought (*avuṭṭhi*), because they do not help anyone, whether monks, brāhmans or beggars. Others there are who give to some but not to others; and they are likened to local showers (*padesavassī*). Finally, there are people who give to all without distinction, with compassion (*sabbabhūtānukampaka*) and gladness (*āmodamāna*); and they are compared with a downpour everywhere (*sabbatthābhivassī* : *It.* pp. 64–7, sutta 75).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVYĀDHIKA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth he gave a refectory to Buddha Vipassī and also built a hospital with all necessary equipment for the sick. On account of this good act, wherever he was born subsequently, he never experienced ill-health. Seven aeons earlier he was born as a world-ruler (*cakkavattin*), Aparājita by name (*Ap.* I, 215).

W. G. W.

AVYĀKATA, the unexplained, in its original sense meaning a matter on which no opinion has been expressed. There were ten questions[1] which the wandering mendicant Poṭṭhapāda placed before the Buddha in the Debating Hall in queen Mallikā's park in Sāvatthi. And on each of the questions the Buddha refused to express any opinion. The questions were: Is the world eternal (*sassata*)? Is the world not eternal? Is the world finite (*antavā*)? Is the world infinite? Is the soul (*jīva*) the same as the body? Is the soul distinct from the body? Does he who has won through to the truth (*Tathāgata*) continue to live after this life's death (*param maraṇā*)? Does he not live after death? Does he both live and not live after death? Does he neither live nor not live again after death? (*D.* I, 187–8; *M.*I, 426, 484; *S.* III, 257; *A.* II, 41).

1 In Sanskrit texts (e.g., *Mhvyut.* § 206; *Dhsmg.* p. 67), *avyākṛta-vastūni*, as they are there called, number fourteen. This is because, while the Pali sources mention only two possibilities regarding the duration and extent, respectively, of the universe, the Sanskrit texts list four.



AVUKANA. A colossal Buddha image (38 ft. 10 in.) hewn out of the rock in the North-Central Province of Ceylon (5th century A.C.).

PLATE XL



(reproduced by courtesy of Benjamin Rowland from The Art and Architecture of India, *plate 173, Penguin Books Ltd. 1956*)

AYUDHYĀ, ancient capital of Thailand (14th-18th century) with many characteristically Siamese forms of stūpa.

Then Poṭṭhapāda put the obvious question, why did the Buddha not express an opinion on such questions? The answer is given: Because such question is not calculated to bring about profit (*na attha-saṃhitaṃ*), it is not concerned with his teaching (*na dhamma-saṃhitaṃ*), it is not conducive to leading a good life, it does not induce detachment, it does not overcome lust, it does not bring about cessation, nor tranquillity, nor insight, nor realisation, nor deliverance. On the other hand, the Buddha does not withhold his views regarding those things which are conducive to a good life and lead one to Nibbāna, for he has declared what is conflict, its origin, its cessation and the path leading thereto (*D.* I, p. 189). These are matters of certainty (*ekaṃsikā dhammā*), whereas the earlier questions deal with matters to which no definite solution can be given (*anekaṃsikā*). A simple 'yes' or 'no' will not provide the answer, as the question itself is wrongly formulated and deals with matters which cannot be discussed, having no ground (*appāṭihīrakataṃ bhāsitaṃ*: ibid. p. 195).

Now, why are such questions meaningless? All these questions center round the concept of personality (*atta-paṭilābha*) which may be thought of as material (*oḷārika*), mental (*manomaya*) or even formless and ideal (*arūpa*): the world as a substance, the soul as an entity, the Buddha as an individuality. But the Buddha's teaching is intended to lead away from this self-delusion (*atta-paṭilābhassa pahānāya dhammaṃ desemi*: ibid. 196). And thus, it is impossible to express any opinion regarding the eternity of the universe or the opposite for the mere reason that no attributes can be ascribed to that which cannot appropriate such qualities. The world, the Buddha, life, etc., are concepts which try to represent a constant process of change and action, without any permanency, substantiality, entity or individuality. And to give to such impermanent concepts an attribute, a character, a soul, is the very opposite of the essence of the Buddha's doctrine of *anatta*. Whether such attribute is of a positive or a negative nature (eternal or finite) does not alter the position of the question which assumes the factual existence of an entity with attribute. Since such assumption is marked by the Buddha as the misconception of an independent individuality (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), any question on the subject must of necessity remain unanswered.

This is clearly expressed by Mahā-Moggallāna in reply to Vacchagotta who has placed the identical questions before him. "Adherents of other views regard the eye, the ear and other senses including the mind as mine, as I, as self. But the Tathāgata does not regard the senses as belonging to an individual, and hence he does not reply to any questions which assume such individuality as basis" (*S.* IV, 393—7). Such questions are differently based (*aññatitthiya*).[2]

The term *avyākata* has another, developed meaning in ethical terminology, assuming the significance of the undecided, i.e, the un-moral in the sense of being neither morally good nor immorally bad. The question of morality is exclusively one of volitional activity (*kamma*); and although the results (*vipāka*) of such actions may be desirable and wholesome (*kusala*) or undesirable and unwholesome (*akusala*), in themselves they have no moral significance, being mere effects, and they are therefore un-moral (*avyākata*). Further, there are actions which function independently of volition (*cetanā*) and which, therefore, do not carry

2 A great deal has been written, by many scholars, in order to interpret the 'silence' of the Buddha in regard to the *avyākatāni*. Were they unanswered because the Buddha did not know the answers, or was it because, though he knew the answers, they were not relevant to the central problems of religion? Or, were they in principle unanswerable? If so, were the solutions beyond the grasp of the human intellect transcending the limits of knowledge, or were they logically meaningless and therefore not admitting of an answer? For a discussion, see K. N. Jayatilleke: *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (Allen & Unwin, 1963) pp. 471ff. Jayatilleke's conclusion is: "It was not that there was something that the Buddha did not know, but that what he 'knew' in the transcendent sense could not be conveyed in words because of the limitations of language and of empiricism." Elsewhere, in the same book (pp. 243 ff.) Jayatilleke tries to indentify the schools which put forward each of the ten theses and to examine the arguments adduced in their support.

T.R. V. Murti in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism* devotes a whole chapter (chap. II) to an exposition of his view that the Buddha's 'silence' anticipated in essentials the Mādhyamika dialectic. "The Mādhyamikas have but systematically formulated his suggestions and drawn out their implications fully" and adds as footnote: "This is evident from the whole tenor of the Mādhyamika system, especially from its reasoned opposition to all kinds of dṛṣṭi, speculative theories" (op. cit. p. 36).—G. P. M.

a karmic responsibility; they are pure activity (*karaṇamatta*), arising from the understanding of the need for action, and not from the projection of greed for the result. Such action (*kriyā*) is not transformed by volition into karma and is, therefore, un-moral or undetermined (*avyākata*) as regards its effects. Out of the 89 classes of consciousness there are 21 states which are karmically wholesome (*kusala kamma*), 12 states which are karmically unwholesome (*akusala kamma*), 36 states which are karmically neutral (*avyākata*) as results of action and 20 states which are karmically neutral (*avyākata*) as independent functions (*kriyā*). See *BD.* table I.

Examples of this last category are the thought-process which turns to an impression received at any of the five physical sense-doors (*pañca-dvārāvajjana-citta*) or to an impression received at the mind-door (*mano-dvārāvajjana-citta*), both of which are accompanied by hedonic indifference (*upekkhā-sahagata*), as the object which caused the impression has not been discerned yet (*Abhs.* p. 2).

All actions of a Buddha or an arahant are karmically neutral (*avyākata*), as they are not motivated in their activity by volition, and hence constitute pure action (*kriyā*), not leading to rebirth, and not included (*apariyāpannā dhammā*) in the cycle of existence (*Dhs.* §§ 583, 992, 1287).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVYĀKATA SAṂYUTTA, the forty-fourth saṃyutta of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 374-402). It consists of eleven suttas, delivered by the Buddha or one of his principal disciples by way of reply to a number of questions put to them. In five suttas the interrogator is the paribbājaka Vacchagotta and in three others it is the thera Koṭṭhita. King Pasenadī Kosala, Sāriputta and a number of wandering ascetics are the interrogators in the other suttas. The naming of the suttas is done mainly after the disciples of the Buddha who take part in the discussions.

The chief problem discussed centers round the 'indeterminates' (*avyākata*), from which the saṃyutta takes its name. However, only two suttas deal with all the ten 'indeterminates'. The four alternatives regarding the after-life of a Tathāgata are taken up in seven suttas only. The question as to why these points are not revealed by the Buddha is raised again and again. The reason given in each sutta is apparently different. But they are not at all contradictory. The Buddha has realised the true nature of the six senses and the five aggregates (*khandha*). Hence, he does not have to reveal these points. A Tathāgata has got rid of the five *khandhas* for good. Hence, his state after death is indeterminate.

Included in the saṃyutta are also two suttas that do not deal with the 'indeterminates'. In one, the Buddha prefers to remain silent when questioned on the existence of a soul (*atta*). In the other, he is asked why he does not reveal the future of his disciples who die after reaching the goal. The latter, although it does not directly deal with the questions, amounts to a question on the state after death of an arahant, which is the same as that of a Tathāgata. Hence its inclusion in the saṃyutta. No such reason can be put forward for the inclusion of the other. The Buddha explains his silence later, which does not show that the question is indeterminate. It is not clear whether an attempt has been made here by the compiler to include the questions on the existence of a soul in the category of the 'indeterminates'.

C. W.

AVYĀKATA VAGGA, the sixth chapter of the *Sattaka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 67-98), consisting of ten suttas. The vagga takes its name from the first sutta named *Avyākata.* It was preached by the Buddha in answer to the question why a learned disciple has no doubt in regard to the unrevealed things (*avyākatavatthu*). The Buddha explains this with reference to the four unrevealed alternatives regarding the life after death of a Tathāgata. These four are issues of belief (*diṭṭhi*), of craving (*taṇhā*), of perception (*saññita*); they are illusions (*maññita*), fancies (*papañcita*), issues of grasping (*upādānagata*) and a source of remorse (*vippaṭisāra*). The learned disciple understands them and is freed from all suffering. Hence, he has no doubt in the unrevealed things.

Unlike in the *Avyākata Saṃyutta*, the other suttas of the vagga have nothing to do with the problem of the 'unrevealed' things.

The commentary adds one more sutta to this vagga, making the total eleven. This sutta is called the ninth in the commentary (*SHB.* XXXIII, 723). Hare, going on the subject-matter of the sutta, suggests the name *Mettā* to it (*Gradual Sayings*, IV, 54, n. 4). It deals with the results of cultivating loving-kindness (*mettā*). In the text, this sutta is given as the last portion of the previous one, the *Pacāla Sutta.* However, this part is addressed to monks in general as *bhikkhave,*

while the main sutta is addressed to Moggallāna. This shows, as evidenced also by the commentary, that this portion had existed as a separate sutta some time or other, probably before the translation of the Sinhala commentaries into Pali in the 5th century A.C. On the other hand, while the rest of the suttas contain a definite septuple, this sutta contains no such thing. It refers to the number seven several times, but it has no direct connection with the subject discussed. Hence this, as a part of the *Pacāla Sutta* or as a separate sutta, seems to be a misfit in the *Avyākata Vagga*.

C.W.

AVYĀPĀDA, the absence of malevolence which is both a latent tendency (*anusaya*) and a hindrance (*nīvaraṇa*). The mere absence of ill-will, however, does not do full justice to the acquired meaning of this type of ' hatelessness ', which is loving kindness (*mettā*). As such, it is one of the three kinds of good thought (*kusala-vitakka*), of good intention (*kusala-saṅkappa*) and of good disposition (*kusala-dhātu*), namely, the thought, intention, perception and disposition of renunciation (*nekkhamma*), of good-will (*avyāpāda*) and of harmlessness (*avihiṃsā: D.* III, 215).

It is, moreover, one of the four characteristics of the Buddha's teaching (*cattāri dhammapadāni : A.* II, 29) which are reckoned as ancient, of long standing, as traditional, primeval, pure and unadulterated now as then, not confounded nor despised by discerning samaṇas and brāhmans, namely, the absence of coveting (*anabhijjhā*), the absence of ill-will (*avyāpāda*), right mindfulness (*sammā-sati*) and right concentration (*sammā-samādhi*).

It is also referred to as one of the five elements tending to deliverance (*pañca nissāraṇīyā dhātuyo : D.* III, 240); and thoughts of good-will are conducive to Nibbāna, for they lay the mind to rest, as a rain-shower lays accumulated dust (*It.* pp. 82-3).

Frequently, the absence of ill-will (*avyāpāda*) is met in its synonyms, the absence of hate (*adosa*) and loving kindness (*mettā*), although subtle differences may be observed. The absence of hate (*adosa*) is a root of good (*kusala mūla*) and has, therefore, more general characteristics and applications with a distinctly positive meaning of loving kindness (*mettā*). It is due to this root that ill-feeling (*vyāpāda*) is absent, and good-will finds a place in the tenfold wholesome course of action (*kusala-kamma-patha*), among the final triad, the absence of lust (*anabhijjhā*), of ill-will (*avyāpāda*) and of wrong views, i.e., right views (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), representing wholesome mental activity.

H. G. A. v. Z.

AVYĀPAJJHA SUTTA in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* IV, 371) is a very short discourse on harmlessness, preached along with many other such short suttas. In it the Buddha draws the attention of the monks to harmlessness and the path to it.

H. R. P.

AWADA-IN, Japanese temple of Awada in the Atago district of the Yamashiro province. It was in this temple that emperor Seiwa Tennō resided as a monk after his abdication in 876. From that time onward, the temple was known as Engaku-jī. It was here that the emperor died in 880, and on the first anniversary of his death a great offering of vegetarian food (*shūki gosai-e*) was made to the monks by the deceased emperor's mother (M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, p. 608.)

H. G. A. v. Z.

AWAJI, location of a Buddhist shrine built by the Japanese emperor Kwammu in 805 and dedicated to the spirit of Sudō Tennō, the posthumous name or title of the emperor's younger brother, Sawara Shinnō, who had been banished by the emperor in 785, but died on the way to Awaji, the place of his exile, having refused all food and drink (M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 180, 303, 467).

Awaji, was earlier in 764, the place of banishment of emperor Junnin Tennō, who for this reason is known in history also as 'Awaji-haitei ', the emperor banished to Awaji (ibid. p. 459).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AWAKENING to the truth or enlightenment is the supreme comprehension of the nature of all experience with its three characteristics of impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and insubstantiality (*anicca, dukkha, anattā*). The lack of understanding the four Noble Truths is the basic ignorance (*avijjā*), rooted in delusion (*moha*), which is the principal condition preventing the realisation of truth, which is to know and to see things as they really are (*yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana*). The overcoming of such ignorance is, therefore, truly an awakening from a state of delusion.

To be awake (*bujjhati*) is to rise from the slumber of ignorance and delusion, to perceive, to understand, to comprehend, to realise, to be enlightened. Such awakening (*bodhi*), although essentially one and the same in nature, is differentiated in three classes as to the method of realisation. For, a disciple may awaken to the truth on hearing the same expounded by a Buddha, and that is termed *sāvaka-bodhi*, whereas the independent discovery of the truth by a Buddha without external aid is called *sammā-sambodhi*. But if one attains such supreme enlightenment without passing on this realisation of truth to others, the awakening is individual, and is termed accordingly *pacceka-bodhi*. See BODHI (2).

H. G. A. v. Z.

AWAKENING OF FAITH IN MAHĀYĀNA, English version of a treatise composed by Aśvaghoṣa and translated into Chinese, as *Ta-ch'êng-ch'i-hsin-lun*. See MAHĀYĀNA ŚRADDHOTPĀDA ŚĀSTRA.

AWARENESS is mindfulness (*sati*) of things and events as they occur. It is not purposeful, not discriminative, not descriptive, but just alertness, watchfulness; fact-finding, but not fault-finding. In the meditation-exercise on breathing (*ānāpāna-sati*) there is no question of breath control as in the case of yogi exercises, but a mere awareness: this is a deep breath, this is a short breath. Such a watchful alertness will note the arising of a new state of mind without trying to suppress it. In such awareness a new state of mind will not have the opportunity of taking subconscious roots, as the motive will stand revealed even before the completion of the thought. See SATI.

H. G. A. v. Z.

A-WEI-YÜEH-CHIH-CHÊ-CHING, a translation into Chinese from the Sanskrit text. See AVAIVARTA-CAKRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA.

ĀYĀCANA SUTTA (1), the first sutta of the first chapter of the *Brahma Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 136). It discusses how Brahmā Sahampati intervened and implored (*āyācana*) the Buddha to preach the Dhamma for the benefit and well-being of people, when the Buddha's mind turned to inactivity at the thought that the subtle knowledge he had gained could not be understood by ignorant people immersed in sensual pleasures. Brahmā Sahampati, much disturbed when he came to know of this, appeared before the Buddha in humble salutation and appealed to him to teach the Dhamma, for, he said, there were those whose eyes were only slightly dimmed, who would perish if they did not hear the Dhamma.

W. G. W.

ĀYĀCANA SUTTA (2) occurs in the *Sañcetanaka-vagga* of the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 164). It indicates what the correct aspirations of four groups of people in a Buddhist community should be. A faithful monk, aspiring correctly, should aspire to become like Sāriputta and Moggallāna. In the case of a faithful nun, the ideal should be the nun Khemā or Uppalavaṇṇā. In the case of a layman, the ideal should be Citta, the householder, or Hatthaka, the Āḷavaka. A lay woman should wish to be like Khujjuttarā and Veḷukaṇṭakī Nandamātā.

W. G. W.

ĀYĀCANA VAGGA, the twelfth group of the *Duka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 88–91). It is so-called because the main theme deals with good aspirations. It comprises eleven short suttas. The Buddha says that a monk aspiring properly should strive to be like Sāriputta or Moggallāna. A nun should aspire to become like Khemā or Uppalavaṇṇā. A devoted layman should aspire to become like Citta, or Hatthaka, the Āḷavaka; a laywoman should aspire to become like Khujjuttarā, or Veḷukaṇṭakiyā. The suttas then go on to explain things that lead to progress as well as those that lead to downfall. They are treated in pairs, as characteristic of the *Duka Nipāta*.

W. G. W.

ĀYĀCITABHATTA JĀTAKA (*J.* I, 169; No. 19), preached by the Buddha at Jetavana. The monks ask the Buddha if there is any meaning or profit in taking vows, and making sacrifices to various deities, as people are in the habit of doing. The Buddha then relates this story in order to show the futility and harm involved in such vows and sacrifices. A man from a village in the country of Kāsi took a vow, and later in order to keep to his promise, he killed several animals and went to the foot of a certain tree to offer the sacrifice to the deity of that tree. The deity showed himself in human form and advised the man that though he might think that he was relieved of the vow by his offering, he had become more bound

to saṃsāra by the slaughter of innocent creatures. The deity ultimately is identified with the Buddha himself.

A terra-cotta plaque found at the Western Pet-leik pagoda, near Pagān, in Upper Burma, illustrating this jātaka shows the fairy of the banyan tree expounding on the inefficacy of animal-sacrifice offered to him by the squire of the village. (See *ASIAR*. 1906–7, pl. XLII.)

W. G. W.

ĀYĀGA, a feature of ancient stūpas as mentioned in the *Apadāna*, possibly the same as ayaka (q.v.).

ĀYĀGADĀYAKA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth, when Buddha Sikhī had passed away, he worshipped the Buddha's thūpa. Later he had an alms hall (*āyāga*) built for monks. As a result of this good act, he spent eight aeons (*kappa*) among the gods and never experienced birth in any evil state. He could cause rain at will and gods were ready to obey him. During this present Buddha-period he became a follower of the Buddha and realised arahantship (*Ap*. i, 88, 89).

W. G. W.

AYAKA, an ancient Sinhala word occurring in an inscription of king Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-86 A.C.) in which the king (called here ' Maḷu-Tisa ') is recorded as having constructed four *ayaka* at the ' Utara-maha-ceta ' (the great northern cetiya, i.e., Abhayagiri stūpa) in Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

The word had originally been given as *ayika* (*EZ*. I, 255, 258); it has since been read as *ayaka* (*ASC. Mem*. V, p. 59 and Univ. of Ceylon's *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 262), and it appears so in the inscription (*EZ*. I, Pl. 30). The inscription, found in 1910, was engraved on a large slab which (at the time of discovery) was in the pavement as a flagstone on the south of the stūpa. There are 4 high ' frontispieces ' to this colossal stūpa, each directed towards a principal point of the compass. Such structures are known as *vāhalkaḍa* today, and it is they which contain the greatest profusion of sculptures anywhere in the stūpa architecture of Ceylon. It has been suggested that *ayaka, ādimukha* and modern *vāhalkaḍa* were possibly the same.

D. T. D.

ĀYAKA-KHAMBHA, name for pillars on the platforms of ancient stūpas in the Āndhra country (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, etc.) in south-east India.

AYAKŪṬA JĀTAKA (No. 347). The bodhisatta was once born as the king of Bārāṇasī. At that time people were in the habit of offering animal sacrifices to the gods. The bodhisatta wishing to put an end to the slaughter of animals proclaimed that no living creature was to be killed. The yakkhas were enraged at the loss of their food and, planning to get rid of the bodhisatta, sent a savage yakkha to kill him. He approached the bodhisatta's bed at the dead of night with a hot iron hammer (*ayakūṭa*) in his hand, intending to deal a deadly blow. But Sakka's throne became heated and, learning the cause for it, Sakka himself appeared above the yakkha, guarding the bodhisatta. The yakkha fled in fear and Sakka assured the bodhisatta of his protection.

Sakka is identified as a previous incarnation of Anuruddha (*J*. III, 145 ff.). The incident that led to the narrating of this jātaka is given in the *Mahākaṇha Jātaka* (*J*. IV, No. 469).

A terra-cotta plaque (one of 184 arranged in a double row on the wall-surface of an arched corridor which runs around the basement of the stūpa) was found illustrating this jātaka at the western Pet-leik pagoda, near Nyaung-u, Pagān, in Upper Burma. Each plaque bears a legend in the Burmese script of Pali together with a numeral figure, indicating the number of each particular story in the Jātaka.

The plaques do not appear to be anterior to the 11th century. (See *ASIAR*. 1906–7, Pl. XLVII.)

L. R. G.

AYAḶA, son of Iṃdrasama, the donor of a stone bowl to Suvarṇakara-vihāra (q. v.) ' for the adoration of all Buddhas ', during Kuṣāṇa times (*EI*. XIX, p. 68).

ĀYATANA, in its restricted philosophical context, means sphere, region, encompassing the various sense-organs and their respective objects. Functionally the sense-spheres are, therefore, divided into two groups, the inner sphere (*ajjhattāyatana*) of the six organs of sense-perception, viz., the eye (*cakkhu*), the ear (*sota*), the nose (*ghāna*), the tongue (*jivhā*), the body (*kāya*) and the mind (*mano*), and the outer sphere (*bāhirāyatana*) of the six sense-objects, viz., sights (*rūpa*), sounds (*sadda*), odours

(*gandha*), tastes (*rasa*), tangibles (*phoṭṭhabba*) and objects of cognition (*dhamma*). The inner sphere, therefore, constitutes the subjective element which is the capacity of reaction, and the outer sphere constitutes the objective element which produces the impact. Sensation (*vedanā*) and perception (*saññā*) arise as a result of the impact of the outer or objective sphere on, or the contact thereof with, the inner or subjective sphere (*phassa-paccayā vedanā*).

The sense-spheres are defined by Buddhaghosa as the places of productions, meaning the functional cause (*kāraṇa*) as well as the outcome (*sañjāti* : *DA*. I, 124). This distinction between the internal and external spheres of sense is not a later commentarial development, for it is found in several suttas of the *Dīgha* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas*. E. g., in the *Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna Suttanta* (*D*. II 302) where mental states are proposed as the contents of consciousness and subjected to an analytical process of mindfulness, it is first the mind (*citta*) and then its aspects (*dhamma*) as actually experienced, which form the basis of watchfulness. And here already we find awareness, e. g., of the organ of sight distinguished from awareness of the objects of sight (*idha bhikkhave bhikkhu cakkhuñ ca pajānāti, rūpe ca pajānāti*), and it is through this attentiveness that one becomes aware of any fetter which arises on account of them both (*yañca tad ubhayaṃ paṭicca uppajjati saṃyojanaṃ tañca pajānāti*). The Buddha's teaching concerning sense-experience, the six subjective and the six objective fields of sense (*chayimāni ajjhattika-bāhirāni āyatanāni*) is said to be unsurpassable (*ānuttariya* : *D*. III, 102).

On this distinction between personal experience and the external objects of experience is based the doctrine of the sixfold group of consciousness (*cha viññāṇa-kāyā*), the sixfold group of contact between the subject and the object (*cha phassa-kāyā*), the sixfold group of sensation resulting from this contact (*cha vedanā-kāyā*), the sixfold group of perception (*cha saññā-kāyā*), the sixfold group of volition (*cha sañcetanā-kāyā*) and the sixfold group of craving (*cha taṇhā-kāyā* : *D*. III, 243-4).

But it is, of course, not with the external objects, but with the inner attitude (*chasu ajjhattikesu āyatanesu* : *A*. V, 52) that one should rightly feel revulsion and develop a fading interest in order to be truly released.

The five physical sense-organs are explained as the sensitivity of the organs (*pasāda* : *Dhs*. § 597) which responds to the sense-stimulus. This sensory reaction (*paṭigha* : ibid. §§265, 597) is not to be confused with the physical eye which has colour and extension, which is the physical basis (*vatthu*) but not the real sentient eye (*DhsA*. 307). The sentient organ is situated in and bound to the compound organism of the eye, that "lump of flesh situated in the cavity of the eye, bound to the brain by sinewy threads" (loc. cit.). When the sense-organ is mentioned, the commentator continues, it is not the visual *organism* which is referred to, but the *sense* of sight (*pasāda-cakkhu*). This distinction between the physical basis of the sense-organism and the sentient organ which reacts to a stimulus is maintained for all the five physical senses. Thus, the sense is the agency of the organ and not the organism. *Pasāda*, although it literally means 'brightness', is, thus, not confined to sight, but in its meaning of 'revealer', or 'that which makes clear' (Skt. *prasādana*) is applicable to all sense-experience, emphasising more the psychological than the physical aspect.

This should apply equally to the sixth sense, the mind (*mano*). The mind-sense (*manāyatana*) is the subjective act of cognition in response to a stimulus of mental activity, in the sphere of ideation.

In these spheres the contact of the subjective faculty and the objective impact forms the actual sensory reaction which may be intentionally produced or incidentally brought about and which is the 'vital' cognitive element belonging to the sense-spheres. They are visual cognition (*cakkhu-viññāṇa-dhātu*), auditory (*sota-v°*), olfactory (*ghāna-v°*), gustatory (*jivhā-v°*), tactile (*kāya-v°*) and mind-cognition (*mano-viññāṇa-dhātu*). See further DHĀTU.

A sense-sphere, therefore, includes the organism, the faculty, the stimulus, the actual impression or contact, the reaction to the stimulus in the faculty, the cognitive reaction to the contact, the concept conditioned by such reaction, and the resultant state of such concept.

The internal or subjective senses are collectively referred to as the six sense bases (*saḷāyatana*). They are themselves based on *nāma-rūpa*, the corporeality-mentality-compound which constitutes the so-called individual (*nāma-rūpa-paccayā saḷāyatanaṃ*). For, individuality, with its proclivities and innate tendencies grown out of past karmic action, conditions the senses even pre-nascently (*purejāta-paccaya*) and by way of foundation (*nissaya-paccaya*). These six senses, i. e., the internal sense-faculties, condition the impressions or contacts made by the sense-stimuli (*saḷāyatana-paccayā phasso*), by association (*sampayutta*), mutual influence (*aññamañña*), co-existence (*sahajāta*),

and physically even by way of foundation (*nissaya*) and pre-nascence (*purejāta-paccaya*). And on this sense-contact depend sensation (*vedanā*), craving (*taṇhā*), and also clinging (*upādāna*), which leads on to rebirth (*bhava*) and subsequent conflict (*dukkha*).

The Sarvāstivādins appear to have had a slightly different view of sense-organs and sense-objects, which are all brought together under the term *rūpa-dharma*, which is the activity of the mind expressed through physical sense-organs and the objects affected by them. *Rūpa* in this context is synonymous with *karma* (Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, Calcutta, 1912, p. 225). There being only five physical sense-organs and five corresponding objects together with the sixth sense-object which is the non-manifested mental action (*avijñapti*), a total of eleven *āyatanas* is obtained.

This *avijñapti* of the Sarvāstivādins is included by the Yogācāra school in what they call *dharmāyatana*, which is fivefold, consisting of five kinds of *rūpa*, viz., the material *paramāṇu* (such as earth, stone, etc.), the abstract *paramāṇu* (such as light, sound, etc.), the non-manifested action (*avijñapti-rūpa*), the sense-objects created by the mind (such as colour, form, smell, etc.) and illusion which mistakes something non-existent as existent. These Vijñānavādins or Yogācāras were more idealistic than the Sarvāstivādins, which is reflected clearly in their *ālaya-vijñāna* theory, and their assignment of 51 mental properties, 5 mental activities (*rūpa-dharma*), 24 phenomenal states connected with neither the material nor the mental domain (*viprayukta-saṃskāra-dharma*) and 6 unconditioned aspects (*asaṃskṛta-dharma*) constituting the noumenal state of the universe.

All these are comprised in the twelve *āyatanas*, for they become objects of the mind, in as much as they become objects of mental speculation (ibid. p. 23).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀYATANA SUTTA. Once when the Buddha was staying in the Kūṭāgārasālā in Vesālī, he preached to the monks a sermon on the six sense spheres. The monks listened with rapt attention until Māra, making a fearful noise, disturbed their peace of mind. The Buddha admonished the monks not to be led away by Māra, and the latter, discomfited, disappeared (*S.* I, 112).

Another sutta of the same name (*S.* V, 426) explains the Four Noble Truths. Ill (*dukkha*), the first truth, is identified with the six sense spheres; hence the name *Āyatana Sutta*. (See ARIYA-SACCA.)

U. K.

AYIKA, possibly meaning an architectural adjunct of a stūpa. This Sinhala word of the 2nd cent. A. C., although originally read as such, has now been read as *ayaka* (q. v.).

AYOGHARA JĀTAKA (*J.* IV, 491; No. 510) relates the story of the bodhisatta's renunciation in his birth as Ayogharakumāra, the third son of the queen consort of king Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī. The king's two elder sons were devoured by a she-goblin who in a previous existence, born as another wife of the same husband and being barren, had prayed that she might be able to devour the children of that woman. Hence, when the bodhisatta was born he was brought up in an iron cubicle (*ayoghara*), hence his name. He lived there for sixteen years. In the meantime the goblin, too, had died.

At the age of sixteen, when the father of the bodhisatta offered the kingdom to him, he told his father that he had no need of it. In twenty-four stanzas he declared the Dhamma to his father, wherein he showed him that, though he was free from the goblin, yet he was not free from disease, old age and death. Hence he sought permission to become an ascetic and departed to the Himālaya. The father, too, went with him and was followed by the queen and many others.

When Sakka perceived that the bodhisatta had departed, he sent Vissakamma to make a hermitage for him and bade him supply all the necessary requisites for ascetic life.

This story was told by the Buddha to the assembly of monks in relation to the 'Great Renunciation' (*mahābhinikkhamana*), to show that he did the same even before.

H. R. P.

AYOGUḶA SUTTA, the second sutta of the *Ayoguḷa Vagga* in the *Iddhipāda Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 282–4). The sutta is so named because an iron ball (*ayoguḷa*) is taken as a simile to explain a point in the sutta. In a discussion with the Buddha, Ānanda expresses his wonder at the great psychic power of the Buddha which

has made it possible for him to visit the Brahmā world in a mental form as well as in his bodily form. The Buddha then explains to Ānanda how such could happen: "Whenever the Tathāgata concentrates body in mind and mind in body, and enters on and abides in the consciousness of bliss and buoyancy, at such time the Tathāgata's body is more buoyant, softer, more plastic and more radiant. Just as an iron ball if heated all day long, is lighter and softer, more plastic and more radiant, even so at such time the Tathāgata's body with but little effort rises up from the ground into the air. He then enjoys in divers ways manifold forms of magic power" (trsl. *Book of Kindred Sayings*, V, p. 253).

W. G. W.

AYOJJHĀ (1), on the Sarayu (Gogrā), the ancient capital of Dakkhiṇa Kosala, the territory roughly corresponding to modern Oudh. Since the *Nandiyamiga Jātaka* (*J.* III, 270) gives Sāketa as the capital of Kosala, some historians are of opinion that Ayojjhā was either the earlier capital of Kosala or was identical with Sāketa or that they were, perhaps, two adjacent cities (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 172; Law, *India in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 131).

In the epic age Ayojjhā (Ayodhyā) was the capital of the Kosala kings, Daśaratha and Rāma. It was twelve yojanas in length and ten in breadth. The *Vindhatirthakalpa* (ch. 34), a Jaina work, also gives closely related measurements. There were in it spacious roads laid out in orderly fashion. The city contained theatres for females and gardens and mango groves and it was enclosed by a wall. In addition there was a deep moat round the city. The city abounded in brāhmans and also fighting men (M. N. Dutt, *Rāmāyaṇa*, trsl. I, 18–19).

The *Ghaṭa Jātaka* (*J.* IV, 79 ff.) mentions a king named Kālasena as the ruler of the city of Ayojjhā. He was later defeated and the city was captured by the Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā (q.v.). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* II, lvi, 13 ff.) says that Jagatipāla, a powerful prince of the line of Rāma from Ayojjhā, slew Vikramapaṇḍu in battle and ruled in Rohaṇa for four years. Later, he was slain by the Coḷas in battle who sent his queen, his daughter and all their valuable property to the Coḷa kingdom. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (iii, 15) says that Arindama and fifty-five of his descendants ruled at Ayojjhā. The two celebrated Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüang-tsang, who came to India in the fifth and seventh century A.C., respectively, have recorded their visits to Ayojjhā. When Fa-hsien visited it the Buddhists and the brāhmans there were not on good terms. There was a stūpa to commemorate the visits of the four Buddhas. Hsüan-tsang says that Ayojjhā was a kingdom five-hundred *li* in circuit, and the capital about twenty *li*. It abounded in cereals and produced a large quantity of flowers and fruits. The climate was temperate and agreeable and the manners of the people were virtuous and amiable. They loved the duties of religion and diligently devoted themselves to learning. There were about a hundred monasteries in the country and about three thousand monks who studied the books of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. There were ten deva-temples; heretics of different schools were found in them, but few in number. Vasubandhu wrote many treatises while residing here and explained Buddhism to princes and monks who used to come from other countries. Asaṅga, too, was a resident of Ayojjhā Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, 247 ff.).

Two visits of the Buddha to a city called Ayojjhā on the Ganges are recorded in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. On one occasion he preached the *Pheṇa Sutta* (*S.* III, 140 ff.) and on the other the *Dārukkhandha Sutta* (*S.* IV, 179 f.). As has been observed by G. P. Malalasekera (*DPPN.* I, 165) and E. J. Thomas (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 15), this may either go back to a confused or an unintelligent tradition or may possibly refer to a settlement on the Ganges different from Ayojjhā on the Sarayu. It is worthy of note that some of the MSS. read Kosambi for Ayojjhā in the *Dārukkhandha Sutta* (*S.* IV, 179 f.), but, then, Kosambi was on the Jumnā and not on the Ganges.

H. R. P.

AYOJJHĀ (2), now Ayuthya or Ayodhia, the old capital of Thailand (Siam), north of Bangkok, situated on the bank of the Menam. King Śrī Vijaya Rājasiṃha (1739–47) of Ceylon sent dignitaries there with a message and many gifts to bring monks for the establishment of the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) in his own country. But the king died before their return and many of the envoys, too, perished on their return voyage (*Mhv.* xcviii, 91 f.). His successor Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha (1747–82) also sent dignitaries to Ayojjhā for the same purpose. They were received respectfully by Dhammika, the then king of that country, who sent them back to Ceylon with learned monks, books

on the doctrine and monastic discipline and also a golden image (*Mhv.* c, 60–139; *JCBRAS.* 1903, No. 54, p. 17 ff.). See also AYUDHYÅ.

H. R. P.

AYONISO SUTTA (1), of the *Vana Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* I, 203), is about a monk who had been dwelling in a forest tract in Kosala. He was occupied with evil and wrongful thoughts. Then, the deva of that place, desiring the welfare of the monk, admonished him to renounce his muddled ways and fix his attention on the Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṅgha.

The admonition of the deva is given in verse, whereas the rest of the sutta is in prose.

A variant title is given as *Vitakka Sutta.*

H. R. P.

AYONISO SUTTA (2), of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* V, 84), a short discourse preached by the Buddha himself while staying near Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove. Here, the' Buddha tells the monks that unsystematic attention (*ayoniso manasikāra*) would lead to the arising and growth of sensual desire and such other ills. If the attention is systematic, sensual desire will not arise and, if it has already arisen, it will fade away. So also will other evil thoughts.

H. R. P.

AYRTON, EDWARD R. (1882–1914) held the post of Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, from December 8, 1912 until May 17, 1914 when he was drowned in Tisā-väva, near Hambantota in the Southern Province. Ayrton had qualified for his work academically at Oxford and in Germany, thereafter with field work in Egypt and India. In Egypt, where he worked at Bibân el-Muluk, he was a student of hieroglyphs, too. In an obituary notice in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (I, 212) his superiors described him as probably an excavator of the first rank and one of the most promising of the younger generation of Egyptologists. This praise he showed himself fully qualified to receive, too, in the field of Buddhist Archæology in Ceylon. The tragedy of his premature death left only one piece of detailed writing direct from his pen. This was the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon* for 1912–13 (Ceylon Sessional Paper XIII of 1914), in which he recorded his archæological work for the period. With a view to publishing the first Ceylon arachaeological memoir he had collected notes; these were recovered from his despatch case by Hocart who succeeded to the office some years later. Hocart edited the papers which were published in 1924 as Memoir I. It contains Ayrton's valuable contributions. Noteworthy among them are accounts of the important monastic residences on the Outer Circular Road and the Abhayagiri area in Anurādhapura. His short notes on several topics were published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII (Notes and Queries); two papers appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vols. VI and VIII. They were the diary of his last tour and were edited by a Sinhalese scholar.

Ayrton's most important identification of an ancient Buddhist site was that of the Tooth Relic House (*dāṭhā-dhātu-ghara*) which king Mahinda IV (956–72) had restored in the centre of the ancient inner city, Anurādhapura. Up to his time another small shrine, with certain unique features, close to the cetiya of Thūpārāma, had been considered to have been this tenth century Tooth Relic House. Another piece of valuable research was his plausible (he considered it inconclusive) identification of the Ratana Pāsāda which king Mahinda II (777–97) had repaired, if not entirely constructed, at very great cost. Ayrton's work disclosed that this pāsāda stood on the remains of an older building which, from a short inscription, was dated to king Gajabāhu I (114–36 A.C.). Ayrton excavated selected examples of an enigmatic group on the Outer Circular Road, Anurādhapura. Their plain-hewn ashlar, the absorption of natural rock into the building scheme, porticoes flanked by stone couches, heavy monolithic bridging-slabs, severity and the lack of decoration ex·ept on the slabs of water closets and latrines, were features which fired the imagination of the average man who called them palaces. Archaeologists were, on the contrary, certain they were the residences of bhikkhus, but non-committally labelled them Western Monasteries. After working on them, Ayrton suggested that they were most probably the residences which had been built for the Paṃsukūlika bhikkhus in the ancient Tapovana (Ascetics' Forest), between the eighth and the tenth centuries A.C. He admitted that he had but weak grounds for the theory. S. Paranavitana has referred to them as *padhānaghara.*

D. T. D.

ĀYUDHIṢṬHIRA, name of a bodhisattva which occurs in a list of future Tathāgatas (*Gvyū.* 443.4). The reading being uncertain, Edgerton suggests that we should understand Yudhiṣṭhira here (*BHS.* s.v. Āyudhiṣṭhira). His name is mentioned as one of those Buddhas whose mother will be Māyādevī.

ĀYUDHOPAMA-NĀMA-VACANAMUKHA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation. See VACANAMUKHĀYUDHOPAMA-NĀMA.

AYUDHYĀ (Ayuthya), name of an ancient Siamese kingdom which was established in 1350 A.C. by the former prince of Uthong who assumed the title Rāmadhipati, being the first of that name. The Burmese attacked the city twice, in 1555 and in 1767. After the second sack it ceased to be the centre of the government. Bangkok took up the story from here with Rāma I.

Ayudhyā lies somewhat over 40 miles north of Bangkok. It is to the south of the earlier kingdom of Sukhothai which it had overshadowed in the time of its king Lüthai. The Ayudhyan rulers were Thai by race but a large proportion of their subjects were Môn and Khmer. The ancient city is believed to have been on the site of the earlier Dvāravatī and had flourished on an island. This island is about 14 miles in circumference and is situated at the confluence of the Pā Sak and two tributaries of the Menam Chao Phya.

The Ayudhyan kings sometimes entered on conquests. One of them, Paramarāja I, captured Angkor, the capital of the Khmers of Cambodia in the 14th century and forced his defeated enemy to acknowledge his suzerainty. The Khmers revolted some 80 years later but were finally subjugated. They re-established independence later and, by playing Vietnam against Siam, succeeded in maintaining a certain amount of self-rule till finally conquered by the Chakri dynasty (1848). A French protectorate was declared over Cambodia 15 years later.

As for the Thai neighbour of the north, Sukhothai, after a good deal of friction Paramarāja II ended her separate existence. But Ayudhyā itself had its turn of reverses, for under Trailokanāth (1463) its troubles with Chiengmai in the north led to the moving of the royal seat to Pisnulok, which continued to be the capital until the king's death. His elder son remained in Ayudhyā as the governor.

The school of Buddhism in Ayudhyā was the Theravāda of the Sinhalese (Ceylon) tradition which it more or less inherited from Sukhothai. Her own contribution was largely in the shape of buildings, an art which has come to be known as national, endowments both by king and subject and other outward signs such as the active perpetuation of rites, ceremonies and other practices. The best evidence of this practical activity is in the vihāras built or renovated and continued during the four centuries of her existence as an independent kingdom, and in the provision made for their maintenance. Towards the final years, however, the eagerness to emphasise outward forms tended to show a form of Hinduism as was evident in a number of images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other deities which have been found in the ancient city.

The kings were actively interested in administering the affairs of the Saṅgha, although not interfering with doctrinal matters. Broadly speaking, the general body of the Saṅgha was divided into two classes: *araññavāsi* and *gāmavāsi*, or forest-dwellers and town-dwellers. The chief executive was for some time drawn from the latter and bore the title Somdeč Phra Vanarat. Soon after 1592, his jurisdiction was limited to the north and the southern part was placed under another —both being elevated to the highest position in each place under the name Saṅgharāja.

There is an impressive list of monasteries (*wat*), mostly royal, which stand as testimony to the pious exertions in the cause of the religion (see *Ency Bsm.*, Vol. II, Pl. XL.). Rāmadhipati I, the founder, built Buddhaiśvarya and Rāmeśvara, his son, the Phra Rām. The first two of the name Paramarāja erected Mahathat and Rāja Burana, respectively. A number of important wall-paintings and a deposit of treasure were found, in the year 1957, in a chamber in the thūpa of Rāja Burana. Paramatrailokanātha (1462–1508) enlarged several monasteries and at one of them, Cūḷāmaṇi in Pisnulok, he entered the Saṅgha and remained ordained for some months. In the precincts of the grand palace king Rāmadhipati II constructed Phra Sisanpet. This vast temple of the late 15th century offers to a visitor the ancient city's principal ruins. Its two largest thūpas have been described as modelled on the *dāgābas* of the Sinhalese. They contain deposits of the ashes of the king's father and of his own elder brother who had reigned for the short space of three years. In the nearby Phra Maṅgala Pabitra was one of the largest bronze Buddhas, estimated to be about 40 ft. high along with its base. Here metal sheets had been fastened on to a brick core. Portions of this image have been restored. Tne king had ordered another image here,

in dimensions not second to the other. It was covered with gold plates which weighed some 800 lbs. and took three years to complete. Unfortunately it suffered so badly in the final Burmese attack that it was impossible to repair it. The first Bangkok king, therefore, had the fragments preserved by burial beneath a thūpa in Jetuphon in his capital. King Soṅdharm (1620–8), reputed as a Buddhist scholar, was responsible for a (royal) version of the Tipiṭaka. He also had a shrine of the Footprint constructed at Saraburi ; it is a venerated place of pilgrimage to this day.

A small replica of the famous Angkor Wat, by name Nakhon Luang, was erected by Prasada Thong (1630–55) on a river site between Ayudhyā and Srapurī. He was also responsible for Jaya-vaḍḍhanārāma as well as for some restorations in Lopburī. The Kudidao and Phū Khao Thong (Golden Mountain) were the work of Paramakośa (1732–58) who, further, restored the Relic Monasteries at Pisnulok and Lopburī. It was a few years after the close of his reign that Ayudhyā's glory was dimmed.

King Paramakośa has the pre-eminent claim of all Ayudhyā's kings to a special niche in Buddhist history. He was the man who enabled the Ceylon Saṅgha to re-establish themselves, as a result of the presence of Upāli Mahā Thera, whom the king sent across the seas in response to a call from the king of Ceylon.

A visitor's notes of Ayudhyā in 1690, which give an interesting view of the city about a hundred years before its fall, have been left behind by the German, Kaempfer.

The sculpture of Ayudhyā, from about the 15th century onward, is now classed as the National Style, because art was centred on the capital from where it radiated in all directions. The 'national school' has been described as rather stereotyped and unimaginative in character and its output, though considerable, as of mediocre quality. This has been attributed to the emphasis laid on quantity. Despite the indifferent quality of the numerous productions, there are some works of art which are of intrinsic value, as well as others which have a special place in archaeology. This and allied subjects are discussed in their appropriate places.

D. T. D.

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ĀYŪHANA accumulation (of karma), a term used on several occasions by Buddhaghosa. Quoting the *Paṭisambhidā* (i, 46-7), five kinds of virtue are detailed in the *Visuddhimagga* (i, § 140, p. 40) in terms of abandoning (*pahāna*), contemplation (*anupassanā*) and progress on the Path (*magga*). It is through the contemplation of the falling away (of formations) in the case of accumulating (karma) that abandoning is virtue, and so also with abstention, volition, restraint and non-transgression (*vayānupassanāya āyūhanassa pahānaṃ sīlaṃ veramaṇī sīlaṃ cetanā sīlaṃ saṃvaro sīlaṃ avītikkamo sīlaṃ*). For, he who develops the contemplation of the fall of formations, abandons accumulation of karma (ibid. xx, § 90, p. 540 ; cp. *Ps.* i, 32). When a man sees with insight that the things for the sake of which he might accumulate karma are thus subject to falling away, his mind will no longer hanker after accumulation (*Vism.* xxii. §115. p. 597).

The mental aggregate of the formation of ideation or conceptualisation (*saṅkhārakkhandha*) has accumulation as its function (*āyūhana-rasa : Vism.* xiv. §132, p. 391). A similar function is ascribed to volition (*cetanā* : ibid. § 135, p. 392). Also the karma-formations (*saṅkhāra*) of merit and demerit are shown to partake of the characteristic of accumulation (ibid. xvii, § 61, p. 452). In fact, Buddhaghosa uses the term ' accumulation ' as synonymous with karma, in the same way as he identifies delusion with ignorance, attachment with craving, volition with becoming, etc. (*purima-kamma-bhavasmiṃ moho avijjā, āyūhanā saṅkhārā, nikanti taṇhā, cetanā bhavo* : ibid. xix, § 13, p. 515).

Knowledge of such accumulative function of karma-activity is indeed the knowledge of the danger thereof (*ādīnava-ñāṇa*) and thereby this accumulation becomes an object of terror (*āyūhanā bhayan ti* : ibid. xxi, § 37, p. 556), as it is the cause of future rebirth-linking (*āyatiṃ paṭisandhihetubhūtaṃ* . ibid. § 38, p. 557).

H. G. A. v. Z.

ĀYUḤ-PARIRAKṢĀ-NĀMA, the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Tshe-bsgrub-paḥi gdams-ṅag ces-bya-ba* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 69, No. 3262). Kokila, the author, begins the text with a salutatory formula addressed to the bodhisattvas and the lamas. The work contains advice (Tib. *gdams-ṅag*, Skt. *upadeśa*) on the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and life.

Equal portions of butter, honey and milk should be churned in a greasy vessel and put in barley malt for a day. This, partaken of according to instructions, should prolong life. Milk should be churned with curd. The mixture should be stirred when the curd rises, and the fresh butter eaten at break of day. Dispelling disease, this will cause beneficial results. These and other similar instructions form the content of the work.

R. H.

ĀYUḤ-SĀDHANA, the title of a work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Tshe sgrub-paḥi thabs* (Pek. Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 86, No. 4863). The Sde-dge edition quotes the names Nags-kyi rin-chen and Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho as those of the translators.

The text describes the procedure of performing a rite for securing long life, in the course of which Amitāyu is to be invoked. Amitāyu, red in colour, is said to carry a vessel in his right hand. The mantras cited in the text are: *Oṃ hri no me bha rakṣaṃ sarva svāhā ; oṃ śūnyatājñāna-vajra-svabhāvātmako'haṃ* and *oṃ sarva-saṃskari- pariśuddha-dharmate gaganasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe...... saparivāre svāhā.*

R. H.

ĀYUPĀLA, a monk who lived at Saṅkheyya-pariveṇa, near Sāgala, in the time of king Milinda of the *Milindapañha.* He was well-versed in the Tipiṭaka. Milinda's royal astrologer informed the monk that the king wished to see him and, having obtained permission, the king visited him with five hundred Yonakas. The king questioned the monk about the usefulness of the monastic life, but was dissatisfied with his explanation (*Miln.* 19 f.).

H. R. P.

ĀYUPĀLĀ (Āypālī), the teacher of Saṅghamittā, daughter of the emperor Asoka. She was an arahant therī. (*Mhv.* v, 208 ; *VinA.* 1, 51).

ĀYURAVASTHĀPHALOPADRAVODBHAVA-NĀMA-KARMA, sometimes referred to as *Āyuravasthāphalakarmodbhavopadrava-nāma,* a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation under the title *Tsheḥi gnas-skabs-kyi ḥbras-bu gnod-pa ḥbyuṅ-ba shes-bya-baḥi las* in the Bzo-rig-pa (Skt. Śilpavidyā) section of the Tengyur (*Cordier,* III, p. 479, No. 19 ; *TM.* No. 4323). The author of the work is not known, but it is stated that Jayānanda and Prajñāratna (Śes-rab rin-chen) translated it into Tibetan. This text does not occur in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Cordier notes that he restored the title from an index, which also reports the absence of the text.

E. H. P.

ĀYURBUDDHĀNUSMṚTI, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *sṅas-rgyas rjes-su dran-pa* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (Skt. tantra-vṛtti—tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*Cordier,* II, p. 371, No. 4). The author of the work is not known. Śīladhvaja (Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan) is mentioned as its Tibetan translator.

E. H. P.

ĀYURDADĀ, a kinnara-maid who was present with innumerable others in Jetavana to listen to the Buddha (*Kvyū.* 6. 12).

ĀYURGAṆITAPHALAPRAKĀŚA-NĀMA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation, *Tshe rtsis-kyi ḥbras-bu gsal-bar-byed-pa shes-bya-ba,* in the Bzo-rig-pa (Skt. Śilpavidyā) section of the Tengyur (*Cordier,* III, p. 479, No. 21 ; *TM.* No. 4325). The authorship of the work is credited to Mānapuruṣa (or Manapuruṣa) ; and it is said that Lagnamati (Lagmati or Lagmiti) and Ḍakavajra (Mkhaḥ-ḥgro rdo-rje) translated the work into Tibetan.

E. H. P.

ĀYURVARDHANĪVIDHI, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation under the title *Tshe ḥphel-baḥi cho-ga* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TM.* No. 3666). The work is attributed to Candragomin ;

Ratnarakṣita and Shaṅ-grub are mentioned as its Tibetan translators. The Peking edition does not contain a text of this name.

E. H. P.

ĀYURVAŚITĀ, name of one of the twelve Vaśitā (q.v.) goddesses who are regarded by Vajrayānists as the spiritual daughters of the Buddha Amitābha. Like the other goddesses of her group, she has two hands and is quite beautiful in form ; wears beautiful ornaments and is seated on a lotus seat. Her right hand, which is held against her breast and which carries a lotus, is in the *vitarka* posture (see E. W. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, II, p. 136). The two main characteristics, which enable one to distinguish her from the rest, are her colour which is light-red (*sita-rakta*) and the miniature statue of the Buddha Amitāyus which she carries on her left palm (see also B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 329).

S. K. N.

ĀYURVEDA, meaning 'science of life' or 'longevity' is a traditional, rational and naturalistic system of medicine developed in India and generally recognised by people everywhere. It is a secular system of knowledge and practice. Its origin has been ascribed to gods or to a Supreme Being, but is variously described according to the different religions. The system is basically the same whatever may be the religion of the authors or redactors. The most important texts of Āyurveda now existing are the *Carakasaṃhitā* and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. According to the latter, the Āyurveda was created by Svayambhū, then summarised by him to be revealed to Prajāpati, communicated by him to the Aśvins, from these to Indra and from Indra to Dhanvantari under the shape of Divodāsa, king of Kāśi. Suśruta gives Divodāsa's teaching. Caraka agrees to this description up to Indra. According to him, Indra revealed the Āyurveda to Bharadvāja who in turn instructed his disciples. Among those was Ātreya Punarvasu, who communicated the knowledge to Agniveśa and five others. Caraka has recomposed the teaching of Agniveśa. Hence his book is also known as the *Agniveśatantra*. One Caraka has been a physician at the court of Kaniṣka. He may have been also the redactor of the *Carakasaṃhitā*.

Caraka clearly distinguishes between magico-religious treatments and rational therapeutics based upon *yukti*, i.e., rational connection of observed facts. He develops also a complete system of logic in order to fix the right way of interpreting the symptoms and avoid the wrong ones. Suśruta also recognises logical *pramāṇas*, i.e., criteria of proper appreciation. Both give the same general representation of the nature and functions of the human body and of the nature and causes of ailments. According to them there are five elements in the body as is the case with the cosmos : earth, water, fire, wind and space, to which respectively correspond muscles and bones, bodily fluids, the body's heat, breath and void in hollow organs. There are also seven basic substances (*dhātu*) like blood, marrow, etc., produced by combinations and interactions of the elements. Breath (*prāṇa* or *vāyu*) is responsible not only for respiration but also for all the movements in the body. The body's heat is due to bile (*pitta*). Cold, fluids and viscosity are due to phlegm (*śleṣman* or *kapha*). Good health is maintained by the equilibrium of these three. When some external action, or wrong hygiene or diet, or any other cause destroys this equilibrium, each one of these three may be exceedingly excited or weakened, provoking some illness. So they are called *tridoṣa* the 'three troubles'. The determination of the nature of the illness depends on the determination of the actions or of the combinations of action of the *tridoṣa*. The diagnosis requires the observation of symptoms (*lakṣaṇa*) and of their occasions of production (*nidāna*), also the inference of the causes of the troubles. The treatment is fixed according to these causes and to the previous knowledge of the properties (*guṇa*) of the drugs (*dravya*) and other means of cure against both the symptoms and the wrong working of the bodily elements.

Several diseases described in the Āyurveda and the major bodily elements, like *prāṇa* and *pitta*, are already known in the Vedic hymns, chiefly of the *Atharvaveda*. The pneumatist conception of life, supported not only by respiration but also by the internal *prāṇas*, is already evidenced in this Veda. But the full āyurvedic system was developed in the late Vedic period and several of its features are alluded to in the Pali Tipiṭaka before the time of redaction of the main extant āyurvedic *saṃhitā* (in the first centuries of Śaka era).

The Pali Tipiṭaka mentions organs which are referred to only in the oldest passages of āyurvedic anatomy, like *kilomaka* (Skt. *kloman*, of doutful identification). Its data generally agree with those of the classical Āyurveda, the essential contents of which were already fixed and widespread throughout the whole of Indian society. *Pitta*, *semha* (Skt. *śleṣman*) and *vāta* were known. Jīvaka

Komārabhacca (Skt. Jīvaka Kaumārabhṛtya) is reported to have been the Buddha's physician, and he cured several people including king Bimbisāra and king Candappajjota. He had studied at Takkasilā and, according to Buddhist sources preserved in Tibetan (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, 1907, p.65) and Chinese (E. Chavannes, *Cing cents Contes*, III, p. 334), he had been a pupil of one Ātreya or of one Piṅgala. He was not only a physician but also a surgeon and opened the skull of a merchant of Rājagaha to extract from it two creatures (*dve pāṇake : Vin.* I, p. 274). A similar story occurs later in Tamil tradition where the doctor is called Tēraiyar (Tam. *tērai* is a kind of grog), pupil of Akattiyar (Agastya).

In the Pali and Sanskrit Vinayas there are medical prescriptions allowed by the Buddha in case of different diseases affecting the monks (*Bhesajjakkhandhaka, Bhaiṣajyavastu*). They offer a general but not a literal concordance between them and with the classical Āyurveda. The knowledge of diseases and drugs is on a more popular level than in the medical texts. For example, there is an 'autumnal illness' (*sāradika-ābādha : Vin.* I, 199 ; *śāradaka-roga : GM.* III, 1, p. 1) which is not recognised in Āyurvedic texts where it is replaced by different diseases attacking in autumn but differentiated after their specific features. The *materia medica* is very similar to the one in the Āyurveda, but not to the Atharvanic one.

Classical Āyurvedic medicine has been later in general use among the Buddhists as well as among the others. Nāgārjuna uses Āyurvedic knowledge in comparisons (e.g., in *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, I, p. 60 a). To Nāgārjuna himself is ascribed a small Āyurvedic treatise, the *Yogaśataka*, which was in use at Kucā in Central Asia together with its Kuchean version [1] between the VIIth and Xth century, also translated into Tibetan (Tengyur, Mdo, 118), copied in different regions of India and printed in Sinhala characters in Colombo, Ceylon (1898). In the Indian collections of manuscripts, it is sometimes attributed to Vararuci instead of Nāgārjuna. It is a collection of 100 medical recipes arranged according to a classical division of medicine in eight sections (*aṣṭāṅga*). Thus, it corresponds to the description of a summary of these *aṣṭāṅga* referred to by I-tsing as recently written. If I-tsing's reference is actually to this text, it cannot have been composed by Nāgārjuna. On the other hand, Nāgārjuna is considered by Hsüan-tsang as having been a great alchemist as well as a great bodhisattva. Books on alchemy (e.g., *Rasaratnākara*) or magic (e.g., *Kakṣa-* or *Kaccha-puṭa*) are also ascribed to Nāgārjuna, as well as the Āyurvedic *Yogaśataka*. But there is an alternative attribution of the *Kaccha-puṭa* to Nityanāthasiddha. Thus, according to a tradition not later than Hsüan-tsang (VIIth century), alchemy was already in practice by the time of Nāgārjuna, (not, as it has been wrongly supposed, only from the time of another Nāgārjuna mentioned by Al-Bērōnī, of the XIth century, as having lived one century before him). Whatever may have happened, Āyurveda, alchemy and magic were separate branches of knowledge, even if they were cultivated by the same person. In the authentic works of Nāgārjuna we have evidence only of his knowledge of the Āyurveda. He was also supposed, without decisive evidence, to have been the redactor of the last part of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (*Uttaratantra*). He may have also practised alchemy and, less probably, magic. Besides the *Yogaśataka*, two small Āyurvedic treatises, *Jīvasūtra* and *Avabheṣajakalpa*, are also ascribed to Nāgārjuna in the Tengyur, where they are translated.

Several fragmentary Āyurvedic manuscripts, in Sanskrit (Bower manuscript, etc.) or Kuchean (Weber MS.) or Khotanese (*Siddhisāra-śāstra*), have been recovered from the sands of Central Asia, mixed with Buddhist manuscripts. Āyurveda was propagated along with Buddhism as far as Japan where a hospital has been established close to a religious foundation by prince Shōtoku (592) and where Āyurvedic drugs, also prescribed in the *Yogaśataka*, have been preserved, among others, in the Shōsō-in, dedicated by Kōmyo-Kōgo to Daibutsu after the death of Shōmu-Tenno in 748 (*JAs.* 1934, 1, pp. 305 f.).

In other countries, under Buddhist kings, treatment with Āyurvedic medicine has been established in hospitals. The main example of this practice is evidenced by many inscriptions in Cambodia throughout the territory, under Jayavarman VII at the beginning of the XIIth century.

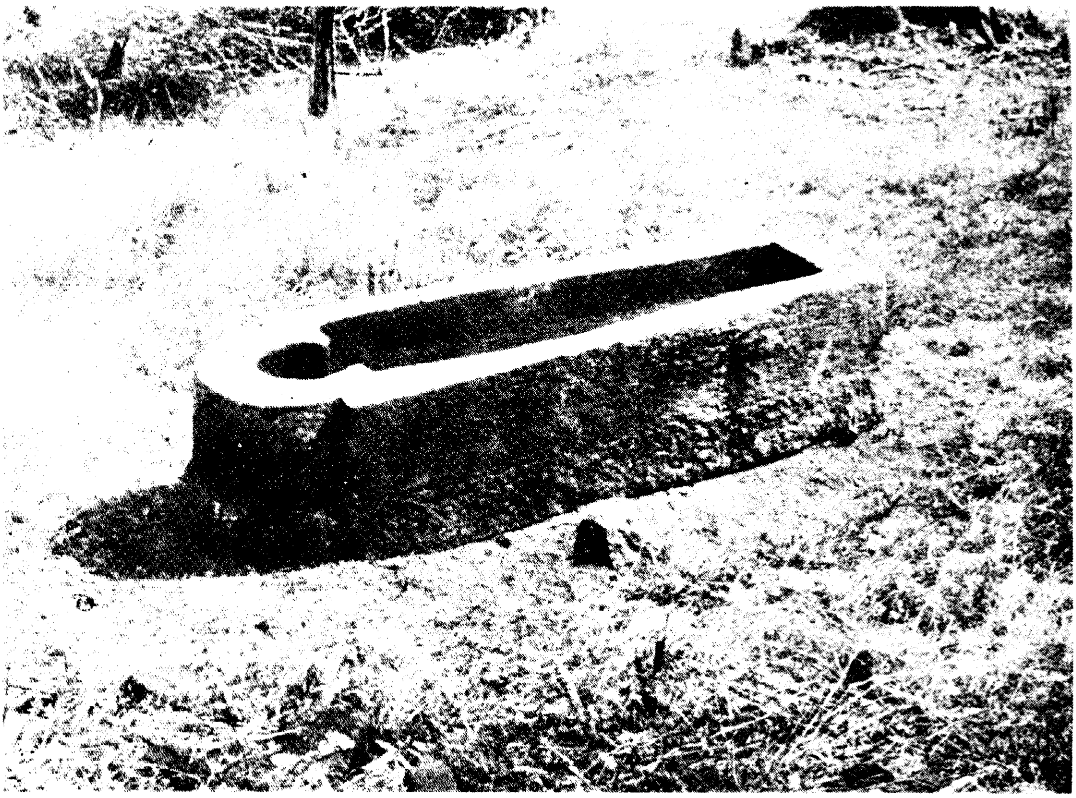
In the Tibetan regions of China the most fundamental treatise of medicine is briefly called *Rgyud-bzi*, "The four treatises", because it is divided into four parts. It is considered as having been translated from a lost Sanskrit original Āyurvedic work in the shape of a sūtra originating

1 J. Filliozat, *Fragments des textes koutchéens de médicine et de magie*, Paris, 1948.



(A Gandhara sculpture (55⅜" × 8") in Lahore Museum)

JĪVAKA, the physician, delivering the child Jotiska from its mother's womb, while she was being cremated. On the extreme left of the sculpture stands the Buddha, and next to him is Bimbisāra, the king, receiving the child from Jīvaka.



(*by courtesy of the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya*)

STONE MEDICINE BOAT, at Mädirigiriya, allowing for the body to be immersed in medicine oil (Ceylon, c. 10th century).

from the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaiḍūrya-prabhārāja and entitled in Sanskrit *Amṛtahṛdayāṣṭāṅgaguhyopadeśatantra* (*Bdud-rci sñiṅ-po yan-lag brgyad-pa gsaṅ-ba man ṅag gi rgyud*). Its first chapter gives a description of the Bhaiṣajyaguru with four circles of attendants: *deva* (*lha*), *ṛṣi* (*draṅ-sroṅ*), non-Buddhists (*phyi-ba*) and Buddhists (*naṅ-pa*). Among the gods are the Prajāpati, Dakṣa, the Aśvins, Indra and the goddess Amṛtā (Bdud-rci-ma), while Hindu gods, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu and Kumāra are in the "non-Buddhist" class. Among the "Buddhists" are Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi and Jīvaka. At the head of the ṛṣis are Ātreya and Agniveśa, known in Caraka's Āyurvedic tradition. The second chapter tells us how the Bhaiṣajyaguru entered into the Bhaiṣajyarājasamādhi, which delivers beings from the 404 diseases. From him emanate two *sprul-pa* (*nirmāṇa*) under the shape of ṛṣis, the first of whom Rig paḥi ye-śeś (Vidyājñāna), expounds the science in reply to the questions of others. This science is quite in accordance with the classical Āyurveda of Caraka and Suśruta, except that it includes some additions like the investigation of the pulse which does not exist in the old Āyurvedic texts and appears only later in the Āyurvedic literature. Also, the figure 404 is not accepted in Āyurvedic texts as the number of the diseases and it is generally not mentioned in the treatise after its mention in the introductory chapters. This looks like a Buddhistic supplement to a classical secular Āyurvedic treatise. This figure is obtained after the Atharvanic notion of 101 'deaths', which have been multiplied by 4, each series of 101 being due to one of the *tridoṣa* and to their combination (*sannipāta*). This numeration of the diseases also corresponds to the theory of four elements in nature (earth, water, fire and wind) omitting space (*ākaśa*), which is current in the Buddhist texts. The allusions to the 404 diseases are also found in the same texts. This is a point of divergence with the classical Āyurveda which is otherwise accepted.

The *Rgyud-bzi* is reported to have been translated from Sanskrit by the time of Khri-sroṅ-sdeḥu-bcan (VIIIth century). It has been elaborately commented upon by the Regent of Lhasa, Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mcho (XVIIth cent.) in the *Vaiḍūrya-sṅon-po*. It has been translated into Mongolian. It is not included in the Tengyur collection. In this collection, besides the short treatises ascribed to Nāgārjuna, two classical Āyurvedic works are included: Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* and *Śālihotra*, a treatise of *Aśvāyurveda*, i.e., medicine for horses. It has been conjectured that Vāgbhaṭa was a Buddhist author because, among the very rare religious invocations which are included in his text, one is to the Bhaiṣajyaguru, but another is purely Hindu.

In Ceylon, the Āyurveda is represented not only by the *Yogaśataka* and by Sanskrit and Sinhala Āyurvedic books, but also by an extensive treatise of *materia medica* in Pali, the *Bhesajjamañjūsā*.

J. F.

ĀYURVEDA-SARVASVA-SĀRA-SAṄGRAHA, the restored name of a medical text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Ṅo-mtshar bstan-bcos (Āścarya-śāstra) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Tsheḥi rig-byed mthaḥ-dag-gi sñiṅ-po bsdus pa* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 148, No. 5879). The authorship of the work is attributed to Tshaṅs-sras Bshad-paḥi rdo-rje (Brahmaputra Hasavajra) and the translation to Khyim-spaṅs Sa-spyod (Gotrasaṃcāra of Mathurā according to *Cordier*, III, p. 502, No. 4) and Ṅag-dbaṅ Phun-tshogs lhun-grub (Vāgīśvara Lakṣmīnirābhoga according to *Cordier*, loc. cit.), while it is said to have been revised by Blo-bzaṅ chos-grags.

The text describes the method of treating diseases of various types—those arising from the derangement of any one or more of the three humours of the body, namely, wind, bile and phlegm. The symptoms (Tib. *mtshan ñid*) of the diseases are mentioned, the manner of their action (Tib. *spyod lam*) described, and the remedies and the method of their preparation stated. Some mantras to be chanted in the course of ceremonies, which form part of the treatment, are quoted, selections from which are given below: *oṃ gā jaṃta ghora ta ...... bamdhi śvrāsana bhejye bhuta bāṃdhi deva bāṃdhi dāne bāṃdhi mariyāmasāna bāṃdhi kāle bhairo bāṃdhi aṣṭabhairava bāṃdhi ..... uttarako uttara bāṃdhi dakṣiṇako dakṣiṇaṃ bāṃdhi paścimako paścimaṃ bāṃdhi pūrvato pūrvaṃ bāṃdhi ....; oṃ hrīṃ hrīṃ lhan gāṃ gāṃ; oṃ namo maheśvara siddheśvari bandha bandha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

R. H.

ĀYUR-VṚDDHI-SĀDHANA-DHVAJĀGRANĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Tshe ḥphel-baḥi sgrub-thabs rgyal-mtshan-gyi rtse-mo shes-bya-ba* of Ye-śes rdo-rje (Jñānavajra), occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 79, No. 3868).

The text describes the procedure of performing a rite for ensuring long life. The worshipper is instructed to draw the maṇḍala, place vessels of food and drink in it, spread dūrvā grass, sprinkle milk and sindhūra powder, etc., invoke the deity Rdo-rje rnam-ḥjoms and praise and honour him. He is further enjoined to invoke eight goddesses who occupy the eight petals of a lotus and request them to grant longevity. The colours and the symbols of these goddesses who are associated with the directions are as follows :

Direction	*Colour*	*Symbol*
East	sky-blue	parasol
South	sky-blue	eight-petalled lotus
West	red	vessel
North	green	tortoise shell
South-east	white	wheel
South-west	sky-blue	banner
North-west	red	jewel
North-east	green	*rohita* (fish)

The text continues with more details regarding the performance of the rite. The following magical formula is cited: *Oṃ buddha oṃ bruṃ oṃ vajra hūṃ bruṃ sva ratna sva bruṃ.*

R. H.

ĀYUṢMAN-NANDA-GARBHĀVAKRĀNTI-NIRDEŚA-(NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-)SŪTRA, the name of a text, a Tibetan translation of which is included in the Dkon-brtsegs (Ratnakūṭa) section of the Kangyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa) tshe-daṅ-ldan-pa dgaḥ-bo-la mṅal-du ḥjug-pa bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 23, No. 760 : 13).

The text contains a discourse preached by the Buddha to Nanda and his following of five hundred monks, on 'the descent into the womb' (*garbhāvakrānti*), i.e., conception. The venue of the sermon was the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada, at Jetavana, Śrāvastī.

Instances in which conception will not take place are listed at the beginning of the text. Thus, even if there is a coitus of the parents and an *antarābhava* (i.e., a being in the intermediate state ; Tib. *bar-ma-do-ḥi phuṅ-po*) seeking rebirth, there will be no conception, if either of the parents is not in good health, e.g., if the mother's womb is covered with wind, bile, phlegm and so on. After enumerating a few other similar reasons which prevent conception, the Buddha stated that conception takes place on the conjunction of several conditions. If there is a coitus of the parents and it is the mother's season, and the *antarābhava* is present, [1] if the conditions that prevent conception are absent and the effect of karma is present, then conception will take place.

The text classifies beings in the intermediate state into two groups, viz., those possessing no merit and those endowed with great merit. Those of the first group become afraid, thinking that gusts of wind, coldness, darkness and rainfall in the outer world might harm them, and so they wish to enter solitary spots, thick woods or rock caverns. Those of great merit, though similarly afraid, would think of arriving in places of happiness such as stately buildings and heavenly mansions.[2] However, becoming conscious of things as they are, both types of *antarābhava* enter the mother's womb.

Continuing his sermon, the Buddha says that the embryo that is conceived is called *mer-mer-po* (lit. oblong, oval). Just as thick milk turns into butter when churned with force by someone, even so the *mer-mer-po* takes form due to the strength of the force of karma. The body of the *mer-mer-po* is composed of the four great elements of earth, water, fire and wind. Besides these material qualities known as *rūpa*, immaterial factors (*nāma*), viz., feelings (*vedanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*), the co-efficients of consciousness (*saṃskāra*) and consciousness (*vijñāna*) form the components of a being to be born. The Buddha then asks Nanda whether a seed sown on well-prepared soil will sprout forth in a day, replete with branches, leaves, flowers and fruits. On Nanda's replying in the negative, the Buddha says that the same condition holds true of the embryo as well. He then proceeds to give more information about the embryo and the process of its development.

Two Chinese translations of the text appear in the Ratnakūṭa section of the Sūtra-piṭaka of the Chinese canon: (1) the *Pao-t'ai-ching* (胞胎經 *Nanjio,* No. 32)

1 These three conditions are listed in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 266 ; II, 157), the *Milindapañha* (p. 123) and the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. I, 440). The "being to be born" is called *gandhabba* in the first two works and *gandharva* in the last.

2 Compare the information given in the *Bardo Thos-grol*, vide *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y Evans-Wentz, London, 1957, p. 175.

by Chu Fâ-hu (Dharma rakṣa) of the Western Tsin dynasty, 265–316 A. C. and (2) the *Fu-wei-a-nan-shuo-jên-ch'u-t'ai-hui* 佛爲阿難說人處胎會 (*Nanjio*, No. 2: 13) by Bodhiruci of the T'an dynasty, 618-907. According to the Chinese versions, the sūtra was preached by the Buddha to Ānanda.

R. H.

ĀYUṢPARYANTA SŪTRA or *Āyur-paryanta Sūtra*, the title of a Sanskrit work occurring in Chinese and Tibetan versions. The Chinese translation, called *Chiao-liang-shou-ming-ching* (較量壽命經 *Nanjio*, No. 807; *Taishō*, No. 759), which is incorporated in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Chinese Buddhist canon, is attributed to T'ien-hsi-tsai, 980-1001 A.C. of the later Sung dynasty, 960-1127 A.C.

The Tibetan translation entitled *Tsheḥi mthaḥi mdo* occurs in the mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur. This translation is said to have been done by Viśuddhasiṃha and Dge-baḥi dpal, while Vidyākarasiṃha and Dge-baḥi dpal are said to have revised the work (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 39, No. 973).

The text contains a sermon preached by the Buddha to an assembly of monks at Śrāvastī, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta grove. The Buddha asks them whether they wish to know the extent of life (*āyuṣ-paryanta*) of different categories of beings. When the monks express their desire to hear a sermon on the theme the Buddha begins his discourse.

The extent of life of the inhabitants of hells and that of those in the animal world, he says, is one kalpa, there being the possibility of intermediate deaths in both spheres of existence. The life-span of a preta, the Buddha declares, is five hundred years, and adds that a day in the life of a preta is equal to thirty days in the life of a human being. Thirty such days form a month and twelve such months a year in the preta-world. Resorting to the medium of verse, the Buddha, at this instance, speaks of the miseries of the preta world and the causes that condition birth there. Envy, avarice and other sins, are the causes of birth as a preta.

The interposition of a set of stanzas recounting the nature of undesirable existences and indicating the causes that condition birth in them, immediately following the mention of the extent of life in each of them, forms a regular feature of the work. Didactic verses describing virtues like charity that lead to happy births, too, are occasionally interspersed.

Referring to human beings, the Buddha says that the extent of life of the inhabitants of Śar-gyi lus ḥphags (*Pūrvavideha*) is two hundred years, that of the inhabitants of Nub-kyi pha-glaṅ-spyod (*Aparagodānīya*) five hundred years, and that of those of Byaṅ-gi-sgra-mi-sñan (*Uttarakuru*) a thousand years. The span of life of the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa, says the Buddha, increases up to an immense number of years and decreases down to ten years. At the time of the sermon, the extent of life of the residents of Jambudvīpa is stated to have been a hundred years.

The Buddha continues his discourse by enumerating the extent of life of beings of various abodes, both pleasant and unpleasant. The extent of life of the inhabitants of some of the abodes as given in the text may be cited against the name of each abode as follows:

Trāyastriṃśa heaven: a thousand years, a day being equal to a hundred years in the life of a human being;

Thig-nag (*Kālasūtra*), one of the eight hot hells, where the damned are sawn to pieces: a thousand years, one day here being equal to the whole extent of life in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven;

Ḥthab-bral, one of the heavens of Buddhist theogony, which is free from strife and which lies above the Trāyastriṃśa heaven: two thousand years, a day being equal to two hundred years in the life of a human being;

Bsdus ḥjoms, one of the hells: two thousand years, a day being equal to the whole length of life in the Ḥthab-bral heaven;

the heaven called *Tuṣita*: four thousand years, a day being equal to four hundred years in the life of a human being;

the hell called *Ṅu ḥbod* (*Raurava*): four thousand years, a day being equal to the life-span in the Tusita heaven;

Ḥphrul dgaḥ, the *Nirmāṇarati* heaven: eight thousand years, a day being equal to eight hundred years in the life of a human being;

Ṅu ḥbod chen-po, the hell called *Mahāraurava*: eight thousand years, a day being equal to the extent of life in the Nirmāṇarati heaven;

Gshan ḥphrul dbaṅ-byed, the heaven called *Paranirmitavaśavartin*: sixteen thousand years, a day being equal to one thousand and six hundred years in the life of a human being;

Tsha-ba, one of the hot hells : sixteen thousand years, a day being equal to the extent of life in the heaven Paranirmitavaśavartin ;

Mnar-med-pa, the *Avīci* hell : one kalpa ;

the heaven of the *Brahmakāyika* gods (*tshaṅs-ris-kyi lha*) : half of a kalpa ;

the heaven of the *Brahmapurohita* gods (*bhaṅs-paḥi mdun na ḥdon-gyi lha*) : one quarter of a kalpa ;

the heaven, *ḥod-chuṅ* (*Parittābha*) : two kalpas ;

the heaven, *Tshad-med ḥod* (*Amitābha*) : four kalpas ;

Ḥod-gsal, the celestial region called *Ābhāsvara* : eight kalpas ;

the heaven *Dge-chuṅ* (*Parittaśubha*) : sixteen kalpas ;

the heaven called *Tshad-med dge-ba* (*Apramāṇa-śubha*) : thirty-two kalpas ;

the celestial region, *Dge-rgyas* : sixty-four kalpas ;

the celestial region *Sprin-med* (*Anabhraka*) : one hundred and twenty-five kalpas ;

the heaven called *Bsod-nams-skyes* (*Puṇyapra-sava*) : two hundred and fifty kalpas ;

Ḥbras-bu che, the celestial region called *Bṛhat-phala* : five-hundred kalpas ;

Ḥdu-śes-med-paḥi sems-caṇ, a heaven called *Asaṃjñisattva* : one thousand kalpas ;

Mi-gduṅ-ba (*Atapa*) : two thousand kalpas ;

Śin-tu mthoṅ (*Sudṛśa*) : four thousand kalpas ;

Gya nom snaṅ : eight thousand kalpas ;

Ḥog-min, *Akaniṣṭha* heaven : sixteen thousand kalpas ;

Nam-mkhaḥ mthaḥ yas skye-mched (*Ākāśānantyā-yatana*), the stage of the infinity of space, the first of the stages of arūpāvacara gods : twenty thousand kalpas ;

Rnam-śes mthaḥ-yas skye-mched (*Vijñānānantyā-yatana*), the stage of infinity of consciousness, the second of the stages of arūpāvacara gods : forty-thousand kalpas ;

Ci yaṅ med-paḥi skye-mched (*Ākiṃcanyāyatana*), the stage of nothingness, the third stage of the arūpāvacara gods : sixty thousand kalpas ;

Ḥdu-śes med ḥdu-śes med min (*Naivasaṃjñānā-saṃjñāyatana*), the stage of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness, the fourth stage of arūpāvacara gods : eighty thousand kalpas.

R.H.

ĀYUṢPATTI-YATHĀKĀRA-PARIPṚCCHĀ SŪTRA, a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title *Tshe ḥpho-ba ji-ltar ḥgyur-ba shus-paḥi mdo* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 39, No. 974).

The work consists of the Buddha's replies to a series of questions raised by king Śuddhodana on what happens after death.

Seeing that the time was opportune for disciplining the citizens of Ser-skyar (Kapilavastu), the Buddha is said to have visited that city accompanied by five hundred monks. At the time, a Śākya, called Dgaḥ-skyes (? Hṛṣṭa), had died in the prime of his youth. His wife and children, and his servants collected many kinds of offerings, placed them in front of the body and offered them to Dgaḥ-skyes, uttering lamentations. Wondering whether the dead could benefit by such offerings, Śuddhodana decided to ask the Buddha various questions about the matter.

In answer, the Buddha said that gods, men, animals, pretas and others, are not necessarily born in their respective spheres of existence but that they are born in different spheres, depending on their good and bad deeds. One who is born as a god, he explained, could be born in any of the three evil existences, the hells, the world of animals or that of the pretas, on account of his wrong deeds. Referring to Śuddhodana's question as to whether beings cease to exist after death, the Buddha said that it was not so. Just as a seed gives rise to a fruit, even so the present life gives rise to a future one. As the sun rising in the east sets in the west, or as the light of dawn follows the darkness of the night, a future birth follows the present one. It certainly is true that people are not necessarily born into the family groups to which they previously belonged, but their associates are determined by their deeds. The proud, the arrogant, the rich and the poor are not born under the same circumstances. Just as leaves and flowers grow and blossom forth during the wet season and dry up during the hot season, even so, wealth increases through qualities like charity, while vices like avarice and theft lead to its decrease. People do not necessarily own the same possessions they had in previous births, in their subsequent births, and there is no truth in the belief that the dead partake of the offerings made by their parents, relatives and others. It is one's own deeds and no other external factor that determine one's conditions in life.

R.H.

ĀYUSSA SUTTA, two short discourses of the same name, found consecutively in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 143). Each discourse gives five conditions which do not give long life and their opposites which do. The conditions in the first discourse are: lack of care for the body, unintelligent care for the body, eating of unripe things, going about at unseemly times and unchastity; and their five opposites. The first three conditions appear in the second discourse too, only the last two being different, viz., lack of virtue and bad friendship.

H.R.P.

ĀYUṢTEJAS, name of a former Buddha (*Lal.* 5. 14).

ĀYU SUTTA (1), the penultimate discourse of the first chapter of the *Māra Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 108), preached by the Buddha at the Squirrels' Feeding-ground in the Bamboo Grove near Rājagaha. The Buddha tells the monks that human beings have a short period of life and all are subject to death. Hence they should do good and live the holy life. Just then, Māra comes and tells the Buddha in a stanza that the lifespan of human beings is long and hence they should not be troubled. They should act like babes replete with milk, for there is no life after death. The Buddha answers Māra in a stanza saying that human beings live on earth for a short time and since there is no man to whom death does not come, all good men must pay heed acting as if their hair was all ablaze.

As the Buddha utters this stanza, Māra disappears.

H.R.P.

ĀYU SUTTA (2), the last discourse of the first chapter of the *Māra Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 108), preached at the same place as the above on another occasion, and also dealing with the same subject. The first part of the discourse is identical, only the part in stanzas being different. Here, Māra appears before the Buddha and tells him that life goes on unceasingly, just like the rim of a wheel whirling round its axle. When the Buddha refutes his views, Māra retires vanquished.

H.R.P.

AYUTHIYA, an ancient Siamese kingdom. See AYUDHYĀ.

ĀYUVAḌḌHANA-KUMĀRA, mentioned in the *Dīghāyukumāra-vatthu* of the *Dhammapada*-commentary (II, 235 ff.). He was the son of a brāhman, and was destined to die in seven days, but obtained long life for one hundred and twenty years as a result of the recital of parittas by the Buddha and his disciples. Hence, he was later called Āyuvaḍḍhana-kumāra, the child whose lifespan increased.

His father was an ascetic who performed religious austerities for forty-eight years, along with a friend. Later he gave up austerities, married and had a son whom they first named Dīghāyu. One day, when the other ascetic, his former friend, visited them, the brāhman and his wife saluted him and the ascetic wished them long life. But when the child was made to salute him the ascetic remained silent. When asked why, the ascetic said that the child would die in seven days and instructed the father to seek the Buddha's advice, which he did. The Buddha told the parents that they should erect a pavilion near the entrance to their house and summon eight or sixteen disciples of the Buddha and ask them to recite parittas for seven days. On the seventh day the Buddha himself came there and with him assembled all the deities. Because of this, a certain demon (yakkha), named Avaruddhaka who had obtained permission from Vessavaṇa to devour the baby was unable to come near the pavilion and hence stood afar. The Buddha joined reciting the parittas the whole night and when in the morning of the eighth day the child was brought to the Buddha and was made to salute him, the Buddha wished him long life. Asked how long he would live the Buddha said "One hundred and twenty years". From that day, he came to be known as Āyuvaḍḍhana Kumāra. When he grew up, he used to go about with five hundred companions. One day the Buddha preached the doctrine to them. At the end of the sermon all of them attained the stream of sainthood (*sotāpattiphala*: *DhpA.* II, 235 ff.).

H.R.P.

A-YÜ-WANG-CH'UAN, biography of emperor Asoka.

There exist two Chinese versions of this biography, namely, the one translated by An-fa-ch'in between 281-306 A.C. during the Western Tsin dynasty and the other by Saṅghapāla of the Liang dynasty in 512 A.C. This is not only a collection of biographical writings about king Asoka, but it also gives a detailed description about the life of his instructor Upagupta. The Sanskrit text of the latter survives in the *Divyāvadāna*.

Besides, the volume also includes biographies of Mahā-Kaśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika who preached in Kāśmīra district, and a biography of Śānavāsa who brought Buddhism to Bāmian, Gandhāra and Mathurā.

K.K.I.

AYYAKĀ KĀLAKA. The bodhisatta was once born as a bull. When he was young, his owner lived in a house belonging to an old woman and he was given over to her by way of rent for that house. She brought him up as a son, tending him with much care. He was named Ayyakā Kālaka (Granny's Blackie) and used to roam about freely with other cattle in the village. The children in the village played about with him and even rode on him, but being very good-natured he never did them any harm. Being very conscious of his duty towards the poor old woman who brought him up with great affection, he worked for a wage and helped her with his earnings. Once a merchant who was trying to get his hundred carts across an uneven ford could not get even one of them across it, and looking around for help saw this bull in the company of other cattle, and sought his help to get over the difficulty. The bull agreed to help the merchant on the payment of two hundred pieces of gold. Once the carts were taken safely across, the merchant tried to deceive him, but the bull would not let him budge an inch without paying him the money. Ultimately the merchant had to give in. The bull hurried home eagerly with the money, though extremely fatigued, and the old woman was much moved by the gratefulness of the bull and began tending him with increased attention (*J*. I, 194-6).

W.G.W.

AYYAKĀ SUTTA (S. I, 96-7) records a conversation between Pasenadi, king of Kosala, and the Buddha. Pasenadi's grandmother died at the age of 120. He had been very fond of her, and would have done anything to have kept her alive. Grieved at her death, he came to the Buddha for consolation. The Buddha tells him that all creatures have to die; they finish in death, even as all the vessels wrought by potters end by being broken up.

U.K.

AYYAMITTA, a monk who lived in a cave, called **Kassakalena.** In the village where he went round for alms, one old woman devotee (*upāsikā*) fed the monk like her own son, and fed herself and her daughter only with the remnants. When the monk came to know this, he refrained from having meals at her place, thinking that he was unworthy of such care. He went back to his dwelling place and sat on his couch determined not to get up till he had attained arahantship. By striving hard he attained his goal. The deity on the tree at the entrance to the cave uttered a stanza in praise of him and asked the monk to go to the old woman for alms and relieve them of their suffering. The monk did so and the mother and the daughter, realising that the monk had attained arahantship, were immensely pleased.

Ayyamitta is mentioned as an example of those who are worthy of receiving alms. He is also known as Mahāmitta thera (*DA*. III, 790-1; *VbhA*. 279).

H.R.P.

AZUCHI-MONDŌ, or the disputation held at Azuchi; one of the two or three biggest disputations held in the history of Japanese Buddhism. It was held by order of Oda Nobunaga, the ruler of 17th century Japan, between the Jōdo-shū or the Pure-Land sect and the Hokke-shū or Nichiren-shū or the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sect. Hokke-shū was defeated in the argument and their three representatives were decapitated immediately afterwards. Hence, at least in and near the capital, the Hokke-shū (sect) lost their power. The importance of this disputation lies not in its doctrinal arguments, but in the political relations of the above two sects with the ruler of that time. In other words, this disputation was judged not by the authority of the teaching, but by the ruler of the lay world. Oda Nobunaga was determined to give a vital blow to the Hokke-shū who were getting power during this period.

The details of the event are as follows: In the middle of May in the 7th year of the Tenshō period, i.e., in 1679, the well-known Jōdo-shū priest, Reiyo Gyokunen, gave a lecture at Azuchi, where the lord Nobunaga's palace was located. During this lecture two young Hokke-shū devotees, Takebe Shōchi and Ōwaki Densuke, asked him many questions. But, Gyokunen would not answer them and suggested cynically that, as they were too young to listen to his lecture and to ask him questions, they should bring a senior learned priest of their sect on their behalf. Thus the end of his lecture was postponed and it was decided to hold a disputation between these two sects.

The Hokke-shū selected Nikkō of the Chōmyōji temple, Nichiyen of the Kuonyin (temple), Daizōbō of the Myōkenji (temple) and Fuden of the Myōkokuji (temple) as its representatives, while the Jōdo-shū (sect) chose Gyokunen and Shōyo Tōan of the Saikōji (temple). Before the disputation began, Nobunaga dispatched his ministers to both sides in order to conciliate them. The Jōdo-shū accepted his suggestion and were inclined to settle the problem. But the Hokke-shū rejected it and insisted on a thorough-going dispute. Thus, Nobunaga was compelled to hold the disputation and ordered Shū-chōrō (or Keishū Tessō) of the Nanzenji (temple) and Ingwakoji, the learned lay Buddhologist, to act as judges.

The Tōgon-in (temple) of the Jōdo-shū in Azuchi city was selected as the venue for this epoch-making event. Nobunaga sent five ministers as his observers. The Jōdo-shū priests were plainly dressed, while the Hokke-shū priests were in full ceremonial robes.

The details of the disputation slightly differ according to the various sources. According to the *Chion-in monjo* or the documents preserved in the Chion-in (temple) of the Jōdo-shū (sect), the questions and answers are as follows : (*J*. indicates the Jōdo-shū and *H*. indicates the Hokke-shū).

J. Is there *Nembutsu* (or invocation of Amitābha's name) in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* ?
H. Yes, there is.

J.According to your theory, *Nembutsu* is a cause of going down to hell. Then, why is *Nembutsu* mentioned in your scripture ? That must be the cause of falling down to hell.

H. Then, I will ask you : Is there any difference between Amitābha of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* and that of *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* ?

J. Of course, Amitābha is always one in all places.

H. If so, why do you want to reject the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* ?

J. To reject does not mean to reject the sūtra, but to take out every kind of unorthodox teaching before entering into *Nembutsu* practice.

H. Can you show me proof of what you maintain in the scripture ?

J. Oh, yes ! In the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* it is stated that after showing other *triyāna* for the sake of expediency the Amitābha invocation ought to be shown as extreme truth.

H. But, in the same scripture it is stated that by the power of expediency the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* was delivered by the Buddha in order to show the people the expedient principle which is gained and taught by him during the first forty years of his life. According to this, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* is merely a sūtra of expediency, unlike the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

J. If you want to reject all the teachings of his first forty years, do you wish to reject the fourth *Sa* or *Śrī* teaching of the Buddha's first teaching.

H. What is that *Sa* or *Śrī* teaching ?

J. It is another name for the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, of course. Don't you know that ?

Thus the Hokke-shū was defeated by the Jōdo shū. The judges and observers sent by lord Nobunaga declared the victory of the latter.

This is the story restored from the source of the Jōdo-shū above referred to, which coincides with other historical documents, such as *Shinchōki* (or the biographical history of the lord Nobunaga). But when we examine these questions and answers more carefully, comparing them with the sources preserved in the Hokke-shū we can easily find out the discrimination shown by Nobunaga in favour of the Hokke-shū.

Needless to say, these questions and answers were based on the belief that all Mahāyāna sūtras were spoken by the Buddha himself. The term 'teaching of his first forty years' and others will be easily understood in this light. But now it is clear that there is no reference to the word *Sa* or *Srī* in the sūtra. They were uttered at random by the Jōdo-shū priest only in order to defeat his opponent in the dispute. Also, it is clear that one of the judges, Ingwa-koji, always helped the Jōdo-shū when they were in difficulty and kept quiet when their opponents were in the lead. Just before asking the word *Sa* or *Srī*, Tōan, the representative of the Jōdo-shū, was in confusion because of a direct question asked by the Hokke-shū. A contemporary document describes him as having been very pale. Then he was helped by the judge Ingwa-koji who suddenly turned upon Nikkō, the Hokke-shū representative, tearing off his *kaṣāya* (robe). All the soldiers who were guarding the court also suddenly stood up, rushed to the Hokke-shū priests, beat them and kicked them cruelly. Then, the head observer, Oda Nobuzu-mi, the cousin and proxy of lord Nobunaga, declared the end of the disputation and let the priests of either side retire into another room.

He then sent a messenger to the palace of his lord saying that the event was over. At once Nobunaga came down from his palace to the temple, where he instantly sentenced the Hokke-shū representatives for punishment.

Densuke, the first questioner, was dragged out of the room, censured severely by Nobunaga for being really responsible for this event in spite of his mean profession as a salt-seller, and was beheaded at once.

Next, Fuden of the Myōkaku-ji (temple), an old and learned priest of the sect, was also dragged out in front of the lord, who censured him saying: "I hear that you had been free from any sect till last year and that from this year you have become a follower of the Hokke-shū, because of its superiority in and near the capital." Fuden apologised that he had become the Hokke-shū follower not on account of its superiority but of its doctrinal advantages. The lord said, "All right, all right! I know well the advantages of the Hokke-shū before your explanation. Anyhow, you look too old to do anything; there is no need to wait for your natural death. Soldiers! take this monk out!" He was taken out to the garden and beheaded there on the grass.

Another questioner, Shōchi, was also captured at his shelter and killed on the spot. After these executions, Nobunaga ordered the remaining Hokke-shū priests to offer their apologies in writing, both to Nobunaga's government and to the Jōdo-shū. Their apology read thus:

In the disputation held at the Jōgon-in temple of Ōmi Province, we, the Hokke-shū sect, were refuted by the Jōdo-shū. Hereafter we will promise not to challenge to dispute with the other sects We are very grateful to the kind arrangement of the government of the Lord which has given permission to continue our sect.

The above three articles are made in front of all the Buddhas and deities of Japan. We promise to keep these articles in the name of these deities.

May 27th, of the 7th year of the Tenshō period (1679 A.C.) on behalf of the Hokke-shū

Nittai, the Myokaku-ji
Nikkō, the Chōmyō-ji

(and other 11 leading priests' signatures with blood seals of fingers)

to Your Highness

Sugaya Kyūemon
Hasegawa Take
Hori Kyūtaro.

Thus, the Hokke-shū suffered a vital blow through the well-planned scheme of Nobunaga. Their real opponents were not the Jōdo-shū but Nobunaga's well-drilled, anti-religious policy. His attitude will be easily understood along with his other anti-Buddhistic and pro-Catholic policies. He was not a Christian, personally. But, in order to destroy all the old Japanese traditions, he attacked all influential mediaeval temples. A great number of leading mediaeval temples, such as Enryakuji, Erinji, Hongwanji, were attacked by him and the buildings of the temples were burnt and the priests and their disciples and families were killed very cruelly. All these are symbolised in his slogan *Tenka Fubu* or "Reign the world by weapons". As a result, the powerful temples of the mediaeval period lost their powers and became weak and feeble as they can be seen now.

As compared with the oppressions carried out upon the other sects, this judgment passed by Nobunaga on the Hokke-shū cannot be said to be very severe. But, approximately five years after this event, there was not a single temple or a single priest of the Hokke-shū in and near the capital, Kyoto. They had to wait their restoration until the 13th year of the Tenshō period (1685 A.C.) when Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the successor of Nobunaga, gave permission to return and build their temples in Kyoto.

S. K.

BA, one of the fifty (or forty-two) siddham letters, a variety of brāhmi script, used as ritualistic characters in mantra and dhāraṇī. According to the mantric tradition it is believed that this letter has the power of granting freedom or release to those who continuously chant it. The *Yoga-vajra-śekhara-sūtra-akṣaramātrika-vyākhyā-varga* of Amoghavajra (*Taishō*, No. 880; *Nanjio*, No. 1052) attributes this mystic power to the letter, on the assumption that the letter 'ba' is derived from the term *bandhana*, meaning bond, fetter or restraint. Hence it is called the 'ba' of restraint. By continuously chanting this particular letter one attains mastery over bonds and fetters and consequently become free from them (*Pañca-viṃśati-sāhasrikā-mahā-prajñā-pāramitā* of Kumārajīva: *Taishō*, No. 223; *Nanjio*, No. 3). Therefore, it is said that a person who chants the letter 'ba' cannot be bound by anything in the world; such a person is free from all fetters. It is also said in the *Lalitavistara* (according to *Moc.* 4171 c) that when the letter 'ba' is chanted there arises the sound of freedom from all restraints.

According to a different view expressed in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (Chinese translation: *Tan-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*: *Taishō*, No. 7; *Nanjio*, No. 118), the letter 'ba' is considered as representing the ten powers (*bala*) of the Buddha. In this case, 'ba' is regarded as arising from the term *bala*.

BABBAḌA, name of a yakṣa living in Babba-ḍādhāna, a village, possibly named after the Babbarā tribe (*Mahāmāyūrī*, 93; *BHS.* s.v.).

BABBARĀ, name of a tribe of people, variantly called Vapparā, occurring in a long list of tribes in the *Jatukaṇṇika Apadāna* (*Ap.* II, 359).

BABBU JĀTAKA (No. 137; *J.* I, 477 ff.). There was once a rich merchant of Kāsi who amassed forty crores of gold. His wife, Kāṇā, died and, because of her love of money, was reborn as a mouse dwelling over the family treasure. In due course the rest of the family died and the village was deserted. The bodhisatta was a stone-cutter, working a quarry near the mouse's residence. She, liking him, brought him one day a coin, suggesting that, with a part of it, he should buy her some meat. The bodhisatta agreed, and this continued for some time. One day the mouse was caught by a cat, but she obtained her release by promising him some of her food. She was later caught by three other cats, but was left free on the same terms. The mouse thus had only one-fifth of her food and grew very thin. The bodhisatta noticed this, and when she told him the reason, he put her inside a crystal box and suggested that when the cats came she should refuse to have anything to do with them. The first cat arrived and, on being reviled by the mouse, jumped on the crystal box and was crushed to death. The same fate overtook the other cats. The mouse thus became free, and in gratitude to the bodhisatta, showed him all the treasure.

The story was told in reference to Kāṇā, who lost her husband owing to four monks. The monks were the cats and Kāṇā the mouse (*DPPN.* s.v.).

BACTRIA. To Buddhists, the chief interest of this ancient country in Afghanistan, which had as capital Bactra (to Greeks, now Balkh), is the fact that traces of those Hellenistic influences which culminated in the Gandhāra school of art have been found from the rule of a line of Greek kings who commenced to rule from the time of Alexander the Great. The wider Buddhist influence was largely due to the kings of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty into whose power it passed when it was incorporated into the Śaka (Indo-Scythic) empire, after the Yüeh-chih (Tokhārī) had put an end to Greek rule, in 139 B.C. according to Chinese sources.

This country, which was also known as Bactriana, has been located between the Hindu Kush range and the river Oxus (Āmū Daryā). The chief city was by the Arabs called 'Mother of Cities' (Umm al-Bilād). It was traditionally one of the oldest inhabited sites of the world and, under the corrupted form of Lan-chi, it continued to be (at least for a time) the capital of Yüeh-chih (W. W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXII, p. 270). The Greek name itself was derived from the Persian Bākhtri of the cuneiform inscriptions; the latter is found as Bākhdhi, in the Zend *Avesta*, which became Bākhal (*Bākhli*) in Pehlevi and emerged into the Balkh of today. The Greeks adopted the west Persian form.

Bactria, with the country of which it was the metropolis, has probably only one credible episode in its dim traditions: it was the coming into it of Zarathustra Spitama, the founder of Zoroastrianism. The region was the home of an Iranian tribe who, later as their neighbours themselves, were ruled by petty kings. Cyrus subjugated them all; since that time, until Alexander's conquest, Bactriana had remained a Persian satrapy. Under Alexander it became a province of the Macedonian

empire and, about 312 B. C., came under Seleucus Nicator I. Its position under the Greeks alternated between that of a mere province and of a separate kingdom according to the strength and skill of its head. When the rule of the Seleucids was disturbed Diodotus, the satrap made himself independent (about 255 B.C.) and even conquered Sogdiana further north beyond the Oxus. He founded a Greco-Bactrian kingdom and his successors maintained themselves against the Seleucids; but the country was cut off from the home of Hellenism itself for the Parthians of Iran intervened between the two lands. A usurper, Euthydemus, boldly maintained himself against the powerful Antiochus III, surnamed the Great (223–187 B.C.), when the latter besieged Bactra, and obtained honourable peace. Demetrius, his son, wielded great power and a strong Greek dynasty and kingdom appeared to have risen in Asia. The hope was belied ; the kingdom soon disintegrated for one of his generals, Eucratides (s. v. BEGRAM), made himself king here. He seems to have exercised considerable authority, if one were to judge from the fact that he issued the largest known coin of the ancient world, that is a magnificent 20 stater gold coin. After him, however, the Attic standard of coinage was displaced by a local one on which were stamped Kharoṣṭhī legends.

The Yüeh-chih and the Śakas followed on the fall of the Greeks. The Kuṣāṇa dynasty of the latter tribe seems to have had Bactra as capital (s.v. BEGRAM), but they in turn had to yield place to the Guptas (about 320 A. C.). A century and a quarter later the White Huns (Ephthalites) conquered the country. Finally, it was engulfed by Muslim invaders whose religion has prevailed to our own times.

Of the religions known as such, the earliest which the people professed was Zoroastrianism ; Alexander himself could not suppress it. Zoroastrianism existed, to some degree, with Buddhism. Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity also found their adherents. The last vestiges of Buddhism were removed by Arab invasions in 870 A.C. with the spoliation of a Vihāra in Begram (q.v.), after which Islam was finally established. But Buddhism was the predominant religion in the preceding historical period.

The discovery of a large number of coins (some of which were held to have been stamped with Buddhistic devices) and the find of stray sculptures of the Gandhāra type, had led many scholars to conclude that this famous school of art should be traced to Bactria. They expressed the opinion that Hellenistic ideas subserved the Indian in giving concrete expression to the concepts of the latter ; that from this region the styles spread to Central Asia, changed the whole art of Eastern Asia, to determine the further development of Far Eastern art (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* s.v. Bactria). To these views the latest writers do not subscribe (e.g., B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Great Britain, 1956, pp. 73 & 94). They hold that the only Gandhāra art in Bactria is that which is properly confined to the coins. Isolated as the region was under Diodotus, it did not receive Hellenistic influences from the Mediterranean to perpetuate them so far and wide.

At the time of the Arab invasion there was, in the city, a famous Buddhist vihāra by the name of Nawbhār (Sanskrit: Nava-vihāra). Arab authors who mentioned it described it as one comprising a range of 360 cells around a high stūpa. It was a shrine venerated far and wide ; even pilgrims from far off China came to worship at the hallowed spot. Its hereditary head, the Barmak, at the time of the Arab conquest held high position in the city. It is from the Barmakids that descent is claimed by the Barmakids of the Persian family which produced the first Persian minister of the Caliphate.[1] The Buddhist community existed till the early eighth century A.C. The country was in an insecure state and the Arabs were forced "to place Buddhists on an equal footing with the *Ahal al Kitāb* and even in the various 'revolts' not to proceed against apostates with the full vigour of the Muslim law." (R. Hartmann, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leyden, 1913, Vol. I, p. 623).

Modern Balkh is a shadow of the ancient city. Its Buddhist ruins are better preserved and are of greater archaeological value than the traces of the

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1 The following description of the Barmakids is particularly interesting in the present context : "They are traditionally represented as pious Muhammadans famed for their pilgrimages and buildings ; on the other hand they are accused by their opponents of indifference to Islam and its teaching." (W. Barthold, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* Leyden, 1913 Vol. I, 665 f.).

early phase of Islamic culture. Afghanistan established effective control over it in 1841 A. C. and has retained it to this day as a part of its territories. Religious conservatism coupled with politics kept the region shut off from scientific studies. In 1922, however, excavation rights were granted to archaeologists. After the concession, French expeditions were responsible for most of the knowledge we now possess of the antiquities of this ancient cultural centre.

D. T. D.

BADAGALDORA VIHĀRA, an ancient monastery in Ceylon built by king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa (*circa* 2nd cent. B. C.). It may be surviving among the ruins of modern Badagiriya which is about 7 mls. north of Hambantota on the southern coast (*JCBRAS.* New Series, VI, p. 67).

D. T. D.

BĀDALPUR, the site of an ancient Buddhist establishment near the village of Bhera about a mile to the west of the city of Sirsukh in the north-western frontier regions of India. Here are found one principal stūpa and several miniature stūpas. The principal stūpa has a massive plinth measuring over eighty feet in length and twenty feet in height, but the rest of the stūpa is broken down though in ancient days it must have been one of the most imposing monuments of Taxila. The Bādalpur stūpa has a recessed platform, a type which was becoming considerably popular at that time and the stūpa has had been decorated, on its faces, with reliefs of Buddhas and bodhisattvas (H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture in India* 53, 61, 65 ; J. Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, ed. 1918, 101 f.).

On the north and south sides of the stūpa there are two rows of image-chapels and about seventy yards to the east are some remains of a specious monastery (J. Marshall, loc. cit.).

On the evidence of the type of masonry this Buddhist establishment could be assigned to the 3rd century A. C. (J. Marshall, loc. cit.). H. Sarkar (op. cit. p. 58), however, assigns it to the 4th century A. C. Coins of the Kushān kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva have been discovered at this site.

H. R. P.

BADARA, name of a kinnara prince occurring in the *Supriya Avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* (118.22). Supriya, a previous birth of the Buddha as a charioteer, in his sojourns in the kinnara realms visited Badaradvīpa and preached the Dhamma to the kinnara damsels there. At the end of the preaching they offered him a miraculous gem, given to the kinnaras by their prince Badara, and which was greatly cherished in Badaradvīpa. People could obtain anything they desired by appealing to this gem.

W. G. W.

BADARADVĪPA, a great city (*mahā-pattana*) in Jambudvīpa (India), which was visited by the charioteer, Supriya, who was to become the Buddha Gotama in his last birth. Supriya's sojourn there is recounted in the *Supriya Avadāna* (*Divy.* 102). The city is described as being full of treasures and gems which could fulfil the material desires of all beings. It was inhabited by non-humans (*amanuṣya*) and (or ?) kinnaras, possessing great power and authority. It was situated amidst snow-clad mountain peaks and surrounded by strong wind-currents from various directions which made the approach practically impossible.

An almost identical description of a secluded place in the Himalayan region occurs in the *Varāha Purāṇa* (141, *vv.* 1–14). The place, Badarī by name, is difficult for human beings to approach even after the greatest physical exertion, but accessible only through devotion (*bhakti*), and is situated amidst snow-clad mountain peaks.

If the foregoing descriptions, the affinity of the names and the religious significance of the places are any pointers towards identification, the city may be the same as Badarī of the *Varāha Purāṇa*, or even Badrināth in Garhwal, which is a peak in the main Himalayan range, 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagara (B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 69 & 70). See BADARA.

K. D. S.

BADARIKĀRĀMA, a locality in Kosambi, about a league (*gāvuta*) away from the Ghositārāma. Here a monk, named Khemaka, stayed during his illness and was visited by monks from the Ghositārāma (*S.* III, 126 ; *SA.* II, 316). The Buddha stayed here and preached the *Tipallattha-miga Jātaka* (*J.* I, 160) and the *Tittira Jātaka* (*J.*III, 64). The Kosam inscription of the reign of Mahārāja Vaiśravana records the instalment of a stone umbrella within a temple, called Pūrvasiddhāyatana, in Badarikārāma by a merchant named Māgha, in honour of the Buddha (EL. XXIV, pt. iv, p. 147).

H. R. P.

BÄDDEGĀNA, name of a village in Ceylon to the South of Kōṭṭē, close to Colombo, the capital city. It came into prominence quite recently as a result of the excavation of a historical site, known as Veherakanda. Kōṭṭe, meaning a fort, was recognised as a place of strategic importance by Aḷakeśvara, who built it in the second half of the fourteenth century. The first king to make it the seat of government was Parākramabāhu VI (1410-67 A.C.).

On the site were found two ancient dāgäbas built on an oblong platform (97 ft. by 53 ft. and 5½ ft. high). The larger dāgäba has a diameter of 30 ft. at the base and the smaller 21 ft. The former had two relic chambers, one above the other ; the lower one, which was found more neatly in position, was constructed of granite slabs.

Little of general interest resulted from the archaeological investigations, but data of value in stūpa-architecture in Ceylon were collected from them. As instances the following have been noticed : the three basal terraces (Sinhalese: *pēsāvalaḷu*) of the earlier dāgäbas have been here represented only as mouldings ; the form of the dāgäba was the same as that of the stūpa-shaped reliquaries which became familiar in the country from about the sixteenth century ; laterite had replaced the granite and dolomite (crystalline limestone) of the earlier periods, but even in this medium the pleasing cyma curve of the mouldings has been effectively rendered ; and, finally, it was seen that there has been no deterioration in the quality of work in stone which had characterised the earlier periods of architecture for some one thousand and five hundred years up to the time of Kōṭṭē.

The remains of a shrine, small in size and irregular in plan, were also found on the same platform ; these were too few and the shrine itself too haphazardly built to provide any scientific data beyond the fact that the construction was an afterthought. Hard by and outside the platform was also found a low terrace which might have been that of the bodhi tree. Fragments of tiles and the stone bases for wooden pillars of some building were also noticed in the vicinity and, from the copper box which had been the foundation deposit, it was clear that it has been a shrine of some sort.

In addition to what has been specially noted above regarding the art and architecture connected with the dāgäba in Ceylon, the remains at Bäddegāna are the only material contributions made to the Buddhist architecture of a period of history, comparatively modern by local standards, but one of which practically nothing had been scientifically known up to this time.

D. T. D.

BADDHAGUṆA VIHĀRA, an ancient monastery of Ceylon first mentioned in the 12th cent., as having been restored by Vīrabāhu, the king's youngest brother who held the position of *uparāja*. The vihāra is repeatedly described in superlative terms. The only previous history of it is that its thūpa had been destroyed by the Coḷa invaders a few years before Vīrabāhu attended to the work of restoration. Prosperous villages were now granted to the establishment for maintenance, regular feasts instituted and a plentiful supply of water, in connection with the endowed villages, was secured by the construction of a reservoir in the neighbouring forest. The site was obvioulsy one of strategic value, it being mentioned (as Badaguṇa) in connection with the civil strife which rent the country about a century afterwards (*Mhv.* lx, 80 ; lxxiv, 124). The reservoir now breached, is in the south-east corner of Uva Province (*JCBRAS.* New Series, VI, p. 57). Although it retains its ancient name, little is known of the ancient vihāra itself.

D. T. D.

BADDHAMĀLĀ, a variant of the second bodhisattva-bhūmi Baddhamānā, mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* (I, 76.14).

BADDHAMĀNĀ (var. Baddhamālā), name of the second of the ten bodhisattva-bhūmi (q.v.) according to the *Mahāvastu* (1,76-90). Mahā-Kātyāyana in answer to Kāśyapa related the features and characteristics of this bhūmi. According to this description the bodhisattva, as he passes from the first bhūmi to the second, develops an aversion to all forms of existence. Further, while in this bhūmi, the bodhisattva's disposition is good (*kalyāṇa*) in that he harbours no doubt about the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha ; it is amiable and meek (*snigdha*) in that, though his body be rent (*chidyamāneṣu*), his spirit is not angered ; it is sweet (*madhura*) because a bodhisattva practises actions that are inwardly virtuous ; it is said to be keen (*tīkṣṇa*) in that he has clear vision and has his thoughts fixed on the world beyond as well as on this ; it is bountiful (*vipula*) in that he heaps up a store of great good for the welfare of all creatures; it is charming

(*vicitra*) because ungrudgingly he gives charming and heart-delighting gifts ; it is whole-hearted (*apariyādinna*) as he is open-hearted and courageous owing to his insight ; it is imperturbable since no malevolent man can suppress him ; it is distinguished as he does not think of anything other than benefitting all creatures ; it is lofty since he goes his way unheeding when he hears a heretic ; it is noble (*akṛpaṇa*) since he does not regard as good those things which have to do with the pleasures of sense ; it is resolute because he has resolved to become a Buddha and he is not distracted from it by indulgence in pleasures of sense ; it is one of sincerity (*akṛtrima*) as he never envies saintly pratyeka-buddhas ; it is pure as he works for the ultimate good, spurning profit and reputation ; it is steadfast (*dṛḍha*) because, even though persecuted by the world he does not abate his zeal for dharma ; it is independent because, even if he were to faint through hunger, he will never eat the food of others saturated with lust ; it is one of contentment (*tṛpta*) as he always finds his joy in renouncing the world and does not dissolutely indulge in pleasures of the senses. He is intent on the foremost man, because in his wisdom he yearns for the omniscience of the Self-Existent One (*svayambhūsarvadarśitam*) ; he is intent on what is infinite (*ananta*) as he does not aim at great wealth, the prosperity that comes through miserliness.

Having described these twenty characteristics of the second bhūmi, Mahā-Kātyāyana goes on to enumerate twenty-eight causes that obstruct the progress of a bodhisattva from the second to the third bhūmi. A bodhisattva yearns for gain, honour and fame ; he becomes dishonest and builds up prosperity by unjust means, speaks angrily to his teachers and does not show respect to the triad of treasures (*triṣu rataneṣu*) ; he does not look for a bodhisattva's character in those whom he deems worthy of offerings ; though he has reached this stage of a bodhisattva's career, he does not duly honour it ; he does not shoulder the burden which merits the highest honour, but continues under one which does not so merit : he is not averse to dwelling in a crowd ; he becomes fond of garlands, fine clothes, jewels and ointments ; he becomes satisfied with little merit ; he finds constant delight in the charm of the world ; he does not regard all elements as impermanent ; he becomes engrossed with his own corporeal beauty ; he does not abandon perverted doctrines ; he does not preserve intact the word and the letter as they have been preached ; he becomes niggardly in his teaching ; he turns his eyes away from the almsman's bowl and gets nothing in it ; he becomes obstinate in his opinions ; he does not make a thorough scrutiny of things.

Although there are ten bodhisattva-bhūmis described in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, too, it should be noted that they are not identical with those described in the *Mahāvastu*. The name of the second bhūmi in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* is Vimalā, and the virtues ascribed to a bodhisattva in this bhūmi have only a slight resemblance to those of Baddhamāna, the second bhūmi in the *Mahāvastu*. While, in the *Mahāvastu*, virtues as well as shortcomings that hinder the bodhisattva's march on to the third bhūmi are described, the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* describes only the virtues and is silent with regard to the shortcomings. The *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, unlike the *Mahāvastu*, shows signs of a well planned and developed stage in the description of bodhisattvabhūmi. The author of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* has constructed the framework of his system on the basis of the ten perfections (*daśapāramitā*). See BODHISATTVABHŪMI, VIMALĀ.

W. G. W.

BADDHASĪMĀPĀSĀDA, in Polonnaruva, the best surviving example of an assembly hall (uposathāgāra) of the twelfth century, in Ceylon. It is a constituent of the group of religious buildings of Āḷāhana Pariveṇa (q.v.) constructed under king Parākramabāhu I (1153–86 A.C.) in the then capital city. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (lxxviii, *vv.* 55 ff.) describes it as having had twelve storeys, a number of turrets and appurtenant buildings which contained apartments and halls with cells.

As described in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* (for 1911-12, pp. 82 ff.), its remains showed it to have been a fine building crowning several terraces, oblong in plan with the lower basement plinth measuring 113 ft. north to south and 106 ft. crossways. Impressive blocks of solid wall masonry still remain on the ground floor. In the centre of this floor is an open hall nearly 60 ft. square. It had 108 pillars which were so disposed as to leave open passages on the plan of a Greek cross. In the middle is a dais which had served as the platform for the seats of the senior theras during their recital of the Pātimokkha and other ceremonial acts. Opposite the middle of each side of the lower platform was a small circular flat-topped stool ; its purpose is not known. Along the walls were rooms, eleven of them. Staircases, one of which yet survives.

indicate that the building had more than one storey, hence the name *pāsāda*. Not much that could be of use can, however, be surmised as to the nature, disposition, or construction of this upper section. Small flat tiles alone of the roof have been found.

A special arrangement had been devised for the storage and supply of water directly required for the *pāsāda*, apart from what was needed by those using the several buildings on the other terraces of the large complex of the *pariveṇa* itself. Three large cisterns directly served this particular terrace and a fourth, the largest, was constructed somewhat further at a lower level. In the open interspace between the *pāsāda* and the range of cells were found two rows of short pillars ; in each concentric range twelve of them had once stood in position on all four sides. These formed the boundary (*sīmā*) which was marked out by the king and gave rise to the name of the building. The space enclosed by the inner line of the boundary stones averages 148 ft. The *sīmā* stones are topped by vases or pots, highly decoratively treated when capping the dozen larger pillars which were set inside the outer ones. The lines of pillars which had demarcated the limits of the other *sīmā* are no longer found.

D. T. D.

BADDULA SUTTA. See GADDULA SUTTA.

BAD-KAN-GYI NAD SEL-BAḤI GZUṄS-SṄAGS, the title of a Tibetan text which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥbum* (100,000 tantra) section and in the *Gzuṅs-ḥdus* (*dhāraṇī*) section of the Kangyur (*TT.* No. 265). No restored Sanskrit title for this work has been suggested, and as to who translated the work into Tibetan is not known (*TM.* Nos. 801, 1057).

This work which begins with a salutation to Avalokiteśvara, mentions a spell which is useful for the curing of a disease caused by the disturbance of phlegm. The spell starts as follows : *Oṃ śanti śanti. Bhīti śanti. Sarva bhīti mūla...svāhā.* It is said, that for the complete cure of this illness one should take tasty (nutritious) food, water and the blood of slaughtered (animals). While chanting the spell, the Triple Gem has to be saluted over and over again. The work ends with a salutation to the Tathāgata and the god of medicine. The rest of the spell runs as follows : *namo.... he ke svāhā ; varṇa śaba ri svāhā ; namaḥ siṃha vyāghra rakśa ta....katin drva meka meka. Tsanti ti bta ye. Rig ni.... ba sa ta ye svāhā. Syad ya te dan ; ka ṭe ka ṭe ka ṭa bi ka ṭe ; tsa le be tsa le ; bi lam be ; ba-le ba-le ba-le ; tsan dre tsar ṇe a-mṛi-ta nir-gho-śe ; kris-bad........bazi bar rgyur cig svāhā. Oṃ bheśa-dsye, mahā bheśa-dsye, bhe-śa-dsyes a-mu-ga-te svāhā.*

The above spell has to be repeated seven times for the complete cure of the disease caused by phlegm.

I. K.

BAGCHI, PRABODH CHANDRA(1898–1956), Indian scholar who wrote a number of articles, and some books on Buddhist topics, in Bengali, in English and in French. At the time of his death he was the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University in West Bengal. A comprehensive bibliography of his works, compiled by Kalyan Kumar Sarkar, was appended to obituary notices of the scholar in *Visvabharati News*, XXIV, No. 8.

Bagchi engaged himself in several fields of Buddhist research, as may be learnt from the following which are culled as samples of his varied Buddhist interests. They also serve to demonstrate his continued attention to Buddhism. " New lights on the Chinese inscriptions of Bodhgaya " (jointly with Chou Ta-fu), *Sino-Indian Studies*, I, pt. 2 ; " A Note on the Pratītya Samutpāda Sūtra " *EI.* XXI ; " A note on the language of the Buddhist Dohās ", *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, I ; " The sibilants in the Buddhist Dohās ", *Indian Linguistics*, V ; " Origin and Home of Pali ", *Indian Culture*, II ; " On the original Buddhism, its cannon and language ", " Chang so chê lun (Jñeya-prakāśa-śāstra)—an Abhidharma work of Śākya-Paṇḍita of Tibet ", *Sino-Indian Studies*, II, pts. 3 and 4 ; " A note on the Avadāna-śataka and its Chinese translations ", *Visva-Bhārati Annals*, I ; " The geographical catalogue of the Yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūrī ", *Sino-Indian Studies*, III, pts. 1 and 2 ; " The eight Great Caityas and their cult ", *IHQ.* XVII ; " Some early Buddhist Missionaries of Persia in China ", *Calcutta Review* (July, 1927) ; " Some letters of Hiuan-Tsang and his Indian friends ", *Journal of the U.P. History Society*, XVIII, pts. 1 and 2 ; " Sangharaksha, the chaplain of Kanishka ", *K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume* ; " Decline of Buddhism in India and its causes ", *Sir Asutosh Mukherji Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, pt. 2 ; " Buddhist Studies in Japan and the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka ", *New Asia* I, pt. 1 ; " Some aspects of Buddhist Mysticism in the Caryāpadas ",

Calcutta Oriental Journal, I ; " Some aspects of the Buddhist Mysticism of Bengal ", *The Cultural Heritage of India*, I (Sri Ramakrisbna Centenary Memorial) ; " The story of Dhanika, the potter's son, as told in the different Vinayas ", *B.C. Law Volume*, pt. 1, etc., etc.

The following books by him also reveal his extensive researches into Buddhist studies ; *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* (in 2 vols.), *India and China* (Bulletin of the Greater India Society, No. 2, 1927), *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya and other minor texts of the school of Matsyendranātha* (Calcutta Sanskrit Series III), *Studies in the Tantras* (Pt. 1), *India and Central Asia* ; " The Place of Buddhism in Indian Life ", " Buddhism and ancient Indian Thought ", " Buddhism—the first popular religion ", " Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna " and " Buddhism and mediaeval Indian Trantism " in a Peking magazine entitled *Explanation of the worldly life*, Vol. I, Nos. 1-5, etc., etc.

Bagchi travelled widely, not only in Europe, but also in Asian lands of Nepal, Indo-China (Viet Nam), China and Japan.

D. T. D.

BAGH CAVES, situated in the former Gwalior State of central India, take their name from their position on the left bank of a small tributary of the Narmadā river ; this tributary is known as Bagh (or Wagh), which is also the name of a village near the caves. The caves have been excavated in the side of a sandstone cliff on the south slopes of the Vindhyā range. The side of the cliff is about 150 ft. above the Bagh.

The caves were used by Buddhist monks of old botb for devotional purposes and as residences. Paintings in some of them are reminiscent of those at Ajaṇṭā with which they undoubtedly have strong affinities. Both the architectural and the mural work have been spread over different periods and show the early Buddhist and Mahāyāna influences ; the latter is specially noticeable in the caves numbered 4–6. Cave No. 1, which has been described as the earliest, is of the earlier period.

There are altogether nine caves with a frontage of about 750 yds., but not all of them are contiguous. Nos. 4 and 5 were once connected by a portico of about 220 ft. long which was supported by some 22 heavy pillars.

As regards Nos. 1, 7, 8 and 9, there is little to say. No. 2, designed principally for residence, is one of the most elaborate and best preserved in the group. What could be made out of its paintings is now obscured, but Mukul Chandra Dey, (*My Pilgrimage to Ajaṇṭa and Bagh*, pp. 224 f.) noted, in the square compartments, decorative designs with some animals, vegetal motifs and grotesque dwarfs. These show how close the work in it is to Cave No. 12 of Ajaṇṭā. Its vestibule walls were adorned with images in relief. On the right and left are each a triad of figures which had been plastered over and painted. In each group is a relief of the Buddha flanked by a bodhisattva each, the one on the proper right being more elaborately depicted than the other. In each scene the Buddha is given the greatest size. The right hand is shown in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*), the left bent towards the shoulder with the end of the robe. The protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*) of the head is marked, but not the forelock (*ūrṇā*) between the eyebrows. Each bodhisattva on the proper right holds in his right hand and over the shoulder a white yak-tail fly-whisk (*cāmara*), while the other carries (also in the right hand) a sheaf of lotus-buds. The triad on the right are set on lotus pedestals, but that pedestal is given only to the Buddha figure in the other set. There are two bodhisattva reliefs in arched niches on either side of the doorway to the inner shrine. They are both on lotus pedestals and, on the head-dress, display the figurine of a Buddha in the gesture of ' dispelling fear ' (*abhaya-mudrā*). One bodhisattva had a flask in one hand. The six bodhisattva figures cannot be definitely indentified but it is quite evident that in depicting each pair there was an intention to distinguish one personality from the other. The one to the proper left is invariably simpler than the other ; it has been suggested that he probably represented Maitreya and the other Avalokiteśvara.

The plan of the cave is typical of the structural monasteries of the time although, from architectural considerations, it is more suited to free-standing examples. The overall length is 150 ft. The main feature of the plan is a square monastic hall with 20 small cells on three sides; in each cell was a niche for a lamp. Pillars were constructed in front of these living rooms and there was a portico. At the rearmost end there was a stūpa of stone in the centre. This, which was the shrine proper, was approached through a vestibule which had a portal in front. It is particularly noteworthy that, although most of the caves conformed to the Mahāyāna tradition, here nevertheless was the stūpa, an emblem which came to be venerated more anciently than the likeness of the Buddha.

The local inhabitants have connected the caves with heroes of ancient India, and this cave used to be known as 'Paṇḍavonki gupha' (Paṇḍava's cave).

Cave No. 3 was, like No. 2, designed for residence; but it differs from the plan of the other. The cells are elaborate and many must have had paintings in tempera on the walls. One certainly had not only figures of the Buddha but perhaps also of the bodhisattvas, as may be imagined from the surviving halves. There was a Buddha head with the *uṣṇīṣa* and part of the robe covering the shoulders. Some of the figures stood on lotus pedestals and had kneeling worshippers paying homage to them. The chamber itself has painted Buddha figures with devotees in attitudes of worship. Thus it was the vihāra proper, and was probably contemporaneous with Ajaṇṭā Cave No. 12. The total length of this cave is about 130 ft. and the average height about 16 ft. The front and the ceilings had a high polish, and black and white paintings had decorated the ceiling. Popularly, this cave was known as Hathikhana (Elephant Stable).

The fourth cave is separated from the third by the cliff, but is joined to No. 5. Its chapel is less pretentious than that of No. 2, but in general the plan and design of Nos. 4 and 2 are similar. No. 4 is more spacious and elaborate. It forms more or less one unit with No. 5, which is a hall for meals or assembly, and the two combined exhibited the best known paintings found at the site. The surviving scenes are lively and illustrate contemporary bustle. Figuring in them are men and women, dancers and musicians, cavalcades of horses and elephants, men engaged in discussions and women in cloistered conversation. There are also heavenly figures and those connected with primitive beliefs, such as yakṣas and nāgas. Possibly these are fragments surviving from some of the jātaka stories though, in their defective state, no particular subjects can be identified. It is curious that no scenes from the life of the Buddha are known.

A relief of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching is found in an arched niche about 13 ft. high. Above the head is the likeness of a stūpa with the remains of a triple parasol (*chatra*) and of sky figures on the side bearing garlands. On the walls are eight rows of seated Buddhas and, in the archway above, a fragmentary figure of the Buddha depicted as preaching the first sermon. The entire back wall had been painted lengthwise in two bands of which only the upper one has survived. On the cornice of the main door is a row of nine Buddhist figures in different attitudes; at each end is a miniature stūpa. There is also a frieze of nine heads of the Buddha.

The murals conform to those at Ajaṇṭā (Nos. 16 and 17) but the fourth cave at Bagh is probably contemporaneous with Ajaṇṭā No. 4.

In the fifth cave there are four figures of the Buddha cut on the face of the rock between this cave and cave No. 6. The cave has five cells and, like No. 4, the walls and ceiling may have had paintings. A small chamber connects it with No. 6.

Cave No. 6 was also residential. Its chief archaeological interest lies in an artistic motif used here, viz., pot and foliage, on a pair of pilasters at the entrance passage. The motif supports a date of about 7–8th cent. A.C. which is deduced from other considerations. Its walls are plastered and there are fragmentary paintings. The period of the Bagh caves may be put down from the 5th to the 8th century.

The seventh cave resembles No. 2 in arrangement, size and detail. A small cell connects it with No. 8.

On account of the several paintings the local name for Nos. 4 and 5 is "Rang mahal" (Art Gallery).

The surviving paintings arouse human interest which seems to have been the approach of the artists in their work. James H. Cousins described them as "more human, depicting the life of the time with its religious associations", and the general tone as one of "gracious solemnity". Although there is not much to choose between Bagh and Ajaṇṭā, as far as artistry is concerned, the work at Bagh seems to have been conceived and executed as a single undertaking, not pieces meal as at Ajaṇṭā. Some fragments even surpass the latter. Nevertheless the material at Bagh proved to be less durable.

The preservation of the Bagh caves with the antiquarian legacy in them was inspired by the Maharajah of Gwalior State. His vision and generosity made it possible for the India Society of London, to publish a complete record entitled *The Bagh Caves*, with the contributions of Sir John Marshall, M.B. Garde, J. Ph. Vogel, E.B. Havell and James H. Cousins. Besides containing a very full record of the remains, it has some particularly valuable copies reproduced in colour of the best paintings. They are listed as Plates A-I.

D. T. D.

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BAHALAMASSU-TISSA, a thera of Ceylon in the first century B.C., originally a member of the Mahāvihāra fraternity. The Mahāvihāra took action against his teacher, Mahātissa, for what they judged to be a serious breach of the Vinaya rules, and he was expelled by them. Bahalamassu-tissa was greatly annoyed by this ; he evidently did not accept the correctness of the decision. As a result, he left the fraternity and joined that of his expelled teacher, that is, the Abhayagirivāsins. It is this step which led to the formation of a separate faction of the Sangha for the first time in the history of the Island (*Mhv.* xxxiii, 95 ff.). His name is, in fact, a sobriquet ; it means Tissa with the big (or thick) beard. In Sinhalese works (e. g., *Nikāya Saṅgraha*) he is known as Mahadāḷiyātissa.

D.T.D.

BAHIRAṄGA SUTTA, the name given in the *Sutta-saṅgaha* (p. 316) to the *Sekha Sutta* of the *Itivuttaka* (p. 10). See SEKHA SUTTA.

BĀHIYA (1), an arahant in the time of Gotama Buddha. He received this name as he was born in the country of Bāhiya in Bhārukaccha. He was also known as Dārucīriya from a garb earlier used by him, made of the bark of trees. As a layman he had taken to trade and seven times he had sailed down the Indus and across the sea successfully. On the eighth occasion, while on his way to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, his ship was wrecked in the middle of the sea and all the traders with the exception of Bāhiya perished. Bāhiya, however, was able to reach the shores of Suppāraka with the help of a plank after a hard struggle for seven days. When he reached the shore he had no dress on his body and, therefore, covered himself with twigs and the bark of trees, hence his name Dārucīriya. Thus clad, Bāhiya went about in Suppāraka begging for alms and the people, impressed with his appearance, gave him food and drink and showed him great honour. When the people offered him robes he rejected them realising that, if he were to wear robes of fine texture the people would no more attend upon him. As time went on, the people thought that he was an arahant and ultimately Bāhiya himself came to believe that he was either an arahant or one who had entered the path of arahantship. Then a deity, who was a blood-relative of his in a past birth, appeared to him in the night and told him that he was neither an arahant nor one who had entered the path of arahantship and that he should see the Buddha at Sāvatthi if he wished his own welfare. Bāhiya travelled the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues (*yojana*) in one night and reached the Jetavana monastery at Sāvatthi in the morning of the following day. There having learnt that the Buddha had gone on his alms round, Bāhiya went in search of the Buddha and meeting him in the street knelt down in front of him and taking him firmly by his ankles begged the Buddha to teach him the doctrine. The Buddha refused saying that it was not the proper time. It is said that so great was the shock of Bāhiya's joy when he saw the Buddha that he would not have been able to comprehend the doctrine at the time. Moreover, after his long journey his weariness was too great. But when Bāhiya pleaded for the third time the Buddha taught him the proper method of regarding sense-experiences as sense-experience and nothing more, while standing in the street, whereupon Bāhiya became an arahant endowed with the six supernormal powers. He then requested the Buddha to ordain him but the Buddha perceiving that Bāhiya was not fortunate enough to obtain immediate ordination (*ehi bhikkhu*) since he had not given a bowl or a robe to any monk in his former births, asked him to seek bowl and robe. When Bāhiya was seeking bowl and robe he was gored by a cow and was killed. The Buddha asked the monks to cremate his body and erect a mound over the remains. The monks, having done so, asked the Buddha about Bāhiya's destiny. The Buddha told them that Bāhiya would not be reborn for he had attained arahantship. The Buddha also declared Bāhiya pre-eminent among monks who were quick in understanding the doctrine (*khippābhiññā : DhpA.* II, 35, 209 ff. ; *Ap.* II, 475 ff. ; *Ud.* I, 10 ; *A.* I, 24 ; *AA.* I, 279 ff.).

Bāhiya had made his wish for such pre-eminence in the time of Padumuttara Buddha, when he was a householder of Haṃsavatī (*Ap.* II, 475 ff. ; *UdA.* 77 ff.).

The *Dhammapada* commentary (II, 209 ff.) and the *Udāna* commentary (77 ff.) refer to another of Bāhiya's previous births when the Order of monks founded by Kassapa Buddha was disappearing from the world. Bāhiya and six others had left household life to seek their own salvation. They climbed to the top of a mountain with the help of a ladder and throwing off the ladder began to meditate. One of them attained arahantship and another became a non-returner (*anāgāmin*), whereas the rest including Bāhiya died of starvation on the seventh day without any attainment. After death Bāhiya was reborn in heaven. It was the anāgāmin who was born in the Suddhāvāsa Brahma world

that appeared before Bāhiya, when he was at Suppāraka and instructed him to seek the Buddha at Sāvatthi.

H. R. P.

BĀHIYA (2), a monk, who went to the Buddha and requested him to teach the doctrine in brief, so that he might dwell alone, ardent and aspiring. The Buddha preached to him on the impermanence of the sense-organs and sense-objects. Meditating on this topic he attained arahantship (*S.* IV, 63).

Mention is made of another Bāhiya thera (also called Bāhika) who asked the Buddha to teach him the doctrine in brief. The Buddha preached to him on the four stations of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*). Practising accordingly, he attained arahantship (*S.* V, 165). Malalasekera (*DPPN.*) suggests that both discourses refer to the same monk whereas F. L. Woodward (*S.* V, trsl. 145, n. 1) believes that the latter refers to Bāhiya Dārucīriya.

H. R. P.

BĀHIYA (3), a monk who took a leading part in the dissensions of the Order at Kosambi. He was a co-dweller (*saddhivihārika*) of Anuruddha thera who thought that it was not worthwhile to utter a single word against his actions. When the Buddha asked Ānanda about the dispute, he spoke of the difficulty of settling it because of the actions of Bāhiya (*A.* II, 239 ; *KhpA.* 115).

H. R. P.

BĀHIYA (4), var. Bāhika, the name of a country, residence of Bharata, the hunter mentioned in the *Aṭṭhasadda Jātaka* (*J.* III, 432).

BĀHIYA JĀTAKA (*J.* I, 420 ff.; No. 108), related by the Buddha, while staying at the Gabled Chamber (*kūṭāgāra*) in the Mahāvana near Vesāli, about a Licchavi prince who had a very fat, badly dressed wife.

The story is as follows : When king Brahmadatta was reigning in Bārāṇasī, the bodhisatta was his minister. One day a fat, badly dressed country woman was passing near the courtyard of the palace and just then she sat down decently and modestly to answer a call of nature. The king who was watching through the window of the palace was pleased with her decency and quickness and made her his queen. The son born to her became a world-ruler.

The story is related to show the monks that this Licchavi prince was fond of fat women even in his previous births. The story is named *Bāhiya Jātaka*, probably, because the woman is referred to as a *bāhiya* which the scholiast explains by *bahijana-padavāsī* and means ‘ rustic’.

H. R. P.

BĀHIYA SUTTA, two suttas by this name, spoken to Bāhiya thera (also called Bāhika), one on the impermanence of the sense organs and their objects (*S.* IV, 63) and the other on the four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna: S.* V, 165). See BĀHIYA (2).

BAHUBHĀṆI JĀTAKA (*DhpA.* IV, 91–2). See under its better known name KACCHAPA JĀTAKA.

BAHUBHĀṆI SUTTA, the fourth sutta in the *Akkosaka Vagga* of the *Pañcaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 254). It deals with the five evils open to a person who talks excessively: liability to falsehood, malice, harshness, babbling and birth in woeful states after death. The opposite are the five advantages enjoyed by a person who is discreet in talk.

L. R. G.

BAHUBUDDHA SŪTRA, name of a sūtra inserted in the *Mahāvastu* (III, 224–50). The Buddha gives a list of many (one hundred and twenty-four) Buddhas in this sūtra ; hence its name. The list begins with the Buddha Indradhvaja and ends with the future Buddha Maitreya. Immediately preceding Maitreya is the present Buddha.

A sūtra of the same title is again found in the same work (*Mhvu.* I, 46–55), but the subject is only incidentally referred to there.

U. K.

BAHŪDAKA, name of a nāga king mentioned in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (2, 11 ; s. v. *BHS.*).

BAHUDEVATAKA CETIYA (shrine of many gods), name of a shrine in which the Buddha spent the seventh week after his enlightenment. It was in a thicket of kṣīrikā (date-palm ?) trees (*Mhvu.* III, 303).

BAHUDHANA-SEṬṬHI, name for Puṇṇa (q.v.).

BAHUDHĀTUKA SUTTA, preached by the Buddha to a congregation of monks at Sāvatthi in the Jetavana monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika.

The Buddha initiates the discussion by saying that whatever fears, dangers and perplexities arise in the world, are all due to foolishness and not to wisdom. Thereupon Ānanda poses the question: " To what extent, sir, can a monk be called wise and rational ? " and the Buddha's answer is : " He who understands properly the elements (*dhātu*), the spheres (*āyatana*), conditionality (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), the rationally possible and the rationally impossible (*ṭhānāṭhāna*)—to that extent a monk is called wise and rational ". The Buddha goes on to describe the various ways in which a monk can achieve mastery of the elements, the senses, the chain of causation, etc. Other names for the sutta are *Catuparivaṭṭa*, *Dhammādāsa*, *Amatadundubhi* and *Anuttara-saṅgāmavijaya* (*M.* III, 61 f.).

W. G. W.

BAHUDHĪTI SUTTA of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 170) relates the story of a brāhman of the Bhāradvāja clan.

He was a poor farmer and once his oxen had wandered away when he had gone home for his meals after working in the field. His crops were destroyed by rain and the little grain he could collect was eaten up by rats in his barn. Since there was no one to attend to the couch which he had made of straw and leaves to rest on after his labours, vermin infested it and he had no sound sleep. Early morning, he had scarcely closed his eyes when his wife awakened him to remind him of the labours of the day. He was indebted to many people and in addition had to feed his seven widowed daughters and their children (*SA.* I, 238 ff.). When he was looking for his oxen, he met the Buddha and related to him his woes, expressing his view that the Buddha, unlike him, was a happy person for the Buddha had no worries. The Buddha answered him in verse, admitting what was said of him, whereupon the brāhman expressed his joy and entered the Order. Before long the brāhman became an arahant. The commentary also adds that after ordination the brāhman was taken to king Kosala who settled his loans and took his wife and daughters under his protection.

Mrs. Rhys Davids observes that the sutta has derived its title from the fifth stanza for it deals with the most impressive grievance of the brāhman, namely, his seven widowed daughters (*Kindred Sayings*, I, 214, n. 1). But, as seen from the commentary (*SA.* I, 241), it is more likely that the brāhman was called Bahudhīti(ka) brāhmaṇa for he had many (seven) daughters and thus the sutta was named after him. Mrs. Rhys Davids also observes (loc. cit. n. 4) that the sutta, along with its commentary, gives an interesting picture of a cultivator of ancient north India.

H. R. P.

BAHUJANAPARIVĀRA, name of a samādhi entered into by Avalokiteśvara. The Buddha, at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (the text reads-ṇīvaraṇa-), cites this along with many other samādhis accomplished by Avalokiteśvara (*Kvyū.* p. 51).

BAHUJĀTA, one of forty-nine brāhman clans (*gotra*) enumerated in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 635). It is a sub-division of the Vātsya gotra, which is one of seven major clans.

BĀHUKĀ (var. Bahukā), name of a river to which sacrifices were offered (*M.* I, 39 ; *J.* V, 388). Fausböll (loc. cit.) takes the word to be an attribute of Gayā (river) to mean great, abundant (*PED.*). This river has been identified with the modern Rāmagaṅgā which joins the Ganges on the left near Kanauj (Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, pp. 291–2).

It is also known as Bāhudā, under which name there seem to have been two rivers, the present one and another in the Dekkhan (*Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma Parva, ix, 337 ; Vana Parva, lxxxiv, 8045–6 ; B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 70–71).

K. D. S.

BAHUKĀRA SUTTA, the fourth sutta of the *Puggala Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 123), addressed to the bhikkhus by the Buddha while residing near Sāvatthi at Jeta's Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's Park.

The Buddha says there are three persons who are very helpful (*bahukāra*) to others, namely, the one through whom a person could go for refuge to the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha ; the one through whom one could understand, as it really is (*yathābhūta*), the meaning of suffering and the way that leads to the cessation of suffering ; and the one through whom by destroying the mental intoxicants (*āsava*), a person, could come to know

by himself in this very life the emancipation of the mind (*ceto-vimutti*) and the release through insight (*paññā-vimutti*).

There is no one more helpful than these three persons and one cannot make sufficent requital to them.

Bahukāra is also found as a variant to the title of the *Bahūpakāra Sutta*.

I. K.

BAHULA (1), a donor mentioned in an inscription of the Sāñcī Stūpa II (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, 284).

BAHULA (2), a caṇḍāla who lived in a village named Helloligāma (*Rasavāhinī*, ii, 7) or Goliyagāma (*Ssvu.* 21). Sirināga, who wished to become the king of Anurādhapura, wanted to assemble an army and thought of obtaining some wealth by entering the cetiya in the Dakkhinamahāvihāra. When he asked Bahula who knew the entrance to the cetiya to show him the way, he refused to do so. So did his seven sons. Thereupon Sirināga became so vexed that he impaled Bahula and his seven sons. It is said that, when they were impaled, devas brought chariots and took them to the Tusita deva world.

I. K.

BAHULA KAMMA, habitual karma, another name for *āciṇṇa-kamma* (q.v.). Constantly repeated action (*bahulī-kamma*) leads to development thereof. This is also applicable to concentration and the culture of concentration (*samādhi-bhāvanā*, *M.* I, 301).

The *Atthasālinī* (p. 406), in commenting on the power of cultivation (*bhāvanā-bala : Dhs.* § 1354), explains the pursuit (*āsevanā*) of good mental states as the initial pursuit (*ādisevanā*), the culture (*bhāvanā*) thereof as the growth or development (*vaḍḍhanā*) of such good mental states, and the multiplying (*bahulī-kamma*) thereof as the repeated action (*punappuna-karaṇa*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BAHULAKESA, name of a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140), while he was preparing himself for enlightenment as a bodhisattva in the ninth stage (*bhūmi*).

BAHULAMASSU-TISSA (also called Bahulamassumahātissa), a thera, incumbent of Sāgiri (var. Vāḷagiri) vihāra in Ceylon. He had a following of five hundred monks. He was once visited by Dhammadinna (See DHAMMADINNA 1), resident of Talaṅgaratissa-pabbata (var. Vālaṅkarasamudda-pabbata), while on his way to Nāgadīpa, with a following of five hundred bhikkhus. Bahulamassu-tissa gave them lodgings for the night, and the next day went with all of them and his own following of five hundred, to the house of a devotee in the village of Puṇṇasālakoṭṭhaka, who treated them to a meal with hare's flesh and invited them for alms the next day. On their return to the monastery, Dhammadinna who had seen a heap of hare bones after the meal, asked Bahulamassu-tissa why he did not admonish his follower on the evils of killing. Bahulamassu-tissa asked Dhammadinna to advise him the next day. When Bahulamassu-tissa was invited to speak after the alms-giving, he requested Dhammadinna to do so, and the latter preached on the evils of killing. The devotee declared that he was not guilty of any killing and that there were inexhaustible supplies of hare's flesh and solid food in his house and wished to know the reason for it. Dhammadinna looking into the cause with his divine eye, revealed that he had given alms with hare's flesh to an arahant thera in the time of Padumuttara Buddha (*Ssvu.* pp. 121–3 ; *Rsv.* 432 ff.).

L. R. G.

BAHULARATNA, which accords with Prabhūtaratna, 'abundance of precious-things', is the name of the Buddha of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*DCBT.* 364a).

BAHULA SUTTA, of the *Mahāpaññā Vagga* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 412), mentions four conditions which, if cultivated and made much of, conduce to abundant insight, namely, following after the good, hearing the Good Norm, paying systematic attention to it and living in accordance with its precepts.

H. R. P.

BĀHULIKĀ (var. Bahulikā), a sect of Buddhist monks which arose sometime after the second council along with the Paññatti (Paṇṇatti) sect from the Gokulikā which itself was an offshoot of the Mahāsaṅghika sect (*Mhv.* v, 3 ff. ; *Mhbv.* 96 f.). The *Dīpavaṃsa* (v, 41) refers to the adherents of this sect as Bahussutakā. From the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Dīpavaṃsa* (loc. cit.) it would appear

that the Bahulikā and the Paññatti sects, in turn, gave rise to the Cetiya sect, though the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (loc. cit.) gives the name of the five sects Gokulika, Ekabyohārika, Paññattivāda, Bahulika and Cetiyavāda as having sprung from the Mahāsaṅghika sect.

The Bahulikā sect is probably indentical with the Bahuśrutīya sect of the northern tradition. See BAHUŚRUTĪYA.

H. R. P.

BAHUMAṄGALA CETIYA, a fifth century shrine in Ceylon in which king Dhātusena placed figures of bodhisattvas. In the image-house attached to the shrine there was a statue of the Buddha for which he had a diadem of rays made of black stone (? amphibolic gneiss). It is, most probably, this same place which is mentioned, in an earlier king's reign, as an establishment in Anurādhapura "in a northerly direction from the Maṅgalacetiya", where were erected a thūpa and an image-house in which an image was set up (*Mhv.* xxxviii, 65; xxxvii, 183).

D. T. D.

BĀHUMATĪ, name of a holy river in Nepāl, which was originally referred to as Vāgmatī in the *Varāhapurāṇa.* This river seems to have been named Vāgamatī, because it was created by the Buddha Krakucchanda by word of mouth. It is also known as Bāgmatī in which we see the phonetic change of the original *v* to *b*.

During the time of Gotama Buddha, there seem to have been people who believed that they could wash away their sins by bathing in the river Bāhumatī. When Sundarika Bhāradvāja mentioned this belief, the Buddha denied any such possibility (*M.* I. 39; *MA.* I, 78).

The Bāhumatī joins with various other rivers in India, such as the Maradārika, Maṇiśrohi, Rājamañjarī, Ratnāvalī, Cārumatī, Prabhāvatī, Trivenī and thus forms a number of sacred fords, like Śāntā, Śaṅkara, Rājamañjarī, Pramodā, Sulakṣaṇa, Jayā and Gokarṇa (*Svayambhū Purāṇa*, v). According to the *Varāha Purāṇa* (pp. 124-05), a person who bathes in any of the sacred fords connected with the Bāhumatī will never be reborn as an animal; and his family will prosper. In the *Nepālmāhātmya* it is mentioned that Vatsalā is situated on the banks of the river Bāgmatī.

I. K.

BAHUMUKHA, name of a nāga, mentioned in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* p. 454. 16 (*BHS.* s.v.).

BĀHUNA, a thera who questioned the Buddha, while on the banks of the lake Gaggarā in Campā, about the things from which a Tathāgata is released and emancipated (*A.* V, 151). By way of reply the Buddha enumerated ten conditions from which a Tathāgata is so released. See BĀHUNA SUTTA.

K. D. S.

BAHUNANDI, one of the seven beings born in the Avihā world. See BĀHURAGGI.

BĀHUNA SUTTA (*A.* V, 151). In answer to a question by Bāhuna the Buddha enumerates ten conditions from which the Tathāgata is released and emancipated. They are the five groups of existence (*pañcakkhandha*), birth (*jāti*), decay (*jarā*), death (*maraṇa*), suffering (*dukkha*) and mental defilements (*kilesa*).

U. K.

BAHŪPAKĀRA SUTTA (1) of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 263) describes five qualities which would make a resident monk of great service (*bahūpakāra*) to his residence. He should be virtuous, observing the rules of morality, he should have a good knowledge of the doctrine, he should repair things broken and dilapidated, when large numbers of monks visit his residence he should inform the laity and tell them to take the opportunity to do merit, he should be able to attain at will, without difficulty, the four states of mental absorption (*jhāna*).

Bahukāra is found, as a variant to the title, in Burmese Ms., which however, should not be confused with the *Bahukāra Sutta* of *A.* I, 123.

L. R. G.

BAHŪPAKĀRA SUTTA (2), the eighth sutta of the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Itivuttaka* (pp. 111 f.). The Buddha declares that brāhmans and householders are of great help to bhikkhus, in so far as they provide them with the four requisites. The bhikkhus in turn are of great help to the laity, since they preach the doctrine, after hearing which the laymen live righteously and are reborn in happy states. The higher life (*brahmacariya*)

is thus lived in mutual dependence for the attainment of the goal—the utter ending of ill. The concluding verse of this sutta occurs also in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I. 153).

The commentary gives in detail how the bhikkhu and the layman are mutually dependent and helpful. It adds that the Buddha's idea in preaching this sutta was to point out to the bhikkhus how the laity who are neither their relatives, friends, nor their debtors, still make them offerings with the expectation of great merit and reward. Therefore should the bhikkhus be diligent, helping to fulfil the wishes of the laity and preach to them the doctrine (*ItA*, II, pp. 162 ff.).

The variant readings of the title of this sutta in the *uddāna* (list of titles) are *Bahukārā, Bahutarā, °tatarā*. The title of the sutta is not certain and *Bahūpakāra*, is the one chosen as the best suited. Another suggested title is ***Bahūpakāraka*** (A. P. Buddhadatta, *Tripiṭakasūciya*, Colombo, 1953, p. 138).

L. R. G.

BAHUPAKṢA, name of a world-ruler (*cakravartin*) who was born spontaneously (*aupapāduka : Mhvu.* I, 154, a curious distortion of the Pali *opapātika*, from *upapatti*). He is otherwise unknown.

BAHUPRABHA, name of a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140), while preparing himself for supreme enlightenment as a bodhisattva in the ninth stage (*bhūmi*).

BAHUPUTRA - PRATISARA - NĀMA - DHĀRAṆĪ (Ārya-B°), the name of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which is found in two places in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur, under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *bu maṅ-po rton-pa shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs* (Peking Ed. Tib. Trip., ed. D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 7, No. 215 ; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 601). The *TM.* editors emend the Sanskrit title to read *°pratisaraṇa°*. The work, said to have been translated into Tibetan and revised by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde, contains the dhāraṇī called *Bahuputra-pratisara*.

Anāthapiṇḍada asks the Buddha what he should do as king Prasenajit (Tib. *Gsal-rgyal*) was intent on fighting with him. The Buddha then uttered this dhāraṇī and said that he who chants it seven times and ties a red string on a finger in his left hand will be immune from injury through poison, weapons, diseases and plagues.

R. H.

BAHUPUTTA, a shrine in the neighbourhood of Vesāli, situated to the north of that city (*D* III, p. 10). The name Bahuputta is found sometimes as Bahuputtaka (*S.* V, p. 259 ; *AA.* I, p. 181 ; *ThagA.* III, p. 134 ; *SA.* II, p. 196). According to some of the commentaries, this shrine was situated on the road leading from Rājagaha to Nālandā (*ThagA.* III, p. 134 ; *SA.* II, p. 196), and in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (I, p. 181) it is mentioned, that it was situated three leagues from Rājagaha. The Buddha is supposed to have resided there at one time (*D.* II, p. 118 ; *Ud.* vi, p. 1).

According to the commentaries, this shrine was a banyan tree with many branches (*UdA.* p. 323 ; *SA.* II, p. 196). It is referred to as a 'cetiya' in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, p. 220) and in the *Udāna Aṭṭhakathā* (p. 323). This tree was so named, because many people went there to pray to the tree-spirit in order to obtain sons (*UdA.* p. 323).

Mahā-Kassapa says, that as a 'learner' he saw the Buddha in Rājagaha. When the former visited the Buddha who was residing at the Bahuputta shrine, the latter taught him how to train himself and thus he exhorted him for eight days. At the end of this training Mahā-Kassapa attained arahantship (*Mhvu.* III, pp. 50-3 ; *AA.* I, pp. 181-2 ; *SA.* II pp. 196-9). It is said that when the Buddha was seated under this tree, with his rays, the trunk of the tree appeared to be white, the leaves to be blue and red and the tree itself looked gold in colour (*AA.* I, p. 182 ; *SA.* II, p. 197).

I. K.

BAHUPUTTAKA, a king of Bārāṇasī. So named, because he had many sons. He is also identified with Sāriputta. His chief queen was Khemā, who in pregnancy developed a craving to hear a discourse preached by a golden goose. When the king heard about this he inquired whether any birds of that kind existed. When he had heard that there were such birds (of whom the leader was the bodhisatta) on Cittakūṭa mountain, he sent a hunter to catch the golden geese. He brought back with him two geese which the king placed on a golden seat, gave them honey and fried grain to eat and sweetened water to drink. Then, the king with clasped hands invited the geese to preach the doctrine. At his request, the leader of the geese uttered a discourse, thus fulfilling the queen's desire and establishing the king in the virtues that should be found in a righteous king (*J.* IV, 423-30).

I. K.

BAHUPUTTIKĀ, another name for Soṇā therī. See SOṆĀ.

BĀHURAGGI, one of seven brethren who, according to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 35) are reported by the deva Ghaṭikāra to the Buddha as having been born in the Aviha heavens, the others being Upaka, Palagaṇḍa, Pukkusāti, Bhaddiya, Khaṇḍadeva and Piṅgiya. On being asked by the Buddha how they came to be so born, the deva replies that it is by adherence to the Buddha's teaching. This report is given in verse. The same verse is given in identical words at *S.* I, 60. Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Kindred Sayings*, I, 48, n. 2) observes that Buddhaghosa is curiously silent on the second occurrence of this verse, and attempts an identification of some of the seven persons (see CĀPA). No suggestion of identity is made regarding Bāhuraggi.

B. J.

BAHURĀJAN, name of a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140), while preparing himself as a bodhisattva for supreme enlightenment.

BAHURĀṢṬRA, name of a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit. While in the eighth stage (*bhūmi* : *Mhvu.* I, 137) he was preparing himself to advance in enlightenment.

BAHUSENA, name of a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140), while as a bodhisattva in the ninth stage (*bhūmi*) he was preparing himself for supreme Buddhahood.

BAHUSODARĪ, a goddess (*devadhītā*), who dwelt in the Gandhamādana mountain and who had been the mother of the bodhisatta in his seventh existence before he was born as Suvaṇṇasāma. She is also identified with Uppalavaṇṇā.

Once, the bodhisatta was born as a son to an outcast hunter who had become an ascetic. Since both his parents were blind, Sāma attended on them. One day, when he went to the river Migasammatā to fetch water for his parents, he was shot with an arrow by king Piliyakkha of Bārāṇasī by mistake.

Although Bahusodarī was born as a goddess, she continued to have the same great affection towards Sāma as she did when he was her son in a previous existence. When she saw that Sāma had been wounded, she went to the spot where Sāma lay, and, standing in the sky, said to the king that he had harmed three innocent people by his wicked deed. She told him further that the only means by which he could compensate for his evil action would be to look after the helpless parents of Sāma. The king did as he was told and took the parents to their wounded son. There, in accordance with the wish of Bahusodarī, they performed an act of truth, whereby Sāma regained his life and the parents their eye-sight. (*J.* VI, pp. 83 ff.). For details see SĀMA JĀTAKA.

I. K.

BAHUŚRUTA, name of a thera occurring in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM.* III, part 1, 207). When the monks requested him to reveal his past deed which resulted in his present existence, Bahuśruta related the deeds of his past births. The story of his past deeds, however, cannot be connected as the text is in fragments.

W. G. W.

BAHUŚRUTĪYA, "those who have heard much", i.e., the learned ones, a school which originated from a schism within the Mahāsāṅghikas towards the end of the second century of the Buddhist era, according to the traditions of north-west India. According to the traditions of the Theravādins and the Sammatīyas, the Bahussutīyas broke away from the Gokulikas. According to Paramārtha and K'uei-chi, this school was founded by the arahant Yājñavalkya who retired to the Himālayas during the lifetime of the Buddha and remained in a state of concentration (*samādhi*) for nearly two hundred years. When at the end of this period he arose from his meditation and descended from the mountains, he became aware of the fact that the Mahāsāṅghikas had developed only the superficial meaning of the Tripiṭaka, and not the deeper sense thereof. Thereupon he taught the deeper meaning together with the superficial one and formed a new school with the name Bahuśrutīya. According to Paramārtha the deeper meaning of the Tripiṭaka is found in the Mahāyāna doctrine.

The *Satyasiddhiśāstra*, of which a Chinese translation by Kumārajīva is extant, would appear to belong to this school. Its author, Harivarman,

was born in central India and lived in the 3rd century A.C. This work refers several times to an *Abhidharmapiṭaka* with six sections (*pada*), like that of the Sarvāstivādins, and a canon with five collections: *Sūtra-piṭaka, Vinaya-piṭaka, Abhidharma-piṭaka, Saṃyukta-piṭaka* and *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* (*Taishō*, p. 352c). Its doctrine holds the middle between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and contains approximately the principal theses attributed to the Bahuśrutīyas by Vasumitra in respect of the supramundane teaching of the Buddha.

As Vasumitra hints at a parental relationship in doctrine between the Bahuśrutīyas and the Sarvāstivādins. it is not surprising to find a similarity in their first three collections (*piṭaka*). especially in their *Abhidharma-piṭaka*. One might even ask whether the Bahuśrutīyas have not borrowed the *Abhidharma-piṭaka* from the Sarvāstivādins with certain modifications.

Very little is known about their places of residence, but that little is of great interest Inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa indicate their presence there in the third century A.C. (Sastri : *EI*. XX, 24; XXI, 62–3). Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions prove their existence at Pāḷātū Dherī Jars, near Peshawar, in the fifth century A.C. Thus the Bahuśrutīyas had their residences in the north-west as well as in the south-east, i.e., in the two main centres of the Mahāsāṅghikas outside Magadha. Having emerged from the second internal schism of the Mahāsāṅghikas, they appear to have been a link, both in time and in space, between the two groups of the Mahāsāṅghikas, viz., the Lokottaravādins and the Ekavyavahārikas in the north-west and the Caityakas, Pūrvaśailas and Aparaśailas in the south-east. It is through them that contact between these two groups was preserved and a mutual current of influence was established between north-west and south-east. It should also be borne in mind that Vasumitra, who places them among the schools sprung from the Mahāsāṅghikas, yet notes their doctrinal affinity with the Sarvāstivādins, whereas Vinītadeva makes them the fifth sect among the Sarvāstivādin group.

The following are the theses attributed to them by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva :

1. Five dogmas of the teaching of the Buddha are supramundane (*lokottara*), viz., impermanence (*anityatā*), conflict (*duḥkha*), emptiness (*śūnyatā*), impersonality (*anātmya*) and deliverance (*nirvāṇa*), and they are helpful (*nairyāṇika*) on the road to emancipation (*vimuktimārga*).
2. The five propositions of Mahādeva concerning the nature of an arahant, as held by the Mahāsāṅghikas, viz., an arahant is liable to seduction (*paropahṛta*), subject to ignorance (*aiñāna*), subject to doubt (*kaṅkṣā*), is helped across to salvation by another (*paravitīrṇa*) and emits certain words (*vacībheda*) while on the path.
3. On the path of holiness and emancipation there is no mental reflection (*vicāra*).
4. Truth (*satya*) is of three types : there is the practical truth of suffering (*duḥkha-satya*) which concerns the five aggregates of existence (*skandha*) ; the relative truth (*saṃvṛti-satya*), which is suffering characterised by hate and violence ; and the noble truth (*ārya-satya*), which is the one taste of sorrow (*ekarasa*), inherent in all component things.
5. The attainment (*samāpatti*) of mental absorption is effected by insight into the conflict of complexes (*saṃskāra-duḥkhatā*), but not by the sight of conflict in sorrow (*duḥkha-duḥkhatā*), nor by the sight of conflict or sorrow in change (*pariṇāma-duḥkhatā*).
6. The order of monks (*Saṅgha*) is supramundane (*lokottara*).

A. B.

BAHUSSUTA (Sanskrit, *bahuśruta*), an adjective primarily meaning 'heard much, well-informed', 'of wide learning', etc. This was the term used in ancient India to mean a person of wide learning. The origin of the word perhaps goes to Vedic traditions, for the Vedas were regarded as divine revelations to ancient seers and hence called *śruti*—what is heard. Consequently, a person learned in the Vedas was called a *śruta*—heard or informed. However, in course of time, the term *śruta* was used more generally to mean a learned person. And if one could claim to be versed in all the important branches of knowledge at the time he was called a *bahuśruta* (well-informed) person.

Another important aspect of this term that has a historical explanation is that it also indicates the way in which learning was imparted in those days. The term was confined to mean an academic or rather religious kind of learning and did not include a knowledge of the arts and crafts which were referred to as *sippa* (*Khp*. 3). As written books were very scarce in those days the main method of acquiring knowledge was by listening to the teachers. The chief method of disseminating knowledge was by preaching. In ancient India

the scriptures, both brahmanic and Buddhist, were handed down for a very long time by oral tradition. The literary works were preserved by committing them to memory. In such circumstances it was natural that a well-learned man was called a *bahu-śruta*. Generally speaking their reading was hearing and their writing was memorising. The teacher preaches and the pupil commits his words to memory. Hence hearing was one of the important stages of learning.

If we examine the use of the term *bahussuta* in the Pali canon we will find that it has been given a thoroughly Buddhist colouring. It is only in a few instances that the Pali canon uses this term to mean non-religious knowledge. And even then the term cannot be completely divested of the idea of religious knowledge. When Ambaṭṭha is referred to as a *bahussuta* (*D.* I, 93), what is meant is that his learning makes him qualified to enter into a discussion with the Buddha. Being a *bahussuta* person is one of the many qualifications of the king Mahāvijita who is capable of getting at the true meaning of any statement. The *Mātugāma Saṃyutta* gives ' wide-learning ' as one of the five qualities due to which women will obtain birth in a good state after death (*S.* IV, 244). Birth in hell will be the lot of those who do not possess these qualities (ibid. p. 242).

In the *Ānanda-Theragāthā* (*vv.* 1018 ff.), the term *bahussuta* occurs frequently and the connotation of the term as understood by the Buddhists is clearly seen in these instances. Ānanda himself was named by the Buddha as the foremost among the learned (*bahussutānaṃ aggo*, *A.* I, 24), and accordingly it was he who remembered the *Sutta Piṭaka* and rehearsed it at the First Council. Hence we get the well-known phrase " thus heard by me " (*evaṃ me sutaṃ*). Being the personal attendant of the Buddha he had the opportunity of listening and remembering the suttas preached by the Teacher and he was properly called the foremost among the *bahussutas*. The principle of division of labour as illustrated by the *bhāṇakas* or reciters who were entrusted with the handing down of the nikāyas is an obvious indication of how the teachings were handed down by word of mouth. The four nikāyas were thus transmitted by recitation by the four classes of *bhāṇakas*, named after each nikāya.

One of the qualifications of a good man with whom the wise should keep company is that he should be a *bahussuta* (*Thag. v.* 1019). The commentary explains the term *bahussuta* here as a person who is accomplished in the study of the texts and has attained insight (*pariyatti-paṭivedha-bahusaccānaṃ pāripūriyā bahussutena*). Soon after attaining arahantship Ānanda makes an utterance of joy wherein he refers to himself as *bahussuta*, thereby meaning that he is accomplished in both *pariyatti* and *paṭivedha* (ibid. *v.* 1021). These statements imply that the term *bahussuta* is used ultimately exclusively for an arahant.

When Ānanda was questioned by the cowherd Moggallāna as to why he was accepted as the foremost among the *bahussuta* people in the Buddha's *sāsana*, he replied that he had learnt 82,000 subjects (*dhammā*) from the Buddha and a further 2,000 subjects from the bhikkhus (according to the commentary from bhikkhus such as the Dhammasenāpati, i.e., Sāriputta), and thus knew 84,000 dhammas altogether. The commentary explains this further, saying that those 84,000 dhammas were cultivated, learnt by heart and were at the tip of his tongue (*paguṇā*, *vācuggatā*, *jivhagge parivattanti*). Ānanda once saw a monk who did not practise either the *vipassanā-dhura* or the *gantha-dhura* and referred to him as the opposite of *bahussuta* calling him a man lacking in education and culture (*appassuta*) and compared him to an ox which grows in flesh and bulk but not in knowledge (*Thag. v.* 1025). The commentary explains the term *appassuta* as a person who has not studied even one or two suttantas and the term *bahussuta* is explained as a person who develops the *kammaṭṭhānas* (subjects of mental training). However, this explanation is not quite convincing as it says that a person ceases to be an *appassuta* if he studies the texts and when it describes a *bahussuta* as a person who develops the *kammaṭṭhānas*, without studying the texts, the two explanations do not go together. It may be that the commentator wanted to convey that one could be called a *bahussuta* on either of these qualifications, i.e., mastery over the texts or developing the *kammaṭṭhānas*. However, the more general conception of a *bahussuta* person in the Pali canon is to be qualified in both these aspects.

A *bahussuta* person who, because of this knowledge, looks down upon an *appassuta* person is condemned in *Thag. v.* 1026. Such a person is compared to a blind man bearing a lamp. The succeeding verses (1027–32) enumerate the advantages of being a *bahussuta*. One should wait upon such a person and thereby one could become a *bahussuta* oneself. The knowledge so obtained should not be allowed to deteriorate, but instead it should be remembered and improved upon, for such wide knowledge (apparently religious

knowledge) is the basis of a higher life (*brahma-cariya*). It makes one a bearer or knower of the Dhamma, a *dhammadhara*, a term frequently used together with *bahussuta*. Such a person is able to complete correctly a stanza of which only one half is given, he can explain and interpret any technical term in the texts and he grasps well the Dhamma, in its full meaning, comprehending fully the concepts such as *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*, the material and immaterial things (*nāma-rūpa-dhammā*, etc.). With patience he does what should be done and puts forth effort to win insight, he examines things as impermanent, sorrowful and soulless, he is ever heedful and becomes calm and composed within. A *bahussuta* person, well-versed in the Dhamma (*dhammadhara*), who is a disciple of the Buddha and who is ever eager to understand the Dhamma, is the type of person with whom one should associate. Such a monk is an eye to the entire world, whom all should revere, and he will never fall away from the correct path. At the end of the *Ānanda-theragāthā* are found some verses (1047–9) wherein the members of the First Council praise Ānanda as a *bahussuta* and a *dhammadhara*, and an eye to the world.

Out of the four qualifications that go to make a thera, the second is that he should be a *bahussuta* (*A*. II, 22–3). The text explains such a thera further as one who, replete with learning and a store-house of knowledge, knows, remembers and understands the entire doctrine both in its meaning and spirit. This is a frequent passage (e.g., *A*. III, 114 ; 262 ; IV 6, etc.).

Four kinds of people, two of little learning (*appassuta*) and two of wide learning (*bahussuta*), are classified at *A*. II, 6 ff. The first is the one with little learning who does not profit even by his little knowledge. Although he has a vague knowledge of all the nine divisions of the teaching, he does not know them in the letter and in the spirit and hence his life is not guided by the Dhamma. But the second kind of person, although he has the same amount of knowledge, profits from it as he knows that little thoroughly. Consequently, he lives according to what little knowledge of the Dhamma he has. Both these kinds of people are referred to as *appassuta* but the implication is that the second class is not as unsatisfactory as the first. The third kind of person, although he is a *bahussuta* knowing all the nine divisions of the teachings, but not in the letter and in the spirit, does not lead a virtuous life. The fourth class comprises the really *bahussuta* person, for not only does he know the teachings thoroughly, but he also lives according to his knowledge. The sutta ends by saying that a well-learned dhamma-bearer (*dhammadhara*), a disciple of the Buddha, is blameless and is praised by the gods and Brahmas.

Discussions on learning are related not by the *appassutas*, but by the *bahussutas* (*A*. III, 182). Whereas a *bahussuta* monk, while being popular, becomes what he ought to be, the opposite of this happens in the case of an *appassuta* one (*A*. III, 261–2). Wide learning is one of the five treasures (*dhana*) or powers (*bala*) that a bhikkhu can possess (*A*. IV, 4–6). The text explains the term *suta-dhana* (treasure of hearing), as the complete mastery (*bahussuta*) of the entire Dhamma. In the next page it is said that *sutadhana*, along with six other kinds of treasures, is unique in that, unlike in the case of material wealth, this treasure of knowledge cannot be taken away by kings or thieves and cannot be destroyed by fire or water. And if a man or a woman were to possess these he or she would become very wealthy and unconquerable in the world. Sometimes, learning acquired by listening is given as one of the three kinds of understanding (*paññā*), the other two being those acquired by one's own thinking and by mental culture (*D*. III, 219 ; *Vism*. xiv, § 14). The term *bahussuta* is used to mean both the *gantha*- and the *vipassanā-dhura*.

The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives a lengthy explanation of the uneducated laymen (*assutavā puthujjano*), the gist of the explanation being that he is one who does not penetrate the deeper meaning of the various aspects of the Dhamma. In a passage attributed to the Buddha at *A*. II, 178, he explains the *bahussuta* and *dhammadhara* person as one who understands well and practises at least a single stanza out of the nine divisions of the scriptnres. The unlearned average man (*assutavā puthujjana*) and the learned noble disciple (*sutavā ariyasāvaka*) are compared and contrasted at *A*. III, 54–6. While the former grieves over and is affected by the ' slings and arrows of outrageous fortune ', the latter bears them up as common to all beings. According to *A*. IV, 68, the learned noble disciple has no doubts as regards the unexplained (*avyākata*), whereas the other, because he is an *appassuta*, entertains doubts about them.

Two kinds of people as worthy (*sappurisa*) and unworthy (*asappurisa*) are described at *A*. II, 218. One of the characteristics of the former is his wide learning and of the latter little learning. Merely being a *bahussuta* is not sufficient for one to attain

release (*Dhp.* 271). The same idea is found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (218), where the term *bāhuśrutya* (Pali, *bāhusacca*) meaning wide learning, is used in the sense that it is not such learning that leads one to the goal of release, but strenuous effort (*vīrya*). Wide learning is referred to as one of the auspicious things in the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (*Sn.* 261 ; *Khp.* 3). "Keep company with the *bahussuta* and *dhammadhara* person in whom you find a great friend and who will lead you on the correct path, clearing your mind of all doubts", advises the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* (*Sn.* 58).

A. G. S. K.

BAHUSSUTAKĀ, a name of a heretical sect. See BĀHULIKĀ.

BAHUSSUTA SUTTA, the twenty-first discourse of the *Mātugāma-Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 244), one among many similar short suttas preached to Anuruddha by the Buddha in answer to a question of the former as to the qualities possessed by women who are born in good states after death. The five qualities mentioned here are faithfulness, modesty, scrupulousness, width of knowledge and richness in wisdom. The sutta is named after the fourth quality and the other four qualities are similar in the other related suttas. In a few preceding suttas the opposite qualities are mentioned.

H. R. P.

BAHUSSUTĪYA, a school of early Buddhism. See BAHUŚRUTĪYA.

BAHUVEDANĪYA SUTTA (*M.* I, 396 ff.). The master carpenter (*thapati*) Pañcakaṅga asks Udāyi how many kinds of feelings (*vedanā*) the Buddha mentions. Udāyi answers that there are three: pleasant, unpleasant and indifferent. Pañcakaṅga maintains that there are only two : pleasant and unpleasant and while they were disputing in this manner Ānanda overhears the conversation and reports the matter to the Buddha. The Buddha says that both are correct, since he had classified feelings in various ways. Pleasures of the senses, arisen from the contact of the sense-faculties with their corresponding sense-fields, may be pleasant, but they are not the highest pleasures ; far better and excellent are the pleasures enjoyed by a person practising mental culture and when he develops his mind gradually and attains various *jhānas*, the plane of infinity, etc., till he reaches the cessation of concepts and feeling (*saññā vedayita nirodha*), each succeeding stage is more pleasant than its precedent. The sutta is repeated in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 223 f.) under the name of *Pañcakaṅga Sutta*.

W. G. W.

BAHVĀŚRAYĀ, a kinnara-maid who was present with innumerable others in Jetavana to listen to the Buddha (*Kvyū* 6.23 : *BHS.* s.v.).

BĀHYĀNTARA-BODHICITTA-BANDHOPADEŚA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Phyi-naṅ byaṅ-chub-sems bciṅ-baḥi man-ṅag ces-bya-ba* (*TT.* No. 3218). The authorship of the work is attributed to Minapa (Mīnapāda). After a formula of salutation addressed to the bodhisattvas, the author states that the purpose of his composition is to instruct people on the method of attaining an 'enlightened mind' (*bodhicitta*), and proceeds to give some advice on meditational practices. One should, he says, concentrate on all parts of the body.

R. H.

BĀHYĀNTARĀMṚTA-KALPA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Phyi-naṅ bdud-rtsiḥi bcud-len shes-bya-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3266). The author of the work is said to be Bhyari (Vyāḍi) while the Tibetan translation is ascribed to Ratnaphala.

In an introductory verse, the author states that the purpose of his composition is to expound the method of acquiring the secret elixir of life, to ensure an uninterrupted flow of nectar (*amṛta*). The text contains instructions for ritualistic performances, and preparation of medicines to secure freedom from disease and longevity. The five Dhyāni-buddhas are mentioned in the course of these descriptions. Vajravarāhī, a single-faced, two-armed goddess, who sits in a cross-legged posture carrying a vessel of nectar (*bdud-rtsi bum-pa*) is specified as one worthy of being propitiated with the formula *oṃ āḥ hūṃ*. Meditation on various deities is also recommended.

R. H.

BĀHYĀRTHA-SIDDHI-KĀRIKĀ-NĀMA, or perhaps °-*nāma-kārikā*, restored Sanskrit title of a text presumably lost in its original form, but extant in a

Tibetan version *Phyi-rol-gyi don grub-pa shes-bya-baḥi tshig-leḥur byas-pa*, found in the Tshad-ma (*hetu-vidyā, nyāya* or logic section) of the Tibetan Tengyur, where Dge-sruṅs is mentioned as the author, and Jinamitra and Dpal-brtsegs-rakṣita as the translators (*TM.* No. 4244).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BAIRĀṬ, known for two inscriptions of Asoka, is the traditional capital of Virāṭa of the *Mahābhārata*. Situated 52 miles N.N.E. from Jaipur by road, it is also important for a very early Buddhist shrine in India, that is, a circular temple built, probably, for a stūpa. The form appears to have inspired the well-known apsidal caitya-halls and of the one or two earlier types, whilst that at Bairāṭ has been dated to the times of Asoka himself. In this respect it is not only unique but seems a survivor of the earliest known structural Buddhist (or other) temple in north India. The discovery of coins (some of king Menander), besides other antiquities, shows that it was in use up to at least 50 A.C. Apparently it was destroyed in the 5th or 6th century by the invading Huns. It was certainly denuded of valuable material—a gold casket is mentioned amongst them — some 125 years ago.

The ancient remains were found on a 200 ft. high hill, in the south-west of a valley. The hill-top has been laid out in two terraces connected by a broad stairway. The circular temple was on the lower terrace. Around the main theme, that is the central stūpa, there was a wall of brick which alternated with octagonal wooden pillars. The ceiling was of wooden beams and the roof covered with well baked pottery tiles. The stūpa was a small one, with a diameter of 27 ft. The closest in structural plan to this shrine in India is the circular temple in the Tulja Lena group in Junnār (*circa* 1st cent. B.C.) which is of almost the same size and is similar in its internal arrangement. As a matter of fact, the only difference between them is that where the one had wooden pillars the other had them of stone in a circular row. The midmost structure at Bairāṭ has been thoroughly destroyed, but from the analogy with the Junnār remains it is clear that it was a stūpa.

The circular temple had its entrance at the east. The door frame was of wood. In front of the door was a small portico supported on two wooden pillars. The semicircular ambulatory path was 7 ft. wide. At some later date the whole was enclosed within a fairly large rectangular compound, leaving an open space of assembly in front of the entrance. Larger and later examples of this type may be recognised in the elaborately designed *vaṭa-dā-gē* in Ceylon, which are themselves *cetiyaghara*.

There was a large monastic residence on the upper terrace. Ranged around its central quadrangle were cells, some spacious but others quite confined. This group was elevated from the other by some 30 ft.

In these early remains two types are clearly noticeable, that is, residence and stūpa; the stūpa was the object of worship. There is no hint of an image-house; nowhere here has any representation of the Buddha been found even in fragments.

Among the important finds were portions of Asoka pillars, the fragments of a stone parasol (*chatta*) of the period, a stone bowl, and other pieces bearing the polish for which the craftsmen of the time were famed. There were also pieces of Chunnār sandstone. The reliefs showed dancing girls and female tree-spirits (*yakṣīs*) in the style of Bhārhut.

D. T. D.

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The Bairāṭ Edicts of Asoka, two in number were discovered when Cunningham was the Archaeological Commissioner of India. Bairāṭ Edict I was discovered in 1871-2 by Carlleyle, an assistant of Cunningham, and Bairāṭ Edict II, also called Bhabrā or Bhābru Edict or the Calcutta-Bairāṭ Edict, was discovered in 1837 by Captain Burt.

Bairāṭ Edict I was discovered about a mile to the north-east of Bairāṭ in the Jaipur State, Rajaputana, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur city. The edict is engraved on a block lying separately, immediately below the rock locally known as Bhiur-kī-dungri. The block of rock is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west and 15 feet in thickness from north to south. The lowest line of the edict is at the height of about only one foot from the ground. The edict itself is in eight lines, but as there are the defaced remains of several letters immediately above the first or top line, it is suggested that the edict may originally have consisted of nine lines. The middle portion of the inscription for a space of about twenty inches is so much decayed that Carlleyle thought the two remaining parts were

two separate edicts but Cunningham takes them as parts of the same inscription. The letters average about two and half inches in height. At the end of the inscription there are traces of some large characters or symbols, 4½ ins. in height. Cunningham is of opinion that these are numerical figures and represent a date (Hultzsch, *CII*. Vol. I, p. xxiv ; Cunningham, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 23 ; *ASIAR*. VI 89 ; Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, I, 75).

Hultzsch (op. cit.) reports that the edict was edited by Bühler and Senart. No facsimile of it has been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, (Plate 14, No. x).

Translations of the edict are not available, probably because of difficulties arising on account of the decay of its middle portion. But a translation of the well-preserved Sahasaram Edict, which in content is much akin to the Bairāṭ Edict I, would give an idea of what it conveys. The translation of the Sahasaram Edict reads as follows :—

(A) Devānāmpiiya (speaks) thus.

(B) .... years since I am a lay-worshipper (upāsaka).

(C) But (I had) not been very zealous.

(D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since . . . .

(E) And men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.

(F) (For) this is the fruit (of zeal).

(G) . . . . . cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank alone (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.

(H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.

(I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably, it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.

(J) And this proc'amation (was issued by me) on tour.

(K) Two hundred and fifty-six-nights (had then been) spent on tour (in figures) 256.

(L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.

(M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions) there also cause (it) to be engraved.

(*CII*. Vol. I, p. 171)

Commenting on the language of the Bairāṭ Edict I, Barua (*Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 54) says that Bairāṭ stands as the meeting place of the phonetic systems of Girnār and Dhaulī with the predominance of that of the latter place.

Bairāṭ Edict II was discovered by Captain Burt in 1837 (Hultzsch : 1840) on the top of a hill close to the ancient town of Bairāṭ, 41 miles nearly due north of Jaipur. The bill on which the edict was found is described by Cunningham (*Inscrip'ions of Asoka*, p. 24) as forming a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town. It is about two-hundred feet high and is still known by the name of Bijak Pahār or Inscriptional hill.

The following is a translation of the Edict :—

(A) The Māgadha king Priyadarsin, having saluted the Saṅgha, hopes they are both well and comfortable.

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma, (and) the Saṅgha.

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me (to be referred to by the words of the scripture) : ' thus the true Dharma will be of long duration, ' that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the Dharma, Sirs (viz.) (1) Vinaya-samukasa, (2) the Aliya-vasas, (3) the anāgata-bhayas, (4) the Muni-gāthās, (5) the Moneya-sūtra, (6) the Upatisa-pasina, and (7) the Lāghulovāda which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood— I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the Dharma, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen should act.

(G) For the foilowing (purpose), Sirs, I am causing this to be written (viz.) in order that they may know my intention. (*CII*. Vol. I, pp. 172-4).

Winternitz, who places the edict in the year 249 B. C, identifies the seven Buddhist texts the study of which is most particularly recommended to the Buddhist monks. His identification is as follows :—

(i) *Vinaya-samukase*, or the principal sermon of the Vinaya-Piṭaka has been assumed to be the Pātimokkha.

(ii) *Aliya-vasāni*, or the *dasa-ariya-vasa*, ten rules of life of the noble one, which are taught in the *Saṅgīti-Suttanta* and in the *Dasuttara Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D*. III, pp. 263 and 291) and in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (*A*. V, 29).

(iii) *Anāgatabhayāni*, or the five future dangers are taught in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. III, 100 ff.).

(iv) *Munigāthā*, probably the *Muni Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta* (206-20).

(v) *Moneyyasute*, doubtless the *Moneyyāni* in the *Itivuttaka* (67), and also in the *Aṅguttara* (*A*. I, 273).

(vi) *Upatisapasine*, or questions of Upatissa. As Upatissa is a name of Sāriputta and as the *Sāriputta Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta* (955-78) contains questions of Sāriputta which are answered by the Buddha, Winternitz believes that these are what is meant.

(vii) *Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigichya bhagavatā Buddhena bhāsite*, or exhortations to Rāhula which were uttered by the Buddha in regard to lying, in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (61). As there is also a second *Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M*. 62), Asoka also states the subject matter of the text recommended by him. Asoka must have known both texts.

Referring to the comments of other writers on the Bhabru-Bairāṭ Edict, Winternitz states that Barua has overrated its significance when he refers to it as a rare historical document, which conclusively proves the existence of the Buddhist canon in the third century B. C., in the same form and with almost the same titles to its different passages as we have now, and that Barth has underestimated when he declares that the titles do not prove that there was a canon in existence in those days but that on the contrary they show that, though Buddhism had a literature, it had not yet a canon. Similarly, according to Winternitz, de la Vallée Poussin's statement, *Boddhisme, Études et Matériaux* (*Memoires Acad. Belgique*, 55, 1898, pp. 32 f.) that the titles prove nothing for the antiquity of the Pali canon is an underestimation. But, Winternitz also states that he would not be unduly bold in arguing from the edict that, at the time when it was written, there was a canonical collection of Sutta and Vinaya texts in the Māgadhi lang[illegible] Winternitz observes that, though according to J. Bloch (*ZDMG*. LXIII, 1909, pp. 325 ff.) the purpose of the edict was to institute public recitals of the texts named and to make a foundation for this, there is however nothing to this effect in the edict (Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, 606-609).

Bairāṭ Edict II is said to be the only one of all Asoka's edicts which mentions the name of the Buddha, once alone as Bhagavata Buddha (the divine Buddha) and in another place in conjunction with Dhamma and Saṅgha.

The block of granite is deposited in the museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society. The text of the inscription has been revised and translated by Burnouf and Wilson (Cunningham, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, 25).

H. R. P.

BAI-SRA-BA-ṆA-PAḤI-RTOGS-PA, the title of a Tibetan text which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TM*. No. 3735). See VAIŚRAVAṆA-KALPA.

BAKA-BRAHMA JĀTAKA, the 405th birth-story in the Jātaka collection (*J*. IV, 358 f.), concerns itself with the visit of the Buddha to the Ābhassara-brahmaloka to admonish the Brahmā Baka, who had come to the conclusion that his present existence, (that is, the one in Ābhassara-brahmaloka) was perpetual, permanent, eternal, unchanging, and that apart from it there is no salvation or release. To cure him of this false conceit, the Buddha approaches him and traces back his previous birth as Kesava and the virtues which led to his present one, showing in the process that it was forgetfulness of his existences elsewhere that was at the root of his misconception.

At the identification, it is revealed that the Buddha was in that birth Kesava's pupil, Kappa

See further: Baka under BRAHMĀ, BRAHMANIMANTAṆIKA SUTTA.

B. J.

BAKA-BRAHMĀ SUTTA, the name of a sutta in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 142) which describes the visit of the Buddha to the world of Baka, the Brahmā, and relates the dialogue which took place between the two, in the course of which the Buddha also discusses the previous lives of Baka. According to this sutta, Baka falsely conceives the notion that life in his world is permanent and stable, eternal, absolute, not liable to fall from that state, without birth or decay or death, without fall or rise and that beyond it there is no salvation, i.e., that it is the highest bliss. The Buddha, divining his thoughts, visits Baka, who declares to him his credo. The Buddha draws attention to his ignorance and enlightens him on the folly of considering his world, his present existence, to be the consummate and final bliss.

Having given the above detail in prose, the sutta goes on to give in verse the rest of the dialogue between the Buddha and Baka. Here Baka is seen speaking of seventy-one others like himself, who rule the world and have come to their final " Veda-won " existence in this brahmaloka, where, he supposes, they live having transcended birth and old age. " Many the folk," he boasts, " offering us prayers and praises."

The Buddha's reply to this is that Baka's present life is brief, and that if one talks of length, it is of the countless lives that one has yet to live that one can talk.

There is an abrupt change of attitude in Baka, who then inquires of the Buddha what rites have brought him to his present state of existence. The Buddha gives three moral acts which were performed by Baka in previous births, namely, giving of drinks to some thirsty men, the releasing of some captives, and the saving of a crew assailed by a man-devouring snake. The Buddha then adds that he, the present Buddha, was at that time Kappa, loyal pupil of Baka. On this, Baka is converted and confesses his faith in the Buddha's insight into past existences. This episode and the verses also form the basis of the *Baka-Brahma Jātaka* (q.v.).

Malalasekera (*DPPN*. II, 261) observes that this sutta cannot be identical with the sutta of the same name mentioned in the *Theragāthā* commentary (II, 185 f.) and quoted there in full. There it is stated that when the Buddha was at Jetavana, a certain unnamed Brahmā conceived the view that no monk or recluse could come to his world. The Buddha, aware of this, goes to that Brahma world and stands in the air, enveloped in flames, soon to be followed there by Moggallāna, Kassapa, Kapina and Anuruddha. Moggallāna asks the Brahmā if he still holds the views he had held before, to which he replies that he now realises that he is not eternal. When the Buddha and his followers have departed, Baka sends a message to Moggallāna inquiring whether there are other disciples of the Buddha as powerful as he is, to which Moggallāna replies in the affirmative. Malalasekera suggests (loc. cit.) that this Brahmā was probably Baka.

The *Baka-Brahmā Sutta* has much in common with the contents of the *Brahmanimantaṇika Sutta* (q.v.) which also tells of the Buddha's visit to Baka.

B. J.

BAKA JĀTAKA, the thirty-eighth birth-story (*J.* I, 220) in the Jātaka collection, related by the Buddha at Jetavana to some monks when they were discussing an incident concerning a certain other monk at Jetavana. This monk had practised craft on his fellow-monks and was outwitted with his own trick by a village robe-maker. The monk of Jetavana had been making fake robes out of rags by dyeing them by a special skill he had acquired and, passing them for genuine ones, he had been exchanging them with his unsuspecting fellow-monks for their new robes, until a villager comes along with fake-robes of his own device and exchanges them with new ones of the Jetavana monk himself.

The birth-story is the familiar fable of the crane and the crab also found in the *Pañcatantra* (Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, I, 175) and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, II, 31)

A shoal of fish living in a pond are cajoled by a crane into believing that the pond in which they live would soon go dry and that he could take them to another and even better pond. He invokes their unquestioning trust by taking one of them, (who, incidentally, is blind in one-eye) and showing him the promised pool so that the latter on his return begins to brag of his new experience. The gullible fish are then taken one by one to the heavenly haven of their belief, but eaten up on the way. Only a crab is ultimately left behind in the pond. The crane tries the same deception on him. But the wary and wily crab offers to be

taken only on his own terms, that is, clinging on to the crane's neck with his own pincers, instead of in the crane's beak.

On the way the crab observes that he is being taken on the wrong route and challenges the crane. Mocking him with cynic delight, the crane prepares to eat him up. But the crab threatens to clip off the crane's weasand, unless he is placed in the pool of promise, and thus saves himself.

At the identification, the Buddha reveals that the crane was the Jetavana monk in one of his previous existences, the crab, the village robe-maker and he himself the bodhisatta who as a tree-sprite had observed all this happening.

This Jātaka is illustrated in terra-cotta plaques at the Shwezigon Pagoda (11–12th century) and at the Dhammarājika Pagoda (12–13th century), both at Pagān, Burma, showing the crane waiting near the pond (*ASIAR.* 1912–13, plates 53 and 55).

B. J.

BAKA-PRATYEKA-BRAHMA SŪTRA, name of a Sanskrit work mentioned in the *Karmavastu*, 34.8 (*BHS.* s.v.).

BAKKULA (1), a bhikkhu, born in Kosambi as a son of a rich merchant (*seṭṭhi*). When he was five days old, his nurse took him to the river Yamunā, to give him a bath. A fish swam up to swallow him and the nurse, who was holding the child, abandoned it and ran away. The fish swallowed the child, but no harm befell him; and he lay inside the fish as though he was lying inside a bed-chamber. The fish was caught by a fisherman near Bārāṇasī and sold for a thousand pieces of gold to a rich merchant. When his wife split open the belly of the fish, she saw a child of golden complexion and carried it to her husband. Thereupon, the merchant took the child to the king to whom he related the story. The king asked him to adopt the child. When the parents of the child in Kosambi heard about this story, they claimed their child. Although the mother of the child tried to convince them, that the child was her own, she was not successful. Both parties sought the advice of the king, who said that the child belonged to both families (hence the name Bakkula, which is derived from *dvi kula*—meaning 'two families', cp. *JPTS.* 1886, pp. 99 ff.). Then, both families built a mansion, each in their respective cities, where he lived in comfort for four months in each place. Later, at the age of eighty, on hearing the Dhamma from Gotama Buddha, he renounced the world and bacame a bhikkhu. Then, on the dawn of the eighth day he attained arahantship. Bakkula became very famous in Kosambi and in Bārāṇasī as well. He was offered robes by his relatives which were made out of very fine cloth (*MA.* IV, pp. 190 ff.). Later, the Buddha declared Bakkula thera to be the foremost in good health (*appābādha* : *A.* I, 25).

In the time of Anomadassī Buddha, he was born in a brāhman family and became a hermit. Later, he attained the fivefold analytical knowledge (*pañcābhiññā*) and the eight attainments (*aṭṭhasamāpatti*). When the Buddha Anomadassī appeared in the world, he listened to his Dhamma and took refuge in him. When Anomadassī was suffering from a stomach disorder he brought medicines from the forest and cured his illness. Later, he was reborn in the Brahma world.

During the time of Padumuttara Buddha he was born as a householder in Haṃsavatī. Having heard the Buddha acclaiming a bhikkhu as foremost in health, he wished for a similar honour in a later existence. In the time of Vipassī Buddha, he was born in Bandhumatī in a brāhman family and became a hermit who attained insight (*jhāna*) and wisdom (*abhiññā*). Later he became a follower of the Buddha after listening to his Dhamma. Having heard that the bhikkhus were suffering from a disease called hay-fever (*tiṇapupphikaroga*), he provided them with medicines and cured them. During the time of Kassapa Buddha he was a householder in Bārāṇasī. He renovated an old monastery and built an assembly hall (*uposathāgāra*). According to the *Majjhima Nikāya* commentary (IV, 196), he is said to have built a refectory (*aggisālā*) and a lavatory (*vaccakuṭi*) and provided the bhikkhus residing in that monastery with medicines (*ThagA.* II, 87 ff.; *AA.* I, 304 ff.; *Ap.* 1, 328 ff.).

Bakkula thera is referred to as one of the eighty great disciples (*mahāsāvakā*) of the Buddha Gotama (*ThagA.* III, p. 206) and is said to have lived for eighty years as a householder and still another eighty years as a bhikkhu (*AA.* I, p. 309 ; *M.* III, p. 125). In the *Dīgha Nikāya* commentary (II, 413) Bakkula thera's lifespan is given as a hundred and sixty years. He is also referred to as an example of a bhikkhu who practised asceticism without preaching it to others (*MA.* II, p. 137). When he was nearing his death, Bakkula ordained Acela Kassapa (*AA.* I, p. 310) who had been his

good friend when he was a householder (s.v. BAKKULA SUTTA). Bakkula is said to have uttered three verses when he was about to pass away (*Thag. vv.* 225–7). He was one of the four disciples who possessed great knowledge (*mahābhiññā*) during the time of Gotama Buddha, the others being the two chief disciples (*aggasāvakā*), Sāriputta and Moggallāna, and Bhadda-Kaccāna (*AA.* I, 377).

Fifty-five kappas (*pañcapaññāsakappa*) ago he was a world ruler (*cakkavatti*) by the name of Anoma (var. Aranemi : *Ap.* I, p. 329, *vv.* 18 ff.).

His name is variantly spelt as Bākula and Vakkula.

I. K.

BAKKULA (2), name of two yakṣas referred to in the *Mahāmāyūri* (6, 54 ; *BHS.* s.v.). Sylvain Lévi prefers the spelling Vakula. The word though not as a proper name, is found in the *Udāna* (p.5) : " the brāhman is beyond this *goblin* with his din."

BAKKULA SUTTA records a discussion that took place between Bakkula thera and Acela Kassapa, his former companion before renouncing the world, (*M.* III, 124). In the course of the discussion it is revealed that during the long period of eighty years spent as a monk, Bakkula was extremely virtuous and did not harbour thoughts of sense desire, ill-will, etc., not to speak of any unbecoming conduct. He was extremely cautious and led a life of complete detachment. He never fell ill during this long period, and never got any other person to attend to his several wants. After his ordination he partook of the alms collected from the people for seven days, and on the eighth he attained supreme knowledge (*aññā*).

When Acela Kassapa heard this, he was extremely pleased and pleaded with Bakkula for ordination. Having received this as well as the higher ordination, Kassapa strove hard and before long attained arahantship.

Sometime later Bakkula went from monastery to monastery announcing the time of his passing away, and a large congregation of monks was present as he died, seated on his pyre.

W. G. W.

BALA (1), means strength, force or power ; various powers of both temporal and spiritual character are found mentioned in the Buddhist texts.

Among the most important and of frequent occurrence is the group of five powers (*pañcabala*), namely, faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā* : *D.* II, 120 ; *M.* II, 12 ; III, 296 ; *S.* III, 96, 153 ; IV, 366 ; V, 219, 249 ; *A.* III, 12 ; *Ps.* I, 16 ; II, 56, 84, 87, 133—134, 166, 168 ; *Dhsmg.* 10 ; *BB.* XIII, 16).

An explanation of these five powers is found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. It says that faith is the belief in the Tathāgata, energy is striving to be rid of evil (*akusala*) and to cultivate good (*kusala*) ; in mindfulness one minds and reminds oneself of things done and said long ago ; concentration is to keep oneself aloof from sense-desires and to attain the four *jhānas*, while wisdom is to be wise as to the way of origin and cessation and to possess Aryan penetration of the way to the utter destruction of suffering (*A.* IV, 3-4).

What distinguishes them from the corresponding five spiritual faculties (*pañcindriya*) is that they are unshakable by their opposites : the power of faith is unshakable by faithlessness (*assaddha*), energy by laziness (*kosajja*), mindfulness by forgetfulness (*pamāda*), concentration by distractedness (*uddhacca*), and wisdom by ignorance (*avijjā*). They represent, therefore, the aspect of firmness in the spiritual faculties (*Ps.* I, 16 ; II, 84, 87).

But in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V. 219) we find these five powers being identified with the five spiritual faculties.

According to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 12), the power of faith becomes manifest in the four qualities of the stream-winner (*sotāpanna*), energy in the fourfold right effort (*sammappadhāna*), mindfulness in the four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), concentration in the four *jhānas* and wisdom in the full comprehension of the Four Noble Truths.

The development of these five powers is identified with the path that leads to the uncompounded, i.e., Nibbāna, (*asaṅkhatagāmimagga* : *S.* IV, 361, 366–367). When these five faculties are developed they destroy the five fetters that pull upwards (*uddhambhāgiya-saṃyojana* : *S.* V, 251). With these five powers, release of mind through loving kindness (*mettācetovimutti*) is developed (*Ps.* II, 133–4). Morality (*sīla*) is the foundation on which the five powers stand (*Miln.* 33).

When these statements with regard to the five powers are considered together, they indicate that the five powers are nothing but the path that leads to Nibbāna ; here the path is elaborated from a different angle. The last two powers, concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*), are the last two stages in the threefold discipline (*tisikkhā*), another description of the path. *Sīla*, the first

stage in the *tisikkhā*, is not given here, obviously because it is understood to precede *samādhi* and *paññā*. In fact, it is said clearly that the five powers stand on *sīla* (*Miln.* 33). In the Noble Eightfold Path *viriya*, *sati*, *samādhi* and *paññā* are four stages. *Viriya* appears as *sammāvāyāma*, *sati* as *sammāsati*, *samādhi* as *sammāsamādhi* and *paññā* as *sammādiṭṭhi*. One who is possessed of these powers is, therefore, identical with one who has realised Nibbāna. The Buddha possesses them, and so do all the arahants.

Equally significant is the group of ten powers (*dasabala*) possessed by the Tathāgata alone. Buddhaghosa says that the Tathāgata's powers are twofold: the strength of body (*kāyabala*) and the power of intelligence (*ñāṇabala*). He has the bodily strength of ten *chaddanta* elephants; and his intellectual power is tenfold. Hence the epithet *dasabala*, used for him (*MA.* II, 25–6; *SA.* II, 43–4; *VbhA.* 397–8). (1) The Buddha knows what is possible as possible, and what is impossible as impossible. (2) He knows the ripening of karmas, past, present and future. (3) He knows whither all paths lead. (4) He knows the many and various elements of the world. (5) He knows the divers intentions of individuals. (6) He knows the faculties of other beings. (7) He knows the defilements and the purification of trances and attainments, their origin and development, etc. (8) He knows his numberless former existences. (9) With his divine eye, he sees beings passing away and being reborn according to their karma. (10) With the destruction of the *āsavas* he has by himself attained and realised release of mind and knowledge in this life and abides in it (*M.* I, 69–71; *A.* V, 33–6; *VbhA.* 397; *Ps.* II, 174–6; *Lal.* 249; *Avś.* 4; *Divy.* 208; *Sdmp.* 66; *Mhvu.* I, 159–60; *Dhsmg.* 16; *BB.* XIII, 2). Possessed of these ten powers the Tathāgata claims leadership, roars his lion roar in assemblies, and sets rolling the brahma-wheel (*A.* V, 33; *M.* I. 69).

The last three of these ten powers are the three kinds of knowledge (*tivijjā*) possessed by an arahant, and these are what the Buddha claimed when he was asked if he was omniscient (*sabbaññu*: *M.* I, 482). The quality of omniscience attributed to the Buddha is found in the latest portions of the canon and appears to be a development of the doctrine of the ten powers. How omniscience differs from the knowledge involved in the ten powers is discussed by Buddhaghosa in commenting on the above passage. Other schools, he says, say that the knowledge of ten powers is not knowledge of particulars, while omniscience is. Buddhaghosa points out that this is not the principle of division. Omniscience is both the knowledge of ten powers and everything beyond it. It is not the knowledge which produces release. By it one might know the trances or psychic powers, without being able to perform them. One might know the path, but could not thereby get rid of the depravities (*MA.* II, 31). That belongs to the threefold knowledge (*tivijjā*), included in the ten powers.

Anuruddha in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* says to monks that, on account of the fact that he has cultivated the four applications of mindfulness, he has come to possess various types of knowledge. Among these are, in identical words, the ten powers of the Tathāgata (*S.* V, 304-5). The *Kathāvatthu* commenting on this passage, refutes the view held by some that these ten powers are common to both the arahants and the Buddha (*Kvu.* 228-32). Buddhaghosa identifies the school that held this wrong view with the Andhakas (*KvuA.* 62-3). He says that the tenth power (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*) is common to both; the sixth power (*indriyaparopariyattañāṇa*) is possessed only by the Buddha. The arahants' knowledge of the other eight powers is limited while the Buddha's knowledge is unlimited (*Kvu.* 228-32; *KvuA.*62-3).

A number of other lists of powers is to be found in various places in the texts. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* gives a group of seven powers which arise on the occasion of a good thought concerning the sensuous plane (*kāmāvacara kusala citta*). They are the power of faith, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration, of wisdom, of moral shame (*hiri*) and of moral fear (*ottappa*: *Dhs.* 58, 95, 102, *DhsA.* 126). The same group is given and explained as the seven powers of an arahant (*khīṇāsavabala*: *A.* IV, 3-4; *D.* III, 253; *Ps.* I, 35). The arahant has another group of ten powers one of which is the development of the five powers already mentioned. The other nine powers are that (1) the arahant sees all compounded things as impermanent, (2) he views sense-pleasures like burning charcoal, (3) he puts an end to all conditions that may give rise to cankers (*āsava*), (4) he develops the four applications of mindfulness (*cattaro satipaṭṭhānā*), (5) four efforts (*cattaro sammappadhānā*), (6) four bases of psychic powers (*cattaro iddhipādā*), (7) five spiritual faculties (*pañca indriyāni*), (8) seven limbs of wisdom (*sattabojjhaṅgā*) and (9) the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*: *A.* V 174-6; *Ps.* II, 173-4).

A noble disciple (*ariyasāvaka*) has four powers by which he overcomes five fears, i.e., the fear of wrong livelihood, of ill-fame, of embarrassment in assemblies, of death and of a miserable life after death. The four powers are the power of wisdom, of energy, of faultlessness (*anavajjabala*) and of sympathy (*saṅgahabala*). The power of faultlessness is to be faultless in acts of body, speech and thought. Sympathy is based on four things: gifts (*dāna*), kindness (*peyyavajja*), doing good (*atthacariyā*) and practising non-discrimination (*samānattatā* : *A*. II, 142 ; IV, 363-5).

Powers seem to be grouped in various ways. There is a group of two powers: the power of computation (*paṭisaṅkhānabala*) and the power of cultivation (*bhāvanābala* ; *A*. I, 52 ; *D*. III, 213). The power of computation is to consider immorality in deed, word and thought as the cause of ill, give them up and cultivate morality instead. The power of cultivation pertains to those under training (*sekha*). By virtue of the power of training one abandons lust (*raga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) ; the cultivation of the seven limbs of wisdom (*bojjhaṅga*) and the attainment of the four states of mental absorption (*jhāna*), too, form the power of cultivation (*A*. I, 52–3).

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has three groups of four powers each. The first group consists of faith, energy, mindfulness and concentration ; the second group has mindfulness, concentration, faultlessness and sympathy, while in the third group we find the power of computation, of cultivation, of faultlessness and of sympathy (*A*. II, 141–2).

In the same *Nikāya* itself, there is another group of five powers, namely, the power of faith, of moral shame, of moral fear, of concentration and of wisdom (*A*. III, 248).

All these types of power already mentioned and some more are classified in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. They number sixty-eight in all (*Ps*. II, 168–76). They are the five powers, the power of moral shame, of moral fear, of computation, of cultivation, of faultlessness, of sympathy, of patience (*khantibala*), of ideation (*paññatti*), of calmness (*nijjhanti*), of domination (*issariya*), of self-determination (*adhiṭṭhāna*), of tranquillity (*samatha*), of intuition (*vipassanā*), the ten powers of a trainee (*sekhabala*), the ten powers of the trained (*asekha*), the ten powers of an arahant (*khīṇāsava*), the tenfold psychic power and the ten powers of the Tathāgata.

Undergoing training in the Noble Eightfold Path plus wisdom and emancipation form the ten powers of a trainee (*dasa-sekhabala*). Completing the training in these ten items forms the ten powers of the trained one (*dasa-asekhabala*). Ten psychic powers are the power of determination (*adhiṭṭhānā iddhi*), i.e., the power of becoming oneself manifold ; the power of transformation (*vikubbanā idahi*), i.e., the power of adopting another form ; the power of spiritual creation (*manomayā iddhi*), i.e., the power of causing to produce from this body another mentally produced body ; the power of penetrating knowledge (*ñaṇavipphārā iddhi*), i.e., the power of inherent insight to remain unhurt in danger ; the power of penetrating concentration (*samādhi vipphārā iddhi*), producing the same result ; noble power (*ariyā iddhi*), i.e., the power of controlling one's ideas in such a way that one may consider something not repulsive as repulsive, and something repulsive as not repulsive, and remain all the time imperturbable and full of equanimity ; power originated as a result of kamma (*kammavipākajā iddhi*), the power of the meritorious one (*puññavato iddhi*), power produced by science (*vijjamayā iddhi*), and the power that is produced by correct application (*Ps*. II, 174).

There are three groups of powers which are not connected with religion. The *Jātaka*, for instance, gives five powers possessed by a king: the power of arms (*bāhābala*), of wealth (*bhoga*°) of ministers (*amacca*°), of noble birth (*abhijāti*°) and of intelligence (*paññābala* : *J*. V, 120–1).

Women have five powers, viz., the power of beauty (*rūpabala*), of wealth (*bhoga*), of relatives (*ñāti*), of children (*putta*) and of virtue (*sīla*), which are of no avail against the one power of man, namely, the power of authority (*issariyabala* : *S*. IV, 246–8).

Eight different individuals have eight different powers: crying is the power of children, hatred is the power of womankind, weapons of robbers, sovereignty of kings, irritation (*ujjhanti*) of fools, calmness (*nijjhanti*) of wise men, computation (*paṭisaṅkhāna*) of the deeply learned, and patience (*khanti*) is the power of recluses and brāhmans (*A*. IV, 223).

U. K.

BALA (2), a bhikṣu of the time of the Indian emperor Kaniska, well known in Buddhist art as the donor of some statues which are recognised as among the earliest precisely datable from epigraphy. The best known of these is described, in the Brāhmi legend on it, as the gift of Bala the "friar"— the favourite rendering of bhikṣu, by nearly every art historian. This statue more properly accords with the iconographical characteristics of a Buddha statue than with those of a bodhisattva, which

some are prone to suggest for it. Dated in Kaniṣka's 3rd year and found at Sārnāth, it is bigger than life-size and of massive proportions. (See Pl. 45, Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India.*) Another very similar statue from Bala was found at Śrāvasti. The votive images from this bhikṣu are assigned to the Mathura school of art. (See Benjamin Rowland, op. cit.)

D. C. Sircar states that Kaniṣka I is now usually belived to have ascended the throne in 78 A.C. (*EI*. XXXIV, p. 9). Ludwig Bachhofer adopts the same in his *Indian Sculpture*. This would date Bala's statue in about 80-1 A.C. But Sir John Marshall in *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (p. 85) has taken 140 A.C., in which case Bala's statue has to be dated in 142-3 A.C.

D. T. D.

BALA (3), name of a yakṣa mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* 48 (*BHS*. s.v.).

BALĀ (1), the eldest daughter of a village chief, who along with her younger sisters offered a soup (*yūṣaridha*) to the bodhisattva who was practising austerities (*duṣkaracaryā*). Her nine sisters were Balaguptā, Supriyā, Vijayasenā, Atimuktakamālā, Sundarī, Kumbhakārī, Uluvillikā, Jaṭilikā and Sujātā (*Lal*. pp. 193-4).

I. K.

BALĀ (2), name of a rākṣasī mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (243.15 ; *BHS*. s.v.).

BĀLA, fool. The original meaning of this term, both in Pali and Sanskrit, is 'young', 'not matured' or as a noun a 'young one'. But in Buddhist literature the term is used in the developed sense of 'a morally bad person'. Hence the English term 'fool', which is very often used for *bāla*, does not convey the full meaning of the word as understood in Buddhism, whereby the term *bāla* is meant not the ordinary type of foolish person as is understood in common parlance, but a person who violates the moral precepts. In this context it is worthwhile to keep in mind that the term *bāla* is almost always contrasted with the term *paṇḍita*, meaning a wise man. Here, too, the term means not merely the intelligent person, but a person who is morally good, the one who observes the moral precepts. Thus, a person who does good and attempts at spiritual development is a *paṇḍita* and his opposite character who does immoral acts as understood in Buddhism and does not do anything positively for his spiritual development is a *bāla*, a fool. Hence, a person who commits an act without being guided by *paññā* is a *bāla* and he is the opposite of *paṇḍita*.

In the *Bālapaṇḍita Sutta* (*M*. III, 163) the concepts of *bāla* and *paṇḍita* are well explained by the Buddha. First, he gives three fundamental characteristics that go to make a *bāla*. Accordingly, a person who does wrong by body (*dukkatakammakārī*), by speech (*dubbhāsitabhāsī*) or by mind (*duccintitacintī*) is a *bāla*. These three ways of wrong-doing embody the ten major transgressions as enumerated by the Buddha. Of these ten, three are committed by the body, namely, bodily injury including killing, theft and wrong sensual behaviour, including adultery, and taking liquor. The four evil acts committed by speech are lying, slander, frivolous talk and harsh speech. The three transgressions committed by mind are covetousness, ill-will and wrong views.

This passage embodies practically the whole of Buddhist ethics. Whatever good or bad deed a person does, he does so through one of the three media of body, speech or mind. When it is said that a person who behaves badly in regard to his body is a fool, it means that anyone who commits an evil deed such as killing, does so because of his ignorance. Similarly, the perpetration of any of the other transgressions is due also to the ignorance of the fact that they are bad. Not only are they bad in themselves but is also harmful in the social context. Whosoever commits them does something that is anti-social.

After defining who a fool is, the sutta quoted above enumerates the various kinds of bitter experiences he has to undergo as a result of his evil deeds. First are recounted those that he has to undergo in this very life (*diṭṭhevadhamme*). Here, the *modus operandi* of the Buddha's moral instruction has to be remembered. Always the Buddha tries to wean people away from committing evil deeds by speaking of the inevitable retribution that follows. It is the theory of karma (action) that is always applied. Every action has a reaction, which will be pleasant or unpleasent according to the nature of the action. Bad karma will have its results both in this life and in the next. Hence the *bāla*, who misbehaves in body, speech and mind, will first suffer in this life and also in subsequent lives. The sutta contains a detailed description of how such a *bāla* suffers in various ways and in various places.

In *A.* I, 101 (*Tika-nipāta*) the Buddha explains how all types of fears, apprehensions and dangers (*bhaya, upasagga, upaddava*) always arise because of the *bāla* (*bālam eva nissāya*). The fact that all fears arise from the *bāla*, that their source is the *bāla*, and that those acts of the fool constitute a continuous source of nuisance and danger, is explained by means of a not too graphic simile. Thus, it is said that just as a spark of fire from a hut of reeds or grass burns up well-built solid houses, even so the fool is the source of danger to well behaved, good people but never the wise man.

The Buddha says further that the monks should give up the three conditions by which a *bāla* is known (misconduct in body, speech and mind) and acquire and practise the three conditions (their opposite qualities) whereby the *paṇḍita* is known. It is by his deeds that the *bāla* or the *paṇḍita* is recognised and that wisdom shines forth in one's conduct. It is by one's conduct that wisdom or foolishness is revealed.

In addition to wrong thoughts, deeds and words that go to make a fool, some other characteristics are also given. Thus, a person who does not admit a mistake he has committed and even when he sees that he has done something wrong does not make amends for it, also comes within this category of *bāla*. Further, when another confesses his offence the *bāla* does not forgive him, as he should. He is a questioner without due consideration to the question. When a question is put to him he replies without much thinking. When a *paṇḍita* answers a question in elegant language and with due consideration he is not pleased with it. Again, it is said that a person, who indulges in immoral activities in mind, body and speech, is foolish, sinful, ignorance, is censured by the wise and begets much sin. The discourse winds up with the statement that the fate of the *bāla* as explained above will be birth in hell, etc., and that the *paṇḍita* will gain happiness in heaven.

In *A.* I, 68 it is said that a brāhman, even of eighty, ninety or a hundred years of age, if he still takes pleasure in sensual enjoyments and dwells amidst them, if he is burning with sense-desires, is victimised by them, is always running after them, then such a one is reckoned a *bāla*.

In *A.* I, 84 there is another enumeration of the various characteristics of a *bāla*. Thus, a person who shoulders a burden which it is not his to carry as well as the one that shirks the burden which belongs to him, are both classified as *bāla*.

The second category of *bāla* is that of those who regard lawful things as unlawful, and the reverse.

To the next category belong those who regard as an offence what is not an offence, and the reverse. Next come those who regard what is righteous as unrighteous, and the reverse. Next are those who consider as included in the *Vinaya* what should not be included, and the reverse.

The person who is not mindful of the ills of saṃsāra and of the method of getting rid of them, because of his basic ignorance, commits evil in all the ways so far enumerated. Thus he is a *bāla*, as so far shown, in addition to his being a social menace, adds to his own miseries and also lengthens his saṃsāric existence. Hence the *Dhammapada* devotes a whole *vagga* (chap. v) to a discussion of the *bāla*, and this chapter is called the *Bālavagga*. It begins by saying that a person who is ignorant of the *dhamma* is a *bāla*, for whom there will be no end of saṃsāra. The person who, instead of making an attempt to end this existence by following the path laid down by the Buddha engages in activities which lengthen it, is regarded as a *bāla*. One is advised not to keep company with such people. This is why the Buddha has always asked his followers to keep company with the wise and if one fails in finding such a companion, one is advised to lead the lonely life like the horned rhino (*Sn. v.* 46). He who is engrossed in worldly life is a *bāla*, because he wrongly thinks that he has possessions when he cannot even control himself. In this statement is shown the real Buddhist philosophy of detachment and renunciation. When it is said that the fool who knows his foolishness is wise in a way and that the fool who thinks himself wise is a real fool, it comprises a statement which is of great practical value.

A *bāla*, who refuses to understand things because of his *avijjā*, will never become a *paṇḍita*, even if he were to keep company with wise men all his life. It is only an intelligent person who can understand the true nature of things and become a wise man within a short time. Fools commit evil, not knowing the evil consequences that follow and as such they behave like enemies to themselves (*Dhp. v.* 66). So long as his evil deeds do not bear fruit the *bāla* considers them to be honey-like, but once they begin to produce results he definitely comes to grief. The self-torturing activities of the ascetics, too, have been classified as the practices of a *bāla* by the Buddha. This is what is meant in the statement that it is a fool who eats food month

after month with the tip of the *kusa* grass in the name of self-control. It is a *bāla* who wishes for false reputation, for precedence among mendicants, for lordship in temples and worship among other groups. These conditions are not at all necessary for a genuine monk whose sole ambition should be his own spiritual development, for which such desires are a hindrance. It is the *bāla* who seeks worldly gain, both material and otherwise. In the *Dhp.* (*v.* 206) it is said that the person who does not see fools is always happy. In the next verse it is said that association with a fool, as with an enemy, is always productive of pain.

In several places of the *Suttanipāta* the same ideas are repeated in various ways. Thus, a person, who does not think that this body is filled with filth, but is a pleasant and an enjoyable thing, is called a *bāla*. He thinks in that manner because of his ignorance (*Sn. v.* 199). It is because of ignorance that people indulge in sensual pleasures to the full and this enjoyment is referred to as the 'bliss of fools' (*mohanaṃ bālakantaṃ : Sn. v.* 399). Similar ideas are expressed in the verses 657, 662, etc. In *v.* 721, a fool is compared to a half-filled pot and the wise man to a lake full to the brim.

Thus, the fool (*bāla*) in Buddhism represents entirely a moral concept. One who is ignorant of the true nature of this world, who does not believe in renunciation and non-attachment, and consequently indulges in immoral activities in body, speech and mind is a *bāla*, a fool. After defining a fool, the Buddha's teaching emphasises throughout that one should always shun the company of such fools and work for one's own progress. While the wise man is always guided by *paññā* in everything he does, says and thinks, the fool is guided by *avijjā* which makes him unskilful (*akusala*) in everything he does, says and thinks.

A. G. S. K.

BALABĀHU, name of a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while, in the eighth stage (*bhūmi*) of a bodhisattva, he prepared himself for Buddhahood (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

BALABHADRA, name of a nāga-king, occurring in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, 247.12 c (*BHS.* s.v.).

BALABHI (var. Valabhi, Valabhadra, Wala, Wallay), kingdom and city on the western shore of India, on the Gulf of Cambay, in Gujarāt. In an inscription of the fifth century the country is called "the beautiful kingdom of Valabhadra" (*JASB.* 1838, p. 976), but in the local histories and traditions of the people it is generally known as Balabhi (Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, I, 317). This was also the name in the time of Hsüan-tsang who calls the kingdom Fa-la-pi.

Cunningham (op. cit.) points out that in ancient times the peninsula of Gujarāt was known only as Surāstra, but later, in 319 A.C. when the successors of the Sāh kings were supplanted by the Vallabhas and the capital changed from Junagarh to Valabhi, the old name was lost. He also notes that the establishment of the Balabhi era in 319 A.C. marks the extinction of the Gupta race, whose coins are found in considerable numbers in Gujarāt. This date could be accepted with some certainty as that of the establishment of the Balabhi dynasty and most probably also as that of the foundation of their city of Balabhi.

According to Hsüan-tsang, the kingdom of Balabhi in the seventh century was 6000 li or 1000 miles in circuit and the capital city was about thirty li or five miles. For the kingdom to be so large it should have included the districts of Bhāroch and Surāt on the neighbouring coast at the time (Cunningham, op. cit.). Hsüan-tsang says that Balabhi, like Mālvā, was fertile and produced abundant harvests. The inhabitants were virtuous and docile and were of remarkable intelligence. The rare and valuable products of distant regions were stored here in great quantities. There were about hundred Saṅghārāmas with about six-thousand monks most of whom were said to study Hīnayāna. The Buddha often travelled through this country. The emperor Asoka raised monuments or built stūpas in all those places where the Buddha rested. Scattered among these are the spots where the three past Buddhas sat down or walked or preached the doctrine. Not far from the city is a great saṅghārāma which was built by the arahant Achara. Here the bodhisattvas Guṇamatī and Sthiramatī fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained high renown.

The king at the time of Hsüan-tsang, Dhruvapata, was very faithful towards the three 'precious ones'. Yearly, he summoned a great assembly and for seven days gave away valuable gifts to the Saṅgha (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, IV, 457–8). At one stage Balabhi, like Nālandā, was a great centre of Buddhist learning (Takakusu, *Itsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 177). Bhartṛhari, the celebrated author of *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, lived in Balabhi in the seventh century, as also

Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The city also contained eighty-four Jaina temples (Nanda Lal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 18).

H. R. P.

BALĀBHIJÑA, name of a future Buddha, mentioned in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (70. 18 : *BHS*. s. v.).

BALA-CAKRAVARTIN, a world-ruler of lesser rank. A world-ruler who reigns over the four great continents (*caturdvīpakacakravartin*) appears to be of the highest rank, followed by a *cakravarti-rāja* who is distinguished from a *bala-cakravarti-rāja* (*Divy*. 139). Of still lower rank is mentioned a *rājan-maṇḍalin* or *māṇḍalika-rājan*. a regional ruler (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. Kern and Nanjio, 6, 20, 362). The *cakravarti-rāja* and the *bala-cakravartin* appear to be equal to the *dīpa-cakkavatti* and the *padesa-cakkavatti* in Pali literature, respectively, who are said to be rulers over one continent and over a portion of one only. See CAKRAVARTI-RĀJA

H. G. A. v. Z.

BĀLACITTAPABODHANĪ, name of a Pali commentary (*ṭīkā*) mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 65).

BALADĀNA SUTTA, name given in the *Sutta Saṃgaha* (*Ssṃg*. 235) to the *Kiṃdada Sutta* (q. v.) of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 32). This sutta explains who are the givers of strength, beauty, happiness, sight, etc.

BALADATTA, a former Buddha whose appearance in the world was prophesied by Samitāvi Buddha, and who prophesied the appearance of Bhāgīratha Buddha (*Mhvu*. III, 239).

BALADEVA (1), the second son of Devagabbhā and Upasāgara. He had nine brothers, and all of them were known as the sons of Andhakaveṇhu (*Andhakaveṇhudāsa-putta*), since they were brought up by their mother's servant whose name was Andhakaveṇhu. It was foretold that a son of Devagabbhā would destroy the Kaṃsa dynasty, and its fortune and therefore Devagabbhā was frightened that her two brothers would harm her ten sons. For the safety of her sons, Devagabbhā gave them to be brought up by Andhakaveṇhu. Later, when they grew up, and started to plunder the city, the king summoned Andhakaveṇhu and threatened him. Thereupon Andhakaveṇhu revealed the truth to the king and said that the ten youths were the sons of Devagabbhā. Then, the king having thought of a way to arrest them, arranged a wrestling match in the city, and made it known to the public by beat of drum. The ten sons of Devagabbhā also came to take part in it. At this place, Baladeva killed the two wrestlers known as Cānura and Muṭṭhika. The last, at the moment of his death, vowed vengance and was born as a demon (*yakkha*) in the forest named Kāḷamattiya. One day, when Baladeva was passing that forest in the company of his elder brother Vāsudeva, his sister Añjanadevī and the chaplain (*purohita*), the demon created a village in that forest and taking the guise of a wrestler, went about challenging any person to come and wrestle with him. When Baladeva saw him, he went up to the demon, although Vāsudeva tried to keep him back. Thereupon the demon killed him and ate him up like a radish-root (*mūlaka-kanda* : *J*. IV, pp. 80-8 ; *PvA*. pp. 11, 93).

I. K.

BALADEVA (2), name of a nāga, mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (247. 4, *BHS*. s. v.), and also listed in *Mahāvyutpatti* (167. 73) under 'Nāgarājanāmāni' (names of nāga kings).

BALADEVAVATTIKĀ, a group of ascetics who followed the practices of Baladeva, the son of Rohiṇī and the god of strength, perhaps by wearing blue garments (*nīlambara*) and by carrying clubs (*musala*), thinking that they could attain purification thereby (*Nāmaliṅgānusāsana Amarakoṣa* edited by Paṇḍit Sīvadatta, Bombay, 1915, p. 11, *vv*. 23 & 24). The Buddha in the course of a discourse said that such practices would neither purify nor help one to enter the path of deliverance (*Nd*. I, p. 89).

I. K.

BĀLĀDICCA, a Buddhist monastery in the Cola country in south India, mentioned in the colophon of the *Rūpasiddhi* as a residence of its author Coliya Dīpaṅkara, also known as Buddhappiya (Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 220).

BĀLĀDITYA, a name of a king of Magadha, who fought and captured Mihirakula, the king of Ceka or the Hūnas, who was an opponent

of Buddhism. He was the successor of Skandagupta. The *Candragarbha Sūtra* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* state that Bāla, i.e., Bālāditya, had his reign without any rivalry or obstacle (*niḥsapatnamakaṇṭhakam*), from which it has to be understood that the wars with the Hūṇas were finished and the foreigners had been repelled. Jayaswal distinguishes between Bālādityas I and II, who are mentioned in the Sāranāth inscription of Prakaṭāditya and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (39 ff.). Vincent Smith makes the two Bālādityas --the successor of Skandhagupta and the victor of Mihirakula who comes in sixty years later—one personality and naturally transfers the second Hūṇa invasion to the period of Skandhagupta. However, as Jayaswal asserts, positive proof of the existence of two Bālādityas in the same dynasty is provided by the Sāranāth inscription (Girnār Inscription 281).

Bālāditya is said to be the first Buddhist king of the Gupta dynasty, and this seems to bear historical truth as is proved by inscriptional evidence from Nālandā which is revealed from Sanskrit textual evidence. Bāla died young at the age of thirty-six, and this explains the short reign of Bālāditya which can be gleaned from the inscriptions. Verse 668 of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, in the glorification of religious merits extolls Bālāditya as a future Cakravartin (world-ruler), the implication being that he was a just and righteous monarch. He was immediately succeeded by Kumāragupta II. According to the Sāranāth inscription, Prakaṭāditya was a son of Bālāditya, and according to Hsüan-tsang, Vajra was the son and successor of Bālāditya. Bālāditya belonged to the early part of the 6th century A.C., and died about 520 A.C. (*Mmk*. 37 ff.).

W. S. Kt.

BALAGUPTĀ, a village chieftain's daughter, one of ten damsels who attended on the bodhisattva who was practising austerities (*Lal*. 194). See BALĀ (1).

BALAKA, the name of a nāga king (*Mahāmāyurī*, p. 247 ; See *BHS*. p. 398).

BĀLAKALOṆAKĀRAGĀMA, a locality near Kosambi. When the monks at Kosambi were quarrelling and the Buddha was unable to settle the dispute, he went to Bālaka-loṇakāragāma all alone, and discoursed to Bhagu on the blessings of solitude. Thence he repaired to Pācīnavaṃsadāya and from there to the Pārileyyaka forest (*Vin*.I,350 ; *M*. III, 154 ; *J*. III, 489 ; *DhpA*. I, 47).

The *Dhammapada* commentary (loc. cit.), referring to the incident, gives the locality as Bālakaloṇakārāma. Hence it is uncertain whether the locality was a village or only a grove (*ārāma*). But, since all the other references above and also the *Majjhima* commentary (*MA*. III, 55 ; IV, 206) give the reading Bālaka-loṇakāragāma, the reading in the *Dhammapada* commentary could be an error. The *Majjhima* commentary (*MA*. III, 55 ; IV, 206) explains the term as a village belonging to Upali seṭṭhi from which he derived his income. It is said that, once, when people had come from there with taxes to him he went with them to see Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta.

The other explanation is that the word *bālakiniyā* in the text is an adjective meaning "composed of fools" (*bālavatiyā bālussannāya* ; cp., *J*. I. 246, where mention is made of *bālagāmikamanussā* who were obviously fools). The confusion seems, therefore, to have risen very early. Upāli's village (of Bālaka), if such a place existed, was probably near Nālandā.

H. R. P.

BĀLAKAṆḌA SŪTRA, name of a Sanskrit work forming a part of the *Abhidharma* and referred to in the *Karmavastu* 155.2 (*BHS*. s.v.).

BALAMITRA (1), a householder of Campā, father of Viśākhā (*Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinayavastu*, *GM*. III, ii, 53 ff.).

BALAMITRA (2), a donor to the Sāñci Stūpa I, and a pupil of Ārya Kṣudra, mentioned in two inscriptions, one on the Southern gateway, and the other on the Western gateway of the stūpa. The latter inscription specifically mentions that the gift was a pillar (A Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 266, 267).

BĀLANAKKHATTA, a festival, 'celebrated by the unintelligent' (*bāla*) in ancient India. It lasted for seven days. During this period, the celebrants having smeared their bodies with ashes and cow-dung went about talking coarsely. In the course of these seven days they showed no respect to their relatives friends or bhikkhus but stayed in the door-ways and insulted them, with harsh speech: Since the people could not appreciate their talk, they gave them a small coin (*kahāpaṇa*) and sent them away.

Once, when this festival was held in Sāvatthi, about five crores of noble disciples (*ariyasāvaka*) requested the Buddha not to leave the monastery, but be there with the bhikkhus, saying that they would provide them with food etc., during the festive season. The Buddha acceded to their request (*DhpA.* I, 256 f.).

I. K.

BALANCE OF MIND (*tatra-majjhattatā*, literally, remaining here and there in the middle), an ethical quality (*upekkhā*) and one of the primary lofty mental formations (*sobhana cetasika*) found in all wholesome mental states (*kusala citta*) of consciousness. It is not the hedonic indifference which is a sensation of neither pain nor pleasure (*adukkha-m-asukha*), a neutral aspect of feeling, the zero-point between joy and sorrow. Balance of mind is not a mere absence of emotion, and one may easily distinguish it from indifference in their respective sources, balance of mind being, of course, the more intellectual, mental equipoise or even-mindedness, whereas the indifference or neutrality towards feelings might be considered as equanimity. Thus balance of mind is one of the seven factors of enlightenment (*sambojjhaṅga*) and one of the four illimitables (*appamañña*) and sublime mental abodes (*brahma-vihāra*). Unfortunately, the Pali term *upekkhā* is sometimes also used for indifference, but not so the term for balance of mind. See TATRA-MAJJHATTATĀ.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BALĀNI SUTTA. There are three suttas by this name, all in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. The first gives a group of four powers: the power of faith, of energy, of mindfulness and of concentration (*A.*II, 141). The second has another group of four powers: the power of wisdom, of energy, of innocence (*anavajjabala*) and of kindness (*saṅgāhabala*: *A.* II, 142). The third sutta gives still another set of four powers: the power of mindfulness, of concentration, of innocence and of kindness (*A.* II, 142).

The next sutta also deals with *bala* although its title is different. It has four powers: the power of computation (*paṭisaṅkhānabala*), of cultivation (*bhāvanābala*), of innocence and of mindfulness. It is named *Paṭisaṅkhāna Sutta* after its first power (*A.* II, 142).

All the four suttas refer actually to nine powers, if the repetitions are omitted.

U. K.

BĀLANTĪPUTRA, a thera. See UPASENA BALĀNTĪPUTRA.

BĀLAPAṆḌITA, a bhikṣu who lived at Kurkuṭārāma in the time of Aśoka (*Divy.* p. 375).

BĀLAPAṆḌITA SUTTA (1), the 129th sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* preached by the Buddha at Jetavana (*M.* III, 163 ff.). It deals in turn with the conduct and destiny of the fool and of the wise man.

There are three characteristics of a fool. He thinks bad thoughts, speaks bad words and does bad deeds. And for this evil conduct he suffers in three ways. When he hears people discuss his conduct and condemn him he feels dejected. Again when he sees criminals undergoing gruelling punishment at the hands of kings, he is filled with anguish at the thought that he would be subject to similar punishment if he is found out. Further, at a time when he is relaxing he thinks of his evil deeds and is seized by fears of a woeful birth after death.

While such are his miseries in this world his destiny after death is infinitely worse. For him, to gain human status again is very difficult for he gets no opportunity for righteous living. If after a very long time he is reborn as a human being it will be a mean and miserable birth for him.

The wise man follows the opposite course, and as a result he is happy both here and hereafter.

The fact that is stressed in this sutta is that once a man behaves foolishly and pursues the wrong course he suffers rebirth in the states of woe where he gets opportunity to do good. Then for him human status again becomes very difficult. Various similes, including the famous simile of the blind turtle, have been employed to drive home this fact.

Incidentally, this sutta contains a graphic description of the horrors of *niraya* (repeated elsewhere in the canon—e.g., *M.* III, 183; *A.* I, 141 f.), and an account of the gifts and treasures of a cakkavatti king (also repeated at *D.* II, 174 ff.). Both these descriptions are further amplified in the commentary (*MA.* IV, 210 ff.). The description of the punishment meted out to criminals throws light on the social conditions of the time.

Among other discussions of fools and the wise are the *Bālapaṇḍita Sutta* (*S.* II, 23 ff.) and the *Paṇḍita Vagga* and the *Bāla Vagga* of the *Dhammapada* where the subject matter is treated from various aspects.

Mahinda is said to have preached this sutta at the Nandanavana in Anurādhapura and after hearing it, we are told, a thousand women attained *sotāpatti* (*Mhv.* xv, 14; *Dpv.* xiii, 13).

L. R. G.

BĀLAPAṆḌITA SUTTA (2), the ninth sutta of the *Āhāra Vagga* of the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* (*S.* II, 23 ff.). The Buddha compares the wise man with the fool. The fool does not lead the higher life (*brahmacariya*) towards putting an end to ill. He does not get rid of ignorance and craving and after death is born again subject to all the sorrows in *saṃsāra*. The wise man on the other hand follows the higher life and destroys ignorance and craving. He is not reborn after death but attains Nibbāna.

The commentary adds that in this sutta all worldlings (*puthujjana*) are classed as fools and the arahants are referred to as the wise (*SA.* II, 40).

L. R. G.

BALA-PĀRAMITĀ, perfection of power, the ninth *paramitā* of the Mahāyāna texts; it is not found in the Pali tradition. Even in the Mahāyāna it is only one of the four supplementary *pāramitās* which is mentioned in a few passages of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts (*Dhsmg.* p. 4, 28 ; *Mhvyut. BB.* XIII, p. 15 ; *Gvyū.* p. 295 ; *Dbhs.* p. 57), but not explained at great length.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which devotes a whole chapter to each of the first six chief *pāramitās* and explains them under nine separate headings, dismisses the last four supplementary *pāramitās* in a few sentences in another chapter. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* adopts the same method of treatment.

Bala-pāramitā is the power that puts aside *karma*, defilements (*kleśa*), conceit (*māna*) and indolence (*pamāda : Dhsmg.* p. 28). It is the power that brings about tranquillity, essential for enlightenment (*Gvyū.* p. 295). It is the power that refuses the wrong paths taught by false teachers (*Dbhs.* p. 57).

U. K.

BALAPRABHĀSAMATI, name of a former Buddha who was worshipped by the night-goddess Samantasatvatrānojaḥśrī (*Gvyū.* p. 285).

BĀLAPUTRA-DEVA, king of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) in the 9th century A.C., recorded in the Nālandā copper plate inscription of king Devapāla-deva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, as having erected a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā, for the maintenance of which five villages were granted by king Devapāla-deva.

Bālaputra-deva belonged to the Śailendra dynasty which founded in the 8th century an empire comprising the Malay peninsula, and nearly the whole of the Indian Archipelago, including the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. The Śailendra kings were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism and appear to have derived their religious inspiration from Bengal which was then the chief centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, Macmillan & Co. London, 1961 ; Ariyappan and Sirinivasan, *Story of Buddhism*, Madras, 1960 ; *2500 Years of Buddhism*, ed. P. V. Bapat, India, 1965.

BALA SAṂYUTTA, the sixth section of the *Mahā-vagga* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* dealing with five powers (*bala*). It consists of ten chapters viz., *Gaṅgāpeyyāli* I, *Appamāda* I, *Bala* I, *Esanā* I, *Ogha* I ; and *Gaṅgāpeyyāli* II, *Appamāda* II, *Bala* II, *Esanā* II and *Ogha* II.

The difference between the two groups of chapters bearing the same name is that in the first five chapters, the five powers, which a monk develops in order to reach Nibbāna, are accompanied by solitude, whereas in the second group of five chapters, the same five powers end in the destruction of lust, malice and illusion (*S.* V, 249–53).

U. K.

BALASENA (1), name of Upaṭṭhāyaka (q.v.) thera, in a previous birth as king.

BALASENA (2), a householder of Vāsavagrāma, father of Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa (*Divy.* 1 ff.).

BALAŚRĪBHADRA, author of a Sarvāstivāda minor vinya text called the *Nidānapudgala Saṅgrahakārikā*. It was later translated into Tibetan by Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa) and Kumāraśīla under the name *Gleṅ-gzhi-daṅ-gaṅ-zag-bsdus-paḥi-tshig-leḥur-byas-pa* (A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 47; *Cordier*, III, p. 412 ; *TM.* No. 4131.).

S. K. N.

BALA SUTTA, There are twelve suttas by this name ; eight in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and four in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.

The Buddha says in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* that the monks develop the Noble Eightfold Path standing on virtue (*sīla*), just as people who do work that requires strength (*bala*) stand on earth (*S.*V, 45 f.). The same sutta recurs in the same *Nikāya* (V, 135).

Four powers (*bala*) are enumerated in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 252): energy (*viriya-bala*), mindfulness (*sati-b°*), concentration (*samādhi-b°*) and wisdom (*paññā-b°*).

The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 360 f.), has the same four powers given in the preceding sutta with the power of faith (*saddhā-bala*) added at the head of the list, i.e., five powers in all. These five powers are identified with the path that leads to the uncompounded (*asaṅkhatagāmī-magga* : *S.* IV, 361).

The same five with the power for the destruction of cankers (*āsavakkhaya*) given at the end make a group of six powers, at *Aṅguttara* III, 282.

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has another group of five powers, i.e., the power of faith already given in the preceding list, shame in doing evil deeds (*hiri*), fear of blame in unrighteous deeds (*ottappa*), energy and wisdom (*A.* III, 248).

These five together with mindfulness and concentration make a group of seven powers in *Aṅguttara* IV, 3. These seven powers are explained in the next sutta (*A.* IV, 3–4): The power of faith is belief in the Tathāgata ; energy is to strive to avoid unwholesome states (*akusala*) and to cultivate wholesome states (*kusala*) ; shame is to be ashamed at having fallen into unrighteous ways ; fear is fear of unrighteousness ; mindfulness is memory of past deeds ; concentration is to be aloof from sense-pleasures and to attain the four *jhānas* ; and wisdom is to be wise about the ways of progress and of degeneration and to possess the knowledge of the way to the utter destruction of ill.

He who has destroyed the cankers (*khīṇāsava*) has eight powers : he sees all compounded things as impermanent ; he sees lusts as burning charcoal ; he is rid of all conditions that give rise to cankers ; in him are developed the four arisings of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), the five faculties (*pañcindriya*), the seven limbs of wisdom (*bojjhaṅga*) and the Noble Eightfold Path (*A.* IV, 225).

The same eight powers together with the power of fourfold effort and the power of the fivefold strength make a group of ten powers in *Aṅguttara* V, 176 ff. Fivefold strength in this connection are the powers of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom.

Another group of eight powers, rather different in character from those given above, is found in *Aṅguttara* IV, 223, i.e., in children their power lies in crying ; in women, hatred ; in robbers, weapons ; in kings, sovereignty ; in fools, irritation ; in sages, calmness ; in the learned, computation ; in recluses and brāhmans, patience.

U. K.

BALATĀ SUTTA, of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 427) gives six qualities for losing power in concentration and their opposites for gaining it.

BALA VAGGA. There are three vaggas by this name : two in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and one in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

The two *Bala Vaggas* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* occur in the *Bala Saṃyutta*. In the first the five powers a monk develops in order to attain *Nibbāna*, are accompanied by solitude (*S.* V, 250), whereas in the second, they end in the destruction of lust, malice and illusion (*S.* V, 252). The two vaggas contain twelve suttas each.

The *Bala Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has ten suttas ; the first six deal with the five powers and the last four with five qualities, i.e., virtue, concentration, wisdom, release, and the vision and knowledge of release (*A.* III, 9–14).

U. K.

BĀLA VAGGA. There are four vaggas of this name, three in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and one in the *Dhammapada*. All of them discuss the *bāla* (fool), as understood in Buddhism where the concept of *bāla* is entirely a moral one. Anyone who violates the moral precepts of the Buddha, who is guilty of wrong conduct of body, speech and mind, is regarded as a fool (*bāla*), because his conduct is due to his ignorance of the fact that such activities bring about unpleasant results. The *bāla* acts through ignorance (*avijjā*) while the *paṇḍita* is always guided by wisdom (*paññā*).

The *Bāla Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 59) is the third chapter of the *Duka-nipāta* which always deals with pairs of things. Only the first of its ten suttas refers to the *bāla* directly, but as in the other nine suttas, too, it is understood that the discussion refers to the *bāla* and the *paṇḍita*,

Thus, in the first sutta, after giving two characteristics of the *bāla*, they are contrasted with their opposites, which characterise the *paṇḍita*. In suttas two to six, a similar analysis is made of those who misrepresent and dishonour the Buddha. Suttas seven and eight deal with the retribution that comes to the sinful person while the last two suttas contain a discussion on the advantages of solitude and meditation.

The tenth chapter of the *Duka-nipāta* (*A.* I, 84 ff.) is also called the *Bāla Vagga*. Of its twenty suttas each of the first ten deals with pairs of characteristics of the *bāla* contrasted with their opposites as marking the *paṇḍita*. In the other ten suttas is found a list of pairs of people whose *āsavas* (mental intoxicants) increase, with a corresponding list of those whose *āsavas* do not.

The first group of ten suttas of the *Tika-nipāta* (*A.* I, 101 ff.) is also called the *Bāla Vagga*. The first sutta explains how the *bāla* becomes the source of all fears, obstacles and oppressions and how the *paṇḍita* is never their source. Just as the *Duka-nipāta* deals with pairs, the *Tika-nipāta* always deals with groups of three; hence all the characteristics given here are in threes. Thus the second sutta says that he who misbehaves in body, mind and speech is a fool and one who has the opposite character is the wise man. The third sutta is a further discussion of the same three characteristics. In this manner the first nine suttas deal with the various traits of the *bāla*. In the tenth sutta are given three taints, the possession of which brings about one's birth in hell. They are immorality, jealousy and niggardliness (*dussīlo, issukī, maccharī*). The one who is devoid of them and practises their opposite qualities is said to be born in heaven.

In the *Dhammapada* there is another *Bāla Vagga* (chap. v) which contains sixteen stanzas discussing the *bāla* from various angles.

A. G. S. K.

BALAVANT, a Śākyan youth who, on listening to a discourse of the Buddha on the Four Noble Truths, attained the first fruit of the Path. Later he joined the order of monks under the Buddha and attained arahantship.

Born as a householder in one of his past lives, he anointed the stūpa of Vipaśyin Buddha with fragrant oil. As a result of this act he was able to win arahantship in his present life (*Avś.* 161–2).

U. K.

BĀLĀVATĀRA, a Pali grammatical work composed by Saṅgharāja Dhammakitti II, who held office in the reigns of Bhuvaneka-bāhu V and Vīrabāhu II of Ceylon (circa 1372–1410 A.C.). It is not only the most extensively used handbook in Ceylon on the subject, but also the smallest, being based on and forming an extremely good summary of the *Kaccāyana*. Though it closely follows the *Kaccāyana* in its method of treatment, yet the arrangement is somewhat different. The book is divided into seven chapters, dealing with *sandhi, nāma, samāsa, taddhita, ākhyāta, kitaka* and *kāraka* (in two sections, *uttānutta* and *vibhatti-bheda*). The section on *kāraka* or syntax, especially, is here more clearly and comprehensively dealt with than in any other grammar, and the work thus forms an important addition to the *sandhi-kappa* of the *Kaccāyana*. D' Alwis (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese Literary Works of Ceylon*, p. 78) says that the author seems to have been familiar with the Sanskrit grammar, *Laghu-Kaumudī*, as the arrangement of both works is largely similar.

Neither the name of the author nor the date of compilation of the *Bālāvatāra* is given in the book itself. But, a Sinhalese work, the *Saddharmālaṅkāra*, helps us to fix both with some certainty. It is said in the colophon that Dhammakitti compiled this *Saddharmālaṅkāra*. He is there referred to as the *atijāta* (more renowned) pupil of Dhammakitti of the fraternity of monks at *Puṭabhatta-sela*, who lived in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu; and also as the *anujāta* (taking exactly after his master) pupil of the Saṅgharāja Dhammakitti, the author of the *Pārami-mahā-śataka*, who resided at Gaḍalādeṇi Vihāra. He composed the works *Saṅkhepa Nikāya-saṅgraha, Bālāvatāra* and *Jinabodhāvalī*. The Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library (Fausböll, *JPTS.* 1896, pp. 45–6) and the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 62) assign the authorship to Vācissara, but Forchhammer's List (Mabel Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 22, footnote) agrees with the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* colophon in calling the author Dhammakitti. Polvattē Buddhadatta mentions a Burmese tradition, recorded in a history of Pali Literature written in the Burmese language, which assigns the authorship to one Saddhammakitti of Arimaddanapura (Pagān) in Burma. But he, however, confirms the Ceylonese tradition by suggesting that in the *Saddharmaratnākara*, a Sinhalese work which refers to Saṅgharāja Dhammakitti II as the author of a paraphrase on the *Bālāvatāra* (*Saṅkhepa-sanne*), the portion of the text

attributing the *Bālāvatāra* also to the same author may be missing in the extant editions (*Theravādī Bauddha Ācāryavarayō*, p. 120)

The *Bālāvatāra* forms the nucleus for a cluster of secondary works on Pali grammar written in Sinhalese. Best known amongst them is the *Gadaiādeṇi-sanne* (probably the same as the *Saṅkhepa-sanne* already referred to), so called because it was compiled by an incumbent of the Gadalādeṇi vihāra, who is usually identified with the author of the *Bālāvatāra* himself. It is a large work and is held in the same high esteem as the original of which it forms a paraphrase, adding many detailed explanations and examples, so that the short aphorisms of the *Bālāvatāra* may be more thoroughly understood. Another well-known paraphrase is the *Liyana-sanne* or *Okaṅdapola-sanne*, or *Pada-siddhi-sanne*, composed at Okaṅdapola vihāra by Siṭināmaluvē Dhammajoti, a pupil of Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara, in the eighth century. It contains explanations in Sinhalese of the examples given in the *Bālāvatāra*, chiefly in the chapter on compounds (*samāsa*). There is an old sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) attributed by the Burmese history of Pali literature to one thera Uttama (Polvattē Buddhadatta, *Pali Sāhityaya*, part ii, p. 412).

In 1824, B. Clough, of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon, published an English translation of the *Bālāvatāra*. Later, in 1892, L. Lee published an English translation with copious notes in the *Orientalist*, Vol. II. Hikkaḍuvē Siri Sumaṅgala published a scholarly edition of the *Bālāvatāra* (Colombo, 1894), complete with a *ṭīkā* in Pali, which forms one of the most important works of that distinguished Orientalist (Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, pp. 243–5).

C. W.

BĀLĀVATĀRA-TARKA-NĀMA, reconstructed title of a Buddhist Sanskrit work by Jetāri. The Tibetan translation is entitled *Byis-pa ḥjing-paḥi rtog-ge shes-bya-ba* and the author's name is translated as Dgra-las rgyal-ba. The Tibetan translation was effected by Nāgarakṣita with the assistance of Dpal Mchog dan-poḥi rdo-rje. It belongs to the Tengyur, but various collections have placed it in different sections, viz., the Tshad-ma or Hetuvidyā (*TM*. No. 4263), or the Mdo-ḥgrel or Sūtra-commentary (*TT*. Vol. 138, No. 5960).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BALAVATĪ-NĀMA-PRATYAṄGIRĀ (Ārya-ba°), the Sanskrit title of a text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in two places in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (*TT*. Vol. 7, No. 288 ; ibid. Vol. 11, No. 585).

The text which begins with a salutation to the Three Jewels (*triratna*) and Avalokiteśvara contains a magical formula (*mantra*) called *Balavatī* which has the power to avert evil spirits, demons, diseases and untimely deaths and to protect life. The *mantra* is as follows: *avalokite avalokite sambhave d ara dhara dhara bara bara bara kāle kāle kāle mahākāle avalokite . . . . . dāne dhame dhame dhame dhamane samahite*. The worshipper should chant this and request that he be protected from all fears and evils. Also to be chanted with similar supplications are the following incantations: *kuru kuru ba na mākṣi vidhi vidhi vidhi mārga sama prasvate amrita tejavati ; mulu mulu mulu khu khu khu me ghori ghori bale bale tara tara tara muya muya muñcani kha khare hūṃ hūṃ ni du hūṃ ni*. The text ends with the benedictory statement: *jayaṃ kuru kuru phuru phuru svāhā amale svāhā amṛte svāhā*.

R. H.

BALA-VYŪHA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. According to the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (p. 1416, 9 ff.), it is Bala-vyūha samādhi in which, if one concentrates, one obtains the most magnificent power (*bala-vyūhatā*) of all samādhis. The same description is found in a classical Chinese translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*Taishō*, No. 223, Vol. 8. p. 251c) and also in the classical Chinese translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1509, Vol. 25, p. 397a, *Mhvyut*. No. 520).

S. Mo.

BALENDRAKETU, a king who taught a device called the *devendrasamaya* (q. v.) to his son Rucira-ketu immediately after the latter's consecration as king. His father was Varendraketu (*Svrṇ*. p. 132).

BĀLHAGILĀYANA SUTTA, in the *Anuruddha Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S*. V, 302), a short discourse on Anuruddha. Once, when he was staying at Andhakavana, grievously sick, some monks went to see him and asked him how it was that painful feelings made no impression on his mind. Anuruddha answered that it was because he dwelt with his mind well grounded in four arisings of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) in respect of body, feelings, mind and mind-states. The

alternative title *Gihīnaya*, according to Woodward (*Kindred Sayings*, V, 268, n.2) is a corruption of the Sinhalese MSS.

H. R. P.

BALI (1), the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D.* II, 259) mentions the hundred sons of Bali as having attended the great concourse of gods and yakkhas who gathered before the assembly of monks at Kapilavatthu, yakkhas here being referred to as celestial beings. The sutta places the sons of Bali among several asuras that attended the meeting. They are said to have been named after Veroca. Bali was, therefore, probably an asura chief.

According to the *BHS.* (s.v.), Bali is the name of a yakṣa mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*.

B. J.

BALI (2), as the word occurs in Pali Buddhist literature, is almost identical in meaning with the Vedic usage of the term, and has, no doubt, been drawn from the vocabulary of the pre-Buddhistic and contemporaneous Vedic and Brahmanical terminology. In the *Ṛgveda*, and the Vedic literature immediately following, *bali* occurs sometimes in the sense of a gift or tribute to the king (e.g., *Ṛgveda*, VII, 6, 5 ; X 173, 6) and sometimes in the sense of an offering to a god (ibid. I, 70, 9 ; V, I, 10). It also occurs in both these senses in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads* and the *Sūtra* literature, and it is in these two senses that the word is found in the early Buddhist literature, too, although in the course of its evolution the concept seems to find elaboration and comes to stand for a particular and distinctive type of sacrificial rite performed by the non-Buddhist contemporaries of the authors of the Buddhist texts. Finally, the word is infused with the distinct flavour of Buddhism and given its characteristic 'ethical twist'.

In the first-mentioned sense, that is, as an offering to the king, the word is found in the *Dīgha Nikāya** (I, 142) in the phrase *dhammikena balinā*. The king in the passage under reference declares to his subjects that he has sufficient wealth acquired by *dhammika bali*, offerings that are just, to make use of for the performance of sacrifice. From the qualification *dhammika*, just or righteous, it may be inferred that these offerings of *bali* to the king could also sometimes have been regarded as unjustly earned by him. This fact warrants the conclusion that the *bali* offerings to the king were of an obligatory, if not compulsive, nature. The suttanta is obviously referring to a form of tax enforced on his citizens by the king or, as in Ṛgvedic times, the people's contributions for the maintenance of royalty (see. A. C. Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 319).

It is less clear whether in the other occurrence of this word in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (I, 135), the reference is to offerings to a god or to the king. T. W. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 175) has translated the phrase : *bhavañ ce kho pana rāja* ....*balim uddhareyya, akicca-kārī assatena bhavaṃ rājā*, as 'were the king........to levy a fresh tax, verily, his majesty would be acting wrongly.' But, going by the context, it is equally likely that *bali* here implies a fresh offering to a god. If, however, Rhys Davids' interpretation is accepted once again the offerings designated *bali* may be understood as a form of compulsory contribution to the royal coffers.

The *Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka* (*J.* V, 98) speaks of citizens oppressed by *bali* (*balipīlitā raṭṭhavāsino*). Here again, that a royal levy of a compulsory character is meant by the term is obvious from the context. The citizens are depicted as seeking exile having been oppressed by these royal levies and as leaving their villages from fear of the king's men, who were obviously the collectors of these taxes.

Thus, the Buddhist references seem to shed some light, at least as far as Buddhist times are concerned, on the scholarly controversies (see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, 62) as to whether *bali* was a voluntary gift to the king or compulsory taxation. That it was compulsory in the Buddha's day is supported further by the use of the word *bali*, sometimes prefixed with *daṇḍa*, punishments, to refer to fines enforced by the king for breaches of the law. In some Jātakas and the *Dhammapada* commentary this specific term for fines is used in an almost technical manner. The *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (*J.* I, 99) speaks of a headman receiving *daṇḍabali* on behalf of the king, and the *paccuppanna-vatthu* of the *Mahāsupina Jātaka* (*J.* I, 339) forecasts a future state of society when people will flee from their countries, unable to pay their taxative fines (*daṇḍabali*). The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (I, 251) speaks of the extraction of *daṇḍabali* as one of the oppressions of the king against which the citizens are likely to complain.

* Only in certain Sinhalese MSS.

It is obvious, however, that in all this, the *bali* being referred to is what comes in a later classification to be designated *rājabali* (see below, the *pañcabali* classification). And towards this *rājabali*, the Buddhists are not without an expressed attitude. It is quite clear that by making the distinction of *bali* as sometimes *dhammika*, they conceived of certain types of taxation as rightful and just and certain others as unjust. At times even penal levies are spoken of with contempt, probably because they were considered to be sometimes unjust. But at the same time, the king's right to tax his citizens is roundly recognised. *Rājabali* is spoken of as one of the five kinds of *bali* which a good Buddhist should perform (*A.* II, 68). On the other hand, the Buddhist literature maintains that the king had an equal duty by his citizens to see that he did not overtax them. Furthermore, he was obliged to use the taxes for the welfare of his subjects. The whole of the *Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka*, in fact, is devoted to the satirization of a king who ruined his country by unfair taxation and ultimately brought upon himself his own ruin.

What connection there lies between this notion of *bali* to the king and the notion of *bali* we are about to discuss below, and how one may have been derived from the other, it must be left for speculative anthropology to discover. Suffice it for our purpose here to note that more frequent, and perhaps more significant from the religious point of view, is the use in Buddhist literature of the word *bali* in its sense as an offering to the gods.

However, although we may tentatively refer to this form of *bali* as *devabali*, there is no doubt that the recipients of these offerings included all non-human beings (*amanussā*), whether considered superior or inferior. Hence we hear of *bali* to *bhūtas* and *nāgas*, *yakkhas* and *devas*, the latter two terms being as yet undefined in meaning and used interchangeably for gods and demons.

Thus, this offering to supernatural beings was no doubt associated with a certain ceremonial or ritual which was also sacrificial in nature. Here the usual term used for the ritual is *balikamma*. But no clear-cut distinction seems to have been made between this word and the term *yañña* which in the Vedas is the wider term for the brahmanical sacrificial rites embracing within it the rite known as *bali* or *baliharaṇa*. Instead, *bali* is used in Buddhist literature, often in the same text, and sometimes even in the same sutta, interchangeably with *yañña*. It would, however, be a sceptical extreme to doubt that the Buddhist authors were referring by the word *balikamma* to a practice connected, however remotely, with the simpler ritual of the *baliharaṇa* of the Vedas, as practised by their contemporaries. The word *baliharaṇa* itself sometimes occurs in certain texts (e. g., *Sn.* 223). The *Nikāyas* (e.g., *M.* II, 238 ; *A.* I, 274; V, 79) refer to a wood specifically devoted to *baliharaṇa*, the offerings concerned being made to the spirits of the trees. To the Buddhists the two terms *yañña* and *bali* frequently seem to have signified rituals involving blood-sacrifices and their main concern being the condemnation of this sanguinary aspect of the sacrifice, the finer distinctions were apparently inconsequential.

On the other hand, the Buddhists seem to have known the distinction between *bali* and *dakkhiṇā*, in so far as the latter term was used to mean gifts to worthy recipients. *Dakkhiṇā* and *bali* find separate mention in a list of five reasons which justify the acquisition of wealth, given in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 45 f.). And, in making th s distinction, that *dakkhiṇā* was here understood as referring not to gifts to departed ones (*pitṛ*, *preta*), but gifts to worthy human beings only is clear from the fact that the fivefold classification known as *pañcabali* (discussed below) makes separate mention of *peta*. *bali*. This awareness of the distinction between *dakkhiṇā* and *bali* thus brings out an essential characteristic of *bali*, that is, that it was obligatory or compulsive, in contrast to *dakkhiṇā* which was evidently of a voluntary nature, the motivation for the former being fear and for the latter, the desire for merit (see further DAKKHIṆĀ).

Altogether, inspite of a certain amount of apparent confusion, most of the details used in describing the offerings designated *bali* indicate that the Buddhists were referring to what in Vedic literature at various times came to be referred to as *bhūtayājña* or *devayājña*, of which *baliharaṇa* was a part (A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas* in *HOS*. Vol. 32, p. 359 ; Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, London, 1891, pp. 394, 418, 421). Thus, we may gather that the recipients of *bali* offerings in Buddhist times generally were spirits, sometimes those considered to be inferior and at others those considered to be superior. The Buddhist literature, (e.g., *J.* II, 149) as mentioned before, speaks of *bali* to *yakkhas* and *nāgas* (serpents) and sometimes to *devas*. *Bali* to *bhūtas* is also spoken of (*Sn. v*, 223 ; *J.* IV, 246). But in none of these instances do the words used for supernatural beings appear as yet to have acquired

meanings distinct enough to denote that they were held to be superior or inferior beings, benevolent or malevolent beings. In fact, even the word *devatā* is sometimes used to describe beings of a ferocious and demoniacal character. Quite frequently, when *devatās* are mentioned they are spirits of trees (*rukkha devatā*, e.g., *DhpA*. II, 14; *J*. I, 169). The trees mentioned by name are the *tinduka* and *nigrodha* (banyan). In the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Buddha speaks of the Vajjians performing *bali*, and, if the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* commentary is to be relied upon, the recipient of their offerings was the yakkha Sārandada. Notably the Vedic gods are never mentioned as recipients of these *bali* offerings, but the references to *bali* are far too scanty for us to come to any conclusions regarding their absence.

There is also a mention of *kākabath* in the *Vīraka Jātaka* (*J*. II, 149). This word among the Sinhalese Buddhists of Ceylon refers to a semi-religious practice of offering rice to crows, usually on behalf of the departed, and sometimes to ward off evil planetary influences. Thus *kākabhatta* obviously refers to the *kākabali* of brāhmanical religion, in which case, recipients of *bali* were also occasionally animals. *Baliputtha* (feeder on *bali*; *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, *v*. 638) means 'crow'.

On the basis of recipients, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 45) has a classification of *bali* into five kinds, the *pañcabali* which we have had occasion to refer to several times earlier. These five kinds are (1) *ñāti-bali*, offerings to kin, (2) *atithi-bali*, offerings to guests, (3) *peta*-or *pubbapeta-bali*, offerings to the spirits of the departed, (4) *rāja-bali*, offerings to the king or chieftain and (5) *deva-bali*, offerings to the gods. This classification, however, seems to be the result of a later stock-taking, and savours of an essentially Buddhist character. It does not seem to indicate an already existent classification of their Vedic contemporaries, though it must be admitted that each one of them was separately known by these very names, by the latter.

Details of any ceremony involved in *bali* are hardly to be found, except scantily in the Jātakas. From these later sources, it is clear that *bali* was almost always seen by the Buddhists as entailing the sacrifice of life. The victims of the sacrifice are not only goats, sheep, cattle, swine and birds, but, at times, also human beings. Sometimes the caste or characteristics of the human victim are specified, especially when a vow to perform *bali* is made. Thus, khattiyas and brāhmans are named. In the *Takkāriya Jātaka* (*J*. IV, 246 f.), a toothless brāhman is specified. There is one instance (*J*. I, 199) where the sacrificial offering is referred to in terms of *nikkhas*, current money, but this is evidently the money spent on the sacrifice, rather than an offering of money.

Fire is only once mentioned as associated with the *bali* ritual (*J*. V, 473), a fact which gives added significance to the absence noted earlier, of the Vedic gods. On the other hand, the Jātakas mention the hanging of the sacrificial victim on trees, a practice which was commonly connected with the simple *baliharaṇa*, and sometimes closely associated with the worship of Rudra (E. Arbman, *Rudra*, Uppsala, 1922, 68 f.) and Kālī (Monier-Williams, op. cit. p. 393, etc.).

Bali, according to the Buddhist books, was propitiatory and expiatory in purpose, but was not associated with the notion of guilt or repentence. The *Suttanipāta* reference (*v*. 223) seems to suggest that people were wont to perform *bali* to *bhūtas* with the idea of being warded from evil through the good offices of these spirits. The *Āyācitabhatta Jātaka* (*J*. I, 169) speaks of an 'old tradition' of 'people in those days' performing *bali* to gods by the slaughter of living creatures before they set out on their business-journeys, vowing at the same time to perform another *bali* on their safe return with profits. This second *bali* offering to be performed in fulfilment of the vow was regarded as binding, and its performance was thought of as releasing the sacrificer from the bonds of the god. It was no doubt held that if the vow was not fulfilled, the wrath of the god would visit him.

Another form of *bali* is spoken of in the Jātakas. This is the one performed to invoke the gods to cure disease. Thus, in the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka* (*J*. V, 472 f.), the man-eating king, wounded by a splinter, worships at a banyan tree and vows a sacrifice of the five kinds of "sweet flesh" (*pañca madhura māṃsa*) to a tree-spirit, provided he is cured within seven days.

The *Dummedha Jātaka* (*J*. I, 259 f.) refers to crowds at Bārāṇasī, praying to a devatā at a banyan tree to be granted sons and daughters, honour and wealth. It is, however, not stated specifically that they were making *bali* offerings, although the king in the story definitely makes use of the same tree for that purpose. This same *Jātaka*, however, further refers to the people of that country holding festivals to the gods (*devatā-maṅgalikā*) in which *balikamma* entailing the sacrifice of living creatures was involved. The bodhisatta makes offerings of flowers and perfumes to the *devatā* of this tree.

The *Takkāriya Jātaka* (*J.* IV, 246 f.) mentions *bali* as being performed in connection with the building of the gates of a city. This *Jātaka* expresses the belief prevalent in India and certain other oriental countries even at present, that the tutelary spirits of a place become hostile when a blood-sacrifice has not been offered before the erection of a building on that spot, and that to ensure that the spirits give protection to the building or inhabitants thereof, a man must be cut down in cold blood and offered as *bali* at the spot where the building is to come up, at an auspicious conjuction of the planets, and the construction put up over the body of the sacrificed person. It is interesting that in the case under reference, the bodhisatta in the story substitutes a dead goat in place of the intended human victim.

Finally, the most interesting of the references to *bali* in the Jātakas is that of the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka* which we have had occasion to cite several times already. Here, a great deal more of detail is given than in the other instances, and these facts put together with the information of the earlier citations, seem sufficient to suggest that, inspite of its connection with the Vedic, or doubtfully Vedic ritual, *bali* was closely mixed up with the contemporaneous folk-religion, the worship of tree-spirits, of demoniacal gods, and of fertility-rites. In this *Jātaka*, king Brahmadatta who had turned man-eating robber, offers *bali* to a tree-spirit (*rukkha-devatā*) at the foot of a *nigrodha* or banyan tree. The spirit is not identified with the tree but lives in it, a separate existence from it, a fact which indicates the stage of animistic belief to which the *Jātaka* refers. The offering, as mentioned above, is intended to invoke the deity of the tree to cure his wound and consists of a vow that if the prayer is fulfilled, he would bathe the trunk of the tree with the blood of a hundred and one khattiya princes. The prayer having been answered, a hundred royal victims are hung up by their hands on the branches of the sacred banyan. In preparation for the sacrifice, a fire is lit and a stake sharpened, but we do not get any further reference to the use of this fire. The whole description reads like that of a version of a sacrifice to the sanguinary goddess Kālī, the consort of Śiva, in his role as the guardian god of thieves and robbers. *Bali*, particularly human sacrifice (*nara bali*), offered to this non-Vedic goddess is known to have been prevalent from very ancient times upto very recently in Nepal, the region of early Buddhism, and in other parts of India (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, II, 170–171). It is, therefore, tempting to hazard that the *Jātaka* was distantly tilting at a rudimentary form of what later developed into the cult of Kālī-worship. The name *Kālī* in Buddhist literature, is almost always given to an evil character, and is in fact so used in connection with the *bali* referred to in the *Takkāriya Jātaka*. It would seem that the Jātaka was attempting to condemn an evil practice. At any rate, even if the identification of the tree-deity with *Kālī* is only a speculative possibility, it is fairly certain that the *bali* in question is closely connected to same sort of mother-goddess worship such as that of the *grāma devatā* described by E. O. James (*Cult of the Mother Goddess*, p. 115) as malignant female deities delighting in blood, worshipped from time immemorial in the villages of India.

The constant reference to the worship at the banyan tree in this and the other Jātakas is also indicative of the folk-connections. The sanctity of the banyan in India is well-known and its connections with tree-worship is already established. Hsüang-tsang refers to a belief which existed in his time of a man-eating demon who lived in a banyan tree, and bears witness to the human sacrifices which were performed there (Cunningham, *Archaeological Reports*, I, 5 ff.). That the *nigrodha* was a specially favoured site for *bali* offering is in fact evidenced in several Jātakas.

In all these references, the Buddhist texts mention *bali* either as a contemporaneous practice of non-Buddhists, or, whenever practised by the Buddhists, as having its own distinctively Buddhist meaning. The offering to the gods involved in *bali* is never condemned, but no mockery is spared at the form it takes. Thus, in the very *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, the *devatā* takes every step to prevent the massacre of living beings for which Brahmadatta is preparing, and in this resolution, all the gods, including Sakka himself, agree in opposition to the wish of the sacrificer. "He is preparing to offer sacrifice" says the *devatā* "but it was not I that healed his wound." 'The gods are not what you think', this *Jātaka* seems to say, 'and they are not appeased by what satisfies your animal appetities. The whole of heaven is not with you in these blood-thirsty 'affairs'. The cure of the wound is attributed to quite a natural cause which the credulous sacrificer mistakes to be divine intervention. The belief that 'it was all due to the gods' is also found in the *Āyācitabhatta Jātaka* where the mockery

at the sacrificer who seeks release from the bindings of a vow to sacrifice animal life is expressed through the words of the very god invoked :

" Take thought of life hereafter when you seek,
' Release ' ; for this release is bondage strict.
Not thus, the wise and good release themselves ;
For this, the fool's release in bondage ends ."

(trsl. Chalmers in Cowell : *The Jātaka*)

The *Gaṇḍatındu Jātaka,* as shown earlier, satirizes the king who performs *bali* to the gods at the expense of the welfare of his citizens. The bodhisatta in the *Dummedha Jātaka* enlightens his subjects as to the folly of performing *bali* offerings of living creatures, himself performing *bali* only with flowers and perfumes.

On the other hand, a new meaning is infused into the word, when *balı* is advocated in the Buddhist texts. The performance of *bali* is given as one of the practices which safeguard the Vajjians from untimely decline. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 77 ; III, 260), speaking of the conditions which lead to progress, not decline, mentions the performance of rites in honour of those deserving *bali* (*bali-paṭiggāhaka*). Anāthapiṇḍika is told (*A.* II, 68), that one of the deeds of merit (*pattakammāni*), for the doing of which the true disciple of the Buddha should acquire wealth, is the fivefold offering. It is this *pañca-bali,* which is free of blood-offerings that the Buddhists speak of when referring to *bali* in favourable terms.

The *Ratana Sutta* (*Sn.* 223) invokes all *bhūtas* to spread *mettā* on all mankind who have brought them *bali* offerings both night and day thus :

Come then, ye spirits all, attend ye now !
Work amity on all the race of men
Who here day in day out bring offerings :
Come then, and ward ye them now zealously !

(*SBB.* Vol. XV, p. 35).

It is interesting to note in passing that a ritual by the name of *bali* still exists in Ceylon as an exorcist practice among the Sinhalese Buddhists and is of high antiquity. It is traceable in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhvs.* xxxvi, *v.* 88) to the time of Sirisaṅghabodhi who decreed a *bali* offering to the Rattakkhi-yakkha, the demon with the red-eyes, who was causing disease and death in his kingdom. The folk-legends associated with the ritual indicating close familiarity with the style and spirit of the *Aggañña Sutta* (q.v.) connects its origin with Mahāsammata. This first of kings having dreamt a viper falling on his body, is stricken with illness and, on the advice of a brāhman counsellor, has the first-ever *bali*-ceremony performed. This ritual as it stands today among the Sinhalese consists predominantly of dancing and chanting. The chant resembles in structure and pattern the *Ratana Sutta* just cited, and consists of the invocation of deities and spirits, often in the name of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. At the same time, it involves vows and threats to the demons, among whom Bhadra Kāli or Umā (as Umayaṅganadevī) is usually appealed to. A minor part of the ritual involves the sacrifice of a fowl, while in certain types of *bali* the sacrifice of a human being is dramatized. There is also a variety known as *mal bali* in which only flowers and perfumes are used.

A belief in the need to sacrifice a living being before the erection of buildings is also widely held in Ceylon but this sacrifice is known in Sinhalese as *bili,* a word which is usually used in combination with *bali.*

B. J.

BALI (3), pronounced Bāli, a small island in the Indonesian Republic. First known to the Europeans in 1597 A.C., when it was discovered by a Dutch sea-captian, Bali with its culture has most extensively been studied by Dutch savants. From ancient times, Indian influences (through Java) have been felt in this island ; they remained so deep in the life of the Balinese that Hinduism has acquired a strongly indigenous spirit, so much that, in fact, it is generally described as Hindu-Buddhism.

Traces of Buddhism in historical times are noted in different ways. South of Pèdjèng, clay tablets have been found with a Buddhist text stamped on them, and these have been suggested as belonging to the 8th cent. A.C. (Frits A. Wagner, at pp. 185 f. *Indonesia* in Art of the World Series, II.). In the early 10th cent. A.C., in time of king Kesarī Warmadewa, the famous shrine Pura Bĕsakih, on the south-west slope of Gunung Agung (' Mt. Meru '), had probably been a Buddhist temple. During the dynasty of this king it was the state temple. Up till the present century only a Buddhist *pĕdanda* (priest, *paṇḍita*), accompanying the ruler as his personal priest, could have entered the shrine.

A category of priests known by the designation '*pĕdanda* Boda ' (that is, Buddhist priests), took part in the consecration rites. Their number was not considerable, but they belonged to the brāhman caste and are held as high as their Hindu confrères for such purposes as the disposal of holy water. (See e.g., *Bali : Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual,*

publ. W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1960 ; R. Friederich, *The Civilization and Culture of Bali*, ed. Ernst R. Rost, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 34, 35.)

Canto 80 (1–2) of Prapañca's *Nāgarakṛtāgama* enumerates Buddhist sanctuaries in the island. This work also mentions (41 : 5) that, in 1275 A.C., Kṛĕtanāgara was consecrated Bhairava Buddha by a tantric rite,the king having religiously fortified himself in this manner to protect the Indonesian archipelago against the attack apprehended from Kublai Khan. (See *ABIA*. Vol. I, p. 85, item 390 and Vol. XVI, p. 299, item 3554.) The influence of Buddhism in its later developments is quite evident in the reference.

There has been no detailed search for Buddhism as such in Bali. To all visible purposes Bali is rather an island in which Hinduism prevails, but for a minority of Muslims who form the bulk in the Indonesian republic. See also INDONESIA, JAVA.

D. T. D.

BALIBHOJAKA, meaning crow, the totemistic name of one of the Sinhalese clans in ancient Ceylon. They are mentioned in connection with the celebration in honour of the Tooth-relic in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (*Mhv*. II, lxxxv, *v*. 51 ; cp. trsl. p. 29, n. 2.).

BALIKĀ, a Buddhist nun of the monastery of Chhakrātika, whose gift of a railing pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I is recorded on that pillar in a third century B. C. inscription (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 257, 271).

BALIKARMA-KRAMA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Gtor-maḥi las-kyi rim-pa zhes bya-ba* (*TT*. Vol. 57, No. 2429). The authorship of the work is attributed to Rin-chen-rdo-rje (Ratnavajra) of Kaśmir.

The manner of strewing oblations forms the theme of the work. The requisites for the oblation such as various types of food and drink are enumerated and the method of preparing these in sacrificial vessels using particular varieties of wood like the *aśvattha* is described. The mantras to be recited whilst making the offerings are quoted. Thus the gods are entreated to partake of the oblation with the formula : *oṃ ehyehi vajra idaṃ baliṃ khāhi*. Names of various deities are mentioned in the following formula which invokes their presence : *oṃ ehi sarvayogini sarvaḍākini brāhmaṇi rudrāṇi maheśvarī vaiśnave varāhī..............agnaye varuṇaye ....kuvera................cāmuṇḍā sarvadeva sarv-āsura sarvamānuṣa sarvatiryag sarvapreta sarvanara sarvabhūta piśāca...........* The gods thus invited are asked to enjoy the offering and serve the donor in return with the following mantras : *puṣpa-dhūpa-dīpa-gandha........pañca amṛte............idaṃ baliṃ bhuṅktha gṛhṇatha saṃrakṣatha........rakṣa sarvaṃ arthaṃ yathevaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā pibatha mātikramatha mamasarvaparipūraka matsukha viśodhanaye svāhā ; oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi sarvabhūta-preta-rākṣasa-piśāca-uṣmanda.......ḍākinyādaya idaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇantu sarvasiddhiṃ me prayacchantu samayaṃ rakṣantu yathevaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha pibatha...........*

R. H.

BALIMĀLIKĀ, a Sanskrit text, transcribed in Tibetan characters and included in the Ño-mtshar-bstan-bcos (*āścarya-śāstra*) section of the Tengyur. The Tibetan translation of the text, under the title *Gtor-maḥi phreṅ-ba* is interspersed between the Sanskrit text (*TT*. Vol. 149, No. 5901). The author of the work is Sumatisiṃhapāda (*mayā Sumatisiṃhena granthitā balimālikā*). Dharmadivākara and Dharmapālabhadra are named as the translators.

The author, who states that the offering of oblations promotes peace and health (*śāntikaṃ puṣṭikaṃ caiva........sādhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ*), gives a series of formulas to be recited while offering oblations to various deities. Firstly, beings who inhabit every nook and corner of the earth, mountains, valleys, rivers, ponds, forests, places of worship, streets, cemeteries, etc., as also gods, demons, serpents and 'siddha' beings are requested to accept the offerings of incense, flowers and perfumes. Next follow invocations addressed to deities whose names are specified. They are all requested to accept offerings and to confer blessings to the donor in return. For instance the goddess Kurukullā is exhorted thus : *oṃ āh hrīṃ hrīṃ kurukulle sarvasatva vaśikari sarvabhayabhayamkari idaṃ baliṃ gandhaṃ puṣpaṃ dhūpaṃ dīpaṃ dadāmahe sarvadevanāgayakṣagandharvāsuragaruḍa kinnaramahoragādayo yathaiṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha khādatha pibatha jighratha mama manaḥ siddhiṃ prayacchatha oṃ āḥ hrīh hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

Other deities who are similarly invoked are Śukla Gaganakṣepā, Parṇaśabarī, Mahākāla, Yamāntaka, Prajñāntaka, Padmāntaka,Vighnāntaka, Acala, Ṭakkirāja, Kāmarāja, Ugratārā, Cakrasaṃvara, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajravarāhī, Vajratārā,

Uṣṇīṣacakravarti, Mañjuvajravāgīśvara, Vajravairocanīya, Rakta Gaganakṣepā, Arapacana, Mahā śrītārā, Aṣṭamahābhayatārā, Trikāyavajrayoginī, Vajramahākāla, Mahāpratyaṅgirā, Pañcarakṣā, Prajñāpāramitā, Vasudharā, Prasannatārā, Vajragāndhārī, Dhvajāgrakeyūrā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Siddhaikavīra, Grahamātṛkā, Sarvalokeśvara, Khasarpaṇā, Śrībuddhabhaṭṭāraka, Mṛtyuvañcanī-tārā, Ucchuṣma Jambhala, Śuklaikajaṭā, Śrī Heruka, Ārya Tārā, Sarvakārmika, Sarvagraha, Mahāsāhasrapramardinī, Mahāmāyūri, Mahāśrītapanī, Mahāpratisarā and Mahāmantrānusāriṇī.

R. H.

BALISA SUTTA (*S.* II, 226) says that dire are gains, favours and flattery ; a bitter, harsh obstacle in the way of arriving at the uttermost safety, i.e., Nibbāna.

In the sutta Māra is compared to a fisherman who casts a baited hook (*balisa*), and the monk who takes delight in gains by swallowing the bait, etc., is like the fish who falls into disaster.

U. K.

BĀLISIKA SUTTA (*S.* IV, 158) says that one who has cast off lust, malice and ignorance (*rāga, dosa, avijjā*) transcends *Saṃsāra*. The six attractive sense objects are compared to the hooks of a fisherman (*bālisika*). The monks who fall victim to the temptations of Māra are like fish who swallow the bait and meet with their destruction.

BALI-TATVA-SAṄGRAHA, the title of a text attributed to a Dharmapāla. A Tibetan version of it occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol 56, No. 2403).

The manner of offering an oblation forms the content of the work. An eight-petalled lotus is to be drawn, the centre of which forms the seat for the deities who are to receive the oblation, while the eight petals are for eight deities presiding over the major and minor directions. The deities are described and mantras for inviting them quoted.

R. H.

BALIVADDA SUTTA, the eighth sutta of the *Valāhaka-vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 108-109) preached by the Buddha at Jetavana. The Buddha speaks of four different kinds of persons in the world who resemble four kinds of oxen (*balivaddā*) in their behaviour. Hence the name.

Some oxen are fierce to the cows of their own herd but not to the cows of another herd. Other oxen are fierce to the cows of another herd, but not to those of their own herd. Others are fierce to both herds, yet others fierce to neither. So with persons also *mutatis mutandis*.

I.K.

BALI-VIDHI, the title of several different works of similar content, the Tibetan translations of which are included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Gtor-maḥi cho-ga*. Instructions on the procedure of offering oblations form the main content of these works.

(1) *TT.* Vol. 56, No. 2408: In this text, the devotee is instructed to meditate on *śūnyatā*, and utter the syllable *hūṃ* from which a maṇḍala is said to arise, consisting of all the people in the three worlds and the eight cemeteries. Standing in front of the maṇḍala he is required to meditate on the form of Heruka and invite him with the formula, *Oṃ śrī heruka mahāvajra āgaccha āgaccha praveśaya praveśaya hṛdaya hūṃ phaṭ*. Śrī Heruka and the ḍākinīs should then be offered oblations, requesting them to accept the oblations with the following formula: *Śrī heruka vajra pratīcchemaṃ baliṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ buddhaḍākinī pratīccha imaṃ baliṃ oṃ phaṭ. Oṃ Vajraḍākinī pratīccha imaṃ baliṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ ratnaḍākinī pratīccha imaṃ baliṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ visvaḍākinī pratīccha imaṃ baliṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ sarva ḍākinī pratīccha imaṃ baliṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ sarvayogī pratīcchemaṃ baliṃ hūṃ ha ha hi hoḥ*. Formulas of salutation addressed to Vajraḍākinī, Buddhaḍākinī, Ratnaḍākinī. Padmaḍākinī and Viśvaḍākinī occur next. At the end of the oblation, the donor should ask for long life, health, prosperity, and protection from harm with the formula *kṣetrapāla idaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa mama saparivārena sarva.... vyativighnāṃ śāntiṃ kuru.... āyu ārogyam ādi puṣṭiṃ kuru sarvaṃ prayaccha rakṣa rakṣa svāhā*.

(2) *TT.* Vol. 56, No. 2409 : a short text containing instructions regarding meditation to be practised prior to the offering of an oblation. The formula, *oṃ akāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmāṇām ādyanutpannatvāt oṃ āḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* occurs in the text.

(3) *TT.* Vol. 56, No. 2418 : a text ascribed to Dpal Mar-mo mdzad ye-śes (Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna), a monk born at Bhaṃgha-la (? modern Bangalore). The ceremony described is that of offering an oblation to the four *vināyaka* gods (removers of obstacles) and to all other beings for securing success in all undertakings.

The yogin is instructed to sit on a comfortable seat and recite the *Svabhāvaśuddha mantra* followed by the *śūnyavācaka mantra*, viz., *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako' haṃ* and then invite Brahma, Indra and other gods, the moon and sun-gods, the guardian deities, men, spirits, snakes and all varieties of beings. Injunctons for the continuation of the ceremony are also given. A mantra, which ought to be chanted three or seven times for blessing the oblation, is quoted, viz., *oṃ akāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmānāṃ ādyanutpannatvāt oṃ āḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.* The author ends the text expressing a desire that he may attain supreme enlightenment through the merit of composing the work.

(4) *TT*. Vol. 62, No. 2685 : a text attributed to Nag-po (Kṛṣṇa). The devotee is instructed to meditate on *śūnyatā* and some mystic syllables like *hāṃ ā oṃ baṃ* in the course of the rite. Besides the mantra, *oṃ akāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmānāṃ āryanutpannatvād oṃ āḥ huṃ phaṭ svāhā* the text contains the following formula which requests different classes of beings to accept the oblation and then confer favours to the donor in return: *oṃ āḥ hūṃ....sarvakṣetrapāla sarva, sarvanāga sarvayāma sarvaḍākinya sarvasatva, sarvabhūta.... idaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa gṛhṇa mama sarvasaparivārena sarvasatvānañca sarvapāpaṃ vyativighnaṃ śāntiṃ kuru kuru....atipuṣṭiṃ kuru sarva prayaccha rakṣāṃ kuru svāhā sarvasiddhikari...... oṃ āḥ hūṃ muḥ.*

(5) *TT*. Vol. 68, No. 2965 : In this text it is stated that the ceremony consists of two parts, the offering of an 'outer oblation' (*phyi-hi gtor-ma*) and that of an 'inner oblation' (*naṅ-gi gtor-ma*). In offering the 'outer oblation', which has to be done first, the donor should place pure food and drink in a jewel-made vessel, take refuge in the Three Jewels, meditate on the immeasurables (*apramāṇa*) and offer the oblation chanting the formula, '*oṃ āḥ hūṃ namaḥ sarvatathāgate avalokite oṃ sambhara sambhara hūṃ.* This ceremony is said to secure an abundance of whatever is desired.

The 'inner oblation' is one offered to spiritual preceptors, tutelar deities, vajraḍākinis and patron deities who are in charge of the doctrine, with the formula, *idaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa gṛhna khāhi khāhi.*

(6) *TT*. Vol. 75, Nos. 3431, 3449: while performing the rites described in this text, the donor is enjoined to recite the formula, *oṃ sarva-tathāgata-hṛdaya hara oṃ hūṃ hrī bhagavan ñānamūrti vāgīśvara... sarvadharmākamala supariśuddha dharmadhātu oṃ āḥ hūṃ,* besides the mantra *oṃ akāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmānāṃ ādyanutpannatvāt oṃ āḥ hūṃ,* which recurs in this series of texts.

(7) *TT*. Vol. 80, No. 3915. This text describes the manner of offering food and drink of all kinds and also jewels and the like to the ten guardians of the ten directions, the protectors of the law, Brahma, Indra and their retinue. No mantras are quoted.

(8) *TT*. Vol. 80, No. 4111 : The authorship of the work is attributed to A(bhaya) and the translation to Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan. An enumeration of mystic syllables to be used while offering oblations to various gods forms the content of the text. Thus, the syllable *hrīḥ* is associated with Indra, *śrīḥ* with Yama, *bi* with Varuṇa, *kri* with Kubera, *a* with Agni, *na* with Vāyu, *hūṃ* with Candra and Sūrya, and *phaṭ* with Brahmā. Compare the association of syllables with deities in *Bali-vidhi* (10) below.

(9) *TT*. Vol. 87, No. 5142 : A text attributed to Ba-ri Lotsava, according to which the oblation should be begun, after paying homage to the Buddhas, in order to acquire merit and to ward off all obstacles. Food and drink should be placed in a vessel, blessed with the 'mantra of three syllables' and offered to the gods after chanting a 'principal mantra' three, seven, twenty-one or one hundred and eight times. The mantras referred to are not quoted.

(10) *TT*. Vol. 87, No. 5150 : This text describes the procedure of offering an oblation of not only food, drink, perfumes, garlands, ointment, clothes, parasols, bells and the like but also more costly items like chariots. The guardians of the directions are entreated to conduct Indra to the sacrifice with the formula, *oṃ hrīḥ śrī vikrītānana hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ....Indra saparivāraṃ ākarṣaya.* Among other gods to be presented with oblations at this ceremony are Agni, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Vāyu and Īśāna. The chanting of the phrase *hūṃ oṃ svā āḥ hū* is said to bless the offering, while the formula of making the gift is as follows: *idaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa gṛhṇa sarva....samaya mudra prabhañjaka mama śāntiṃ rakṣāṃ ca kuru kuru.... oṃ Indrāya hrīḥ Yamāya Śrīḥ Varuṇāya kri Kuverāya kri Īśānāya ta aganye ā....candrāya hūṃ arkāya hūṃ brahmaṇ phaṭ.* For the association of mystic syllables with different deities, compare above *Bali-vidhi* (8).

(11) *TT*. Vol. 79, No. 3744 : A text describing in verse the method of offering an oblation and the

meditations to be practised in association with it. The title given in the text is *Balividhi nāma.*

(12) *TT.* Vol. 86, No. 5010 : A text in verse, describing the procedure of offering an oblation. The following mantra for inviting the deities to partake of the offering occurs in the text. *Oṃ bhayanāśanī trāsanī vajrakrodha balinaddha khāhi khāhi....maha mansa kha khāhi....* It is said that this should be recited three or seven times while making an offering. *Balividhi nāma* is given as the full title of the text.

R. H.

BALIVIDHI-NĀMA, see BALIVIDHI (11) and (12).

BALIVṚTTI, a commentary on a text describing the means of performing an oblation. The Tibetan version of the commentary occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Gtor-maḥi ḥgrel-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 81, No. 4595). The colophon attributes the authorship of the work to Viddajñāna (Vidyājñāna) and the translation to Śāntigarbha and Rin-chen mchog. The introduction to the commentary states that the text deals with the method (Skt. *upāya,* Tib. *thabs*) and the wisdom (Skt. *prajñā,* Tib. *Śes-rab*).

R. H.

BALKH, a modern town in northern Afghanistan. It lies at the junction of the ancient trade route from the Far-East to India and the Mediterranean lands.

Modern archaeological excavations confirm the view that this region along with other Afghan territories was the scene of meetings of diverse cultures, from at least the third millenium B.C.

In historic times Balkh seems to have flourished as an important cultural centre from the pre-Christian era up to the Arab invasions of Afghanistan. Almost all the Imperial powers (Achaemenid, Macedonian and Bactrian Greeks, Mauryas, Sakas—'Sacae', Kusans—'Yüeh-Chi', Sassanians and Guptas) had extended their authority up to this territory in the Oxus valley, thereby making this region a filtering zone for all the cultural influences that passed through from East and West in the ancient world.

Balkh has now been identified as the capital of Po-ho (Bactria) mentioned by Hsüan-tsang in his itineraries. In the seventh century A.C. when Hsüan-tsang visited the kingdom of Balkh it still preserved Buddhism which was, however, in a state of decline with about 100 temples and 3,000 monks. He makes a reference to two other townships in the vicinity of the capital by the names of Ti-wei and Po-li, each having a *stūpa.* Strangely enough, Samuel Beal does not see any significance in the reference to these two townships and the narrative that immediately follows about the conversion of the first two lay disciples of the Buddha, Tapassu and Bhalluka. Seemingly without any inquiry, Beal concludes that the country of origin of the two merchant brothers was Burma (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India,* Si-yu-ki, Indian Edition, Calcutta, 1957, Vol. I, pp. 108 f., p. 111 n. 162).

It is more than probable that the mentioning of the two townships with two *stūpas,* immediately preceding the narratives of the two brothers was not an anachronism by Hsüan-tsang. The sequence of the narrative of Balkh by Hsüan-tsang could be made clear by inquiring into the story of Tapassu and Bhalluka. In the Pali literature the two merchants were said to have been from Asitañjana, a city in Uttarāpatha. Uttarāpatha suggests both a region in the north and as well the great trade route (the northern high road) which extended from Sāvatthi to Takkasilā and beyond (*AA.* I, 207 ; *J.* IV, 79 ; *Pvu.* III ; *Vin.* III, 6 ; *VinA.* I, 175 ; *J.* II, 287 ; *Mhvu.* III, 303). According to one text the two merchant brothers were from Pokkharavati (i.e., Puṣkaravatī, modern Charsadda, near Balkh), in Ukkalā (a northern kingdom, see *ThagA.* I, 48 f.).

It could easily be surmised that the inclusion of the story of Tapassu and Bhalluka in the narrative of the kingdom of Balkh by Hsüan-tsang was in accordance with the literary tradition of the Buddhists. It would also be interesting to trace a phonological relationship of Ti-wei and Po-li (in Chinese) to Tāpassu (Trapuṣa in Sanskrit) and Bhalluka (var. Bhalliya, Bhallika).

If these factors are taken into consideration Balkh could be regarded as the furthermost centre where Buddhist proselytism reached beyond India.

Archaeological discoveries prove that Balkh was one of the furthest centres of expansion of Buddhist culture dating back to the early centuries of this

era. Outside the modern city are found ruins of a Buddhist *stūpa* (Tope-i-Rustam) along with other Buddhist ruins. The remains of the *stūpa* show that the *stūpa* was built of dried clay and faced with large sun dried bricks. Tope-i-Rustam which has been identified as the Navasaṅghārāma (S. Beal, op. cit. p. 109), mentioned by Hsüan-tsang had a stai case 36 feet wide on each side of the quadrangular platform which itself was 177 feet square and its sides were decorated with pilasters at regular intervals. This architectural feature, which has its prototypes in the Persepolitan field, appears on the cylinderical dome of the *stūpa* which, too, has four flights of steps at the four cardinal points. This building dating probably from the second century A.C. on architectural grounds, is in the same tradition of the monumental *stūpas* of Gandhāra common to Swat and other peripheral regions like the Kapīsa (Begram) Nagarahāra (Hadda-Jelālābād) area.

The difficulty of the terrain and other obstacles have proved cumbersome to archaeological research in this region, till recently, when French and Italian missions have begun researches which are still being published in full.

A. D. T. E. P.

BĀLO, a hamlet about four miles from Barikot in the north-western frontier of India. Here is found a ruined Buddhist stūpa of unusual shape, and known as Gumbat. On its eastern side had been an entrance, now completely broken down. There was also a narrow vaulted passage 3 feet 3 inches wide, between the cella and an outer wall, 3 feet thick. This passage seems to have been intended for circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). The cella is rectangular and above it is a dome in a good state of preservation. It appears that the cella once had contained a standing image of the Buddha or the bodhisattva.

On a terrace to the south of the above structure are the remains of a massive walled building and the foundation of a stūpa. Small broken pieces of sculpture of the Grecc-Buddhist type were found here and among them was a small seated statue of the Buddha. Close to this site was also found a circular stone slab, 6½ feet in diameter, which probably had been a *chattra* of a stūpa (*ASIMem.* No. 42, pp. 12 f.).

H. R. P.

BALUGGATA, name of Ugga (q.v.) thera in a previous birth as a king.

BALUSTRADES. See VEDIKĀ.

BALYALAṂKĀRA, a Sanskrit text, written by Kluḥi byaṅ-chub (Nāgabodhi). The Tibetan translation of the work, the *Gtor-maḥi rgyan*, occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 68, No. 3052).

A description of the ritual associated with making an offering forms the content of the work. The Buddhas are to be invited to this ceremony with the formula *oṃ a ra li hoḥ dzaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ* and blessings invoked with the chanting of the phrase *oṃ a hūṃ svāhā* seven times. The Buddhas of the five families, springing from the five syllables, as also nāgas, ḍākinīs and other beings are to be consecrated with their respective *bījamantras* which should be chanted three, seven or twenty-one times. Various offerings should then be made to them with the formula *idaṃ baliṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi......bhakṣa baliṃ idaṃ gṛhṇa kha kha khāhi khāhi raktaṃ piba..... svāhā.* The mantra *oṃ akāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmānāṃ āryanutpannatvāt oṃ āḥ huṃ phaṭ svāhā,* should then be chanted, praises sung, confessions made and aspirations formulated. The text ends with instructions on making offerings to the guardians of the directions and supplicating their aid. Their names are listed in the following formula addressed to them: *Oṃ Indraye hūṃ dzaḥ agnaye hūṃ dzaḥ yamaye hūṃ dzaḥ nairṛtaye hūṃ dzaḥ varuṇaye hūṃ dzaḥ vāyave hūṃ dzaḥ kuberaye hūṃ dzaḥ īśānaye hūṃ dzah hita-adhipataye hūṃ dzaḥ sūryendraye hūṃ dzaḥ.*

R. H.

BALYALPA VIDHI, the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Gtor-maḥi cho-ga ñun-ṅu* (*TT.* Vol. 59, No. 2583).

The text contains instructions on the procedure of making an offering to the goddess Cakrayoginī. The donor is instructed to prepare the offerings and recite the mantra *oṃ svabhāvaśuddhaḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho' haṃ* to inaugurate the ceremony. He should then fill a skull with flesh, blood, medicinal herbs and scented water and meditate on the five syllables, *hūṃ, oṃ, traṃ, a, khaṃ,* the five Buddhas and the syllables *hūṃ, āḥ* and *oṃ.* Cakrayoginī should then be invited to accept offerings of flowers, incense, lamps,

sandalwood, parasols, flags, seats, garments and the like, and favours solicited. The formula for doing so is quoted in the text:
Oṃ a ra li hoḥ dzaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ cakrayoginīye vajravairocaniye imaṃ balimpratīccha samayam anusmara mama sarvasādhanāṃ ca śāntiṃ puṣṭiṃ sarvatra rakṣāvaraṇaguptiṃ kuru hūṃ. This should be chanted three times.

R. H.

BAMAṆAGIRI VIHĀRA (Pali: Brāhmaṇagiri), an ancient monastery in Ceylon, presently known as the Nāgirikanda vihāra, in the Kaḍavat Kōraḷē in the north central province. Neither the *Mahāvaṃsa* nor any other chronicle makes reference to a monastery by this name, but an inscription has been found on a flat rock surface here, assigned to the reign of king Kumāra Dhātusena (512–20 A.C.). This registers a grant of certain tanks and paddy fields to the Bamaṇagiri (Bamaṇagariya) monastery by that king and this has led to the identification of the site as that of the ancient Bamaṇagiri vihāra in the said inscription (Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, No. 97; *CJSc.* II, part ii, p. 103; *EZ.* IV, 122). There are two rocks at this site, with a cave temple on the smaller one, artificially transformed into a shrine by clay-built walls (*ASCAR.* 1890, p.8). The renovation and the reoccupation has occurred in the Kandyan period (17th–18th century) after having been abandoned for centuries. The modern shrine in the old cave contains images and paintings of the usual Kandyan style. The site is located about a half mile to the east of the fourth mile-post on the road from Mādavacciya to Kāppiṭigollāva (*EZ.* IV, 115).

H. R. P.

BAṀBARAGAḶA VIHĀRA, an ancient but modernised large rock-temple at Teldeniya, in Ceylon, situated between the 14th and 15th mile posts along the Kandy-Teldeniya road. The rock contains several ancient drip-ledged caves and these, with modern brick walls, are still in use. These caves are in three tiers on three terraces and are reached by a central flight of stone steps which rise from the ground-level up to the topmost terrace.

Four short pre-Christian Brāhmī inscriptions, incised on the rock, record the donation of caves to the Saṅgha as follows:

(1) *Idaśa leṇe śagaśa*

"The cave of Ida, donated to the Saṅgha."

(2) *Parumaka Anuradaśa dane Śilapaśade Śagaya dine.*

"Silapâsâda, the gift of the cheiftain Anurādha, is given to the Saṅgha."

(3) *Utaraguta teraha leṇe Manapadaśane Kolagamahi tube (kalatehi eka lena citanagahi) paśade teraha dane.*

"The cave named Manāpadassana of the thera Uttaragutta. . . . . ."

(4) *Pocani raja Nāgahaya jaya bamaṇa Koja(ra) jitaya upasika Dataya leṇe.*

"The cave of the female devotee Dattā, wife of Pocani rāja Nāga and daughter of the brāhman Kojara."

The king styled Pocani rāja Nāga mentioned in the last of the above inscriptions has not been identified with any of the kings mentioned in the chronicles and is, therefore, presumed to have been a local ruler. Śilapaśada in the second inscription is possibly the name of a cave.

These four cave-inscriptions testify to the fact that this monastery was one of the few ancient dwellings of Buddhist monks, in the hill-country of Ceylon (*JCBRAS.* New Series, V, p. 159; *ASCAR.* 1935, p. 10; *UCR.* VII, 240; VIII, 260; University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon.* I, 229, 236).

H. R. P.

BAMBOO–GROVE. See VEḶUVANA.

BĀMIYĀN, a fertile valley lying about 80 miles north-west of Kabul at an elevation of 8,500 ft. between the Hindu Kush and the Koh-i-bābā in the north-central region of Afghanistan. Numerous rock-cut caves and remains of stūpas of the ancient days are evidence that the valley had once been a Buddhist settlement of considerable importance during a long period in the history of the country which now wholly professes the Islamic faith. Sanctuaries and assembly halls extending over a mile had then been hollowed out of the sandstone cliffs. On the hill-tops are the remains of 'towers'; the sides of the hills are honey-combed with caves which had served both as shrines, or adjuncts, and as the residences of bhikkhus. Bāmiyān is remembered in Buddhist history for these, as well as for the survival of some of the largest Buddha reliefs so far discovered.

The ancient history of the valley is obscure. Strangely enough, even from Buddhist sources there is very little information to be learnt from this once

extensive centre of the religion, one in which the Vinaya texts of the Lokottaravāda sect have been discovered. It is possible, on the other hand, that it is one of the several places named in the geography of early Buddhist times many of which have yet to be indentified. Hsüan-tsang visited Bāmiyān in about 630 A.C.; he called it Fan-yen-na, and it is from him that the world has learnt the first historical account of the state of the region. Samuel Beal thinks that the traveller visited only three other sites of the area lying on his route between the river Oxus and the Hindu Kush mountains. The Chinese traveller says in his account that one of the four banished Śākyas, connected with an incident in the acts of King Virūḍhaka (son of the first Prasenajita), became king of the country of Bāmiyān.

His account is that of an eye-witness. According to it, the kingdom was about 2,000 *li* from east to west and 300 *li* from north to south. The capital spread up a steep hill and was backed by high precipices on the north. The people were distinguished from their neighbours for the love of the religion. There were ten vihāras and about 1,000 bhikkhus; all belonged to the school of the Lokottaravādins. In 1222 Jenghis Khān is said to have wiped off the city, which may have damaged the sculptures, at least the two largest ones among them. The Mongols razed Bāmiyān to avenge the death of a grandson of their king who had been killed in the fighting there. The site of this town seems to have been on the southern ridge opposite that with the pair of colossal standing Buddhas. Local tradition is persistent that the town was rebuilt. According to the account in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leyden & London, 1926), the figures were mutilated on the instructions of the Indian emperor Aurangzīb (1658–1707) who ordered canon shots to be fired at them. It is strange that even after this damage the memory of Buddhist connections was apparently continued till the nineteenth century, as is indicated by its name, But-i-Bāmiyān, which was given to the spot. During the time of Hsüan-tsang the city was at the head of one of the states into which the empire of the White Huns had broken up. The Bāmiyān princes were converted into Islam from Buddhism during the time of the Abbāsid dynasty, either in the reign of al-Manṣūr (754–75) or in that of al-Mahdī (775–85). A fierce zeal does not seem to have flared up immediately to destroy all traces of their older faith, for a large vihāra with its images survived till the ninth century. Saffārid Yakūb destroyed it, however, in 870 and, in the year following removed the images to Baghdad. A branch of the Ghork dynasty ruling over Tokharistān or basin of the upper Oxus, had its seat here (1164-1214).

The colossi of Bāmiyān have been cut deeply into niches. In 1885, Captain M. G. Talbot mentioned five reliefs in all: the two largest and most famous ones, one which he estimated at between fifty and sixty feet (it had then disappeared), a seated figure between twenty-five and thirty feet, prepared for covering with stucco which was never applied, and a standing figure one mile from the rest which he could not visit (*JRAS*. New Series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 323 ff.). Fifty years earlier C. Masson had noted that between the two largest ones there were two niches, one of which had remains of an image and the other probably another (*JASB*. Vol. V for 1836, pp. 707 ff.). Two miles east of the city local tradition mentions a recumbent figure 1,000 ft. long; however, there are no records of it by any eye-witness.

The size of the pair of the largest figures, which are standing ones, is not equalled anywhere else in the ancient or modern world. The larger measures 173 ft. and the next 120 ft., the two being separated by about one mile. An inscription in the shrine remains unread as yet. In the Middle Ages they were known among the local population respectively as Surkh-but (Red Idol) and Khink-but (White or Grey Idol). Many knowledgeable writers think that the word 'but' used here to mean an image is an echo of the word 'Buddha', which in its own proper form may have been forgotten over the centuries. The upper part of the faces and parts of the lower body from the hips have been damaged by canon fires. Nevertheless, enough remains of them whereby a great deal of archæological information could be obtained.

Benjamin Rowland (*The Art and Architecture of India*, Great Britain, 1956, p. 98) has reconstructed the technique of the work on the figures. The rough body and head were actually cut out. The features and the drapery were modelled over these in mud mixed with chopped straw and the whole was given a coating of lime plaster which served as the base for polychroming and gilding. In the case of the largest one, the folds of the robe were modelled on ropes, loosely strung across to form curves, which had been attached to wooden dowels driven into the core of the stone.

The rock-cut architectural remains are chiefly interesting, he continues, as reproducing various domical forms which are iconographically and stylistically derivable from Greco-Roman and also

Iranian sources. He mentions that a type of roof noticed here is what is generally called the lantern roof ; examples of it are found in the rock-cut architecture of central Asia.

Remains of paintings have been found, where they have been out of the reach of vandals, mainly on the lofty upper arches over the figures and over the wall surfaces surrounding these. Three styles have been traced : pure Sassanian, Indian and Central Asian. These paintings were done on a ground formed of a thin layer of plaster applied on the mud-and-chopped straw base which covered the rock walls and vaults of the caves and the niches. The colours used by the artist had been largely manufactured from local earths and minerals. The Sassanian style is traceable in the paintings which still survive in the decoration of the top of the niche and the soffit of the vault over the second larger figure. The paintings on the niche and the vault of the largest figure resemble the surviving example of wall-paintings of the fifth-sixth century in India proper ; the Indian style is, therefore, quite patent. The Central Asian style could be noticed from the resemblances of some paintings to these at Kizil and other sites in Turkestan. The bodhisattva painted over the head of a (ruined) Buddha figure in the principal cave in Group E is a good instance of it.

The general theme of the visible paintings suggests that of the *maṇḍalas* of Tibet and Japan.

Varying dates have been offered for the work, mainly the statuary, at Bāmiyān. Rowland's conservative estimate is that, if the smaller statuary should be assigned to the third-fourth century A.C. the larger is probably a century still later. F. R. Allchin indicates that the weight of evidence suggests the latter half of the 6th century (or early 7th cent.) A.C. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 1009).

The following extracts are from Hsüan-tsang's account, as rendered in S. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (I, p. 50 f.).

" To the north-east of the royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness. "

" To the east of this spot there is a convent, which was built by a former king of the country. To the east of the convent there is a standing figure of Śākya Buddha, made of metallic stone in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a completed form as it stands. "

" To the east of the city 12 or 13 *li* there is a convent, in which there is a figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position, as when he attained Nirvāṇa. The figure is in length about 1,000 feet or so."

" To the south-west of the convent of the sleeping figure (*of Buddha*), going 200 *li* or so, passing the great Snowy Mountains on the east, there is a little watercourse (*or valley*), which is moist with (*the overflowings of*) standing springs, bright as mirrors ; the herbage here is green and bright. There is a saṅghārāma here with a tooth of Buddha, also the tooth of a pratyeka-buddha, who lived at the beginning of the *Kalpa*, which is in length about five inches, and in breadth somewhat less than four inches. Again, there is the tooth of a cakravarti king, in length three inches, and in surface (*breadth*) two inches. There is also the iron begging bowl of Śaṇakavāsa, a great arhat, which is capable of holding eight or nine *shing* (*pints*). These three sacred objects, bequeathed by the holy personages referred to, are all contained in a yellow-golden sealed case. Again, there is here the *Saṅghāti* (robe), in nine pieces of Śaṇakavāsa ; the colour is deep red (*rose-red*) ; it is made of the bark (*peel*) of the *she-no-kia* plant. Śaṇakavāsa was a disciple of Ānanda. "

Most of the archæological investigations, beginning from late in the century, have been made by French expeditions on the invitation of the government of Afghanistan.

Through the courtesy of Dr. T. Baqir, Director-General of Antiquities, Republic of Iraq, the following note on the images removed to Baghdad has been supplied by Sayid Gurgis Awad, Director of the Iraq Museum Library, under the date 9th August, 1959.

As a result of my extensive resarch in various references, I came to the following conclusion ; In his book *Al-Fihrist* (p. 346, Leipzig edition), Ibn al-Nadim mentions that Indians had in this city a 'house for idols', alluding to the temple in which statues of Indian idols were set up. He continues, " Yaqub ibn-al-Leith (Al-Saffer) arrived at this place in the course of his conquest of India, and the images which were sent over to the city of Medinet al-Salam (Baghdad) from Bāmiyān were removed when the latter was sacked. " It should be noted that the conquests of Yaqub ibn al-Leith in this area took place in the middle of the 3rd century of Hijra. Al-Tabari says in his chronicle (series 3, p. 1841, Leiden edition), " In the month of Rabi'al-Akhir (256 A.H.) an envoy of Ibn al-Leith al-Saffar arrived with idols which he says he had taken from Kabul."

The statues mentioned in Al-Tabari's text are probably the same ones that Iban al-Nadim mentions were transferred from Bāmiyān to Baghdad. In all the references available to hand, there is no indication to the whereabouts and condition of these after their arrival to Baghdad. In any case, it should be mentioned that at the present time there is no trace of these statues : presumbly they would have been destroyed or perished through lapse of time.

Bāmiyān fasci... the visitor to this day and the historian Arnold Toynbee in a recent travel account[1] thus describes the reactions of a Western visitor.

> " The practice of Buddhism has been extinct in Bamian for perhaps eleven hundred years by now, yet the peace which the practice brought with it still reigns there. You will feel it if you look out across the valley in the moonlight. There is peace in the shadowy shapes of the Buddhas and the caves. As you gaze, this Buddhist peace will come 'dropping slow' upon your restless Western soul. "

D. T. D.

BANDHANA, bondage, a concept fundamental to all systems of Indian philosophy and religion. In the Buddhist texts the term is used synonymously with passion (*kilesa : Dhs.* 189 ; *Vism.* 586 ; *kleśa : Catuś.* 59 ; *Abhsy.* 44). It signifies that function of the passions which binds sentient beings to continued existence (*saṃsāra*), i.e., keeps them in bondage and captivity to suffering (*dukkha : Catuś.* 59), it is therefore the opposite of freedom, emancipation (*vimutti, mokṣa*), i.e., Nibbāna (*S.* III, 164–65 ; *Mdhvṛ.* ch. xvi).

It is identified with the origin of suffering (*bandhanaṃ samudayasatyam : Catuś.* 59) which in turn is identified with passion ((*kleṣa*) and actions (*karma*) which are dominated by the passions (*Vbh.* 120 ; *Netti.* 119 ; *Abhsy.* 43 ; *Viñjaptimātratāsiddhi*, ed. by S. Lévi, Paris, 1925, p. 38). Thus, *bandhana* is identical primarily with passion, *karma* in this case being of secondary importance as actions become *bandhana* only when they are influenced by passion. So, *bandhana, samudayasatya* and *kleṣa* are identical.

We find the three basic passions, better known as the roots of evil (*akusalamūla*), being mentioned in the texts as *bandhana*. The *Majjhima Nikāya* gives delusion (*avijjā*) as *bandhana* (*M.* II, 44) while the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* has craving (*taṇhā*) in its place (*S.* I, 8 ; 40). The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* gives all the three basic passions, namely, craving (*lobha*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*) as *bandhana* (*Abhsy.* 46).

The secondary passions that arise from these basic passions are also described as *bandhana*. So, attachment to the fivefold sensual pleasure (*pañca-kāma-guṇa : D.* I, 245), for instance, which arise from craving, and also the clinging to false views that arise from delusion such as identification of the five aggregates of existence with a non-existent soul (*S.* III, 164–65) function as *bandhana.*

He who is possessed with craving, hatred and delusion does not have the freedom to generate *kusala* which is the way out of *saṃsāra*. Therefore they are called *bandhana* (*Abhsy.* 46). See BONDAGE and KILESA.

U. K.

BANDHANĀGĀRA JĀTAKA (No. 201), related by the Buddha at Jetavana, (*J.* I, pp. 139–41), about a prison-house (*bandhanāgāra*).

A gang of criminals was captured and taken before the king of Kosala, who ordered them to be put in chains. Thirty bhikkhus from the country on a visit to the Buddha saw the prisoners on their alms-round, and having noticed their chains asked the Buddha whether there were any other fetters stronger than those. The Buddha told them that such fetters as craving for wealth, corn, sons, wives and children were a hundred and thousand times stronger. But, even such strong fetters had been broken by the wise men of old who had become ascetics in the Himālayas and he proceeded to relate the story of the past.

The bodhisatta was once born in a poor family. After he lost his father he supported his mother by earning wages. Although it was not his desire to get married, his mother brought home a wife for him, and died shortly afterwards. One day, not knowing that his wife had conceived a child, he told her that she should earn her living, since it was his desire to become a hermit. She told him her condition and also that he should not leave the house without having seen the child. He agreed and stayed back till the child was born. When he tried to leave the house for the second time, she stopped him, by saying that he should wait until the child was weaned. While he was thus postponing his departure, she conceived once again. Thinking that he would never be able to leave with his wife's consent he woke up one night and ran away. When the city-guards arrested him he told them that he had a mother to support and they allowed him to go away. He went to the Himālayas and became a hermit. There, through meditation he reached various attainments. Two stanzas uttered by him, in which he says that he had broken the bond of wife and child and the bond of passion which were so

1 *Between Oxus and Jumna*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1961. p. 116.

difficult, are found also in the *Bandhana Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and explained in its commentary (*S.* I, 77 ; *SA.* I, 147). At the end of this solemn utterance (*udāna*) and while engaged in the practice of meditation, he entered the Brahma-world.

This jātaka is depicted in a terra-cotta plaque from the Mangalacheti Pagoda, Pagān (13th century), showing the ascetic's mother and wife trying to dissuade him from his purpose (*ASIAR.* 1912–13, p. 107 ; Pl. 56).

I. K.

BANDHANAMOKKHA JĀTAKA (No. 120). The bodhisatta was once the chaplain of the king of Bārāṇasī. The king had to leave his capital to quell a frontier rebellion and the queen requested him to send a messenger at every league of his journey to enquire how she was faring. This the king did and sent thirty-two messengers in all. With everyone of them the queen sinned, satisfying her lust. The same thing happened on the king's return journey, too.

As the king neared his capital he sent out orders to his chaplain to prepare the city for his arrival. In the course of these preparations the chaplain entered the queen's apartments and the queen, enamoured, asked him to satisfy her lust, which he refused. The queen, thereupon, disfigured herself, put on dirty clothes and pretended to be ill. To the king she made a false allegation that the chaplain had assaulted her because she would not yield to his wishes. Filled with rage, the king ordered the chaplain to be beheaded. The latter guessed that it was the wicked queen's doing and begged to be taken to the king. There, he proclaimed his innocence and told him also about the queen and the messengers about whom he had learnt from the queen herself. After questioning them and also the queen, the king sentenced all of them to death, but the bodhisatta pleaded on their behalf and they were pardoned. The bodhisatta himself became an ascetic and retired to the Himālayas to be reborn later in brahmaloka.

This jātaka was related by the Buddha at Jetavana in connection with the brāhman girl Ciñcā who made false accusations against him. Ciñcā had been the queen and Ānanda the king. (*J.* I, 437 ff.)

L. R. G.

BANDHANĀNTAKARA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140).

BANDHANA SUTTA. There are two suttas by this name in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya.*

The first (*S.* I, 39–40) is a four-lined verse of which the first two lines ask what binds the world and how these bonds may be broken. The last two lines give the answer that pleasure is the bond and that by the abandoning of craving all bonds can be severed.

The second sutta (*S.* I, 76–7) consists of a stanza of eight lines and, according to the commentary, was occasioned by a report that Pasenadi, king of Kosala having lost a gem from his royal diadem had imprisoned many people. The Buddha remarks that there is no bond stronger than love for wealth and precious things, or attachment to wife and children. Only renunciation of the world and all its sensuous joys can loosen this mighty bond.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BANDHANĀ SUTTA (*S.* III, 164–5), explains the psychological bonds by which thoughtless people are bound in this life and in future births by their regarding the five aggregates of existence (body, sensations, perceptions, ideations and consciousness) as an entity of 'self', or the self as possessing these aggregates, or these aggregates as being in the self, or the self or soul existing as an entity in any or all of those aggregates. These are the twenty erroneous views (*micchā-diṭṭhi*) about the 'self'. And they constitute bonds (*bandhanā*) from which the noble disciple is free, free to see the other shore, free from all conflict.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BANDHATI SUTTA. Two suttas by this name occur in the *Mahā Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, pp. 196, 197), describing in identical terms eight ways employed by a woman to ensnare a man and by a man to enslave a woman. The means used by both sexes are appearance, smiles, speech, song, tears, attire, presents of wild fruits and flowers and contact.

Certain Burmese manuscripts have slight variations, e.g., weeping instead of looks, but this reading would merely duplicate without necessity the tears mentioned later. Others have in addition smell and taste, no doubt to complete the sense of touch.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BANDHA-VIMUKTA-ŚĀSTRA (*Śrī-°an°*), the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the

Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥchiṅ-ba rnam-grol-gyi bstan-bcos*. The authorship of the work is attributed to Dpal Niṣkalaṅka (Śrī Niṣkalaṅka) and Śrī Jagatamitrānānta (Śrī Jaganmitrānanda) while the translation is ascribed to Buddhaśrībhadra and Tshul-khrims śes-rab (*TT*. Vol. 69, No. 3291).

The text contains a discourse on the doctrine of the emptiness of phenomena (*śūnyatā*) and the theory of the connection between cause and effect (*hetuphalavāda*). Instructions on these, the authors say, is like cool water to those oppressed with thirst.

R. H.

BANDHA-VIMUKTOPADEŚA, a short text written by Śrī Jagatamitrānanda (Śrī Jaganmitrānanda). The Tibetan version of this text, the *Ḥchiṅ-ba rnam-grol-gyi man-ṅag ces-bya-ba*, attributed to the author himself and Byams-paḥi dpal, occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 69, No. 3294).

The text states that one should eradicate the causes to release oneself from the bonds (of saṃsāra). These causes are defined here as lust, anger and ignorance.

R. H.

BANDHUJĪVAKA, two arahants by that name. Thirty-one kappas ago one of them strung *bandhu-jīvaka* flowers together and offered them to Sikhī Buddha. As a result he was never born in an evil state. Seven kappas ago he was a king named Samantacakkhu. As an arahant during the time of Gotama Buddha he possessed the four types of analytical knowledge (*paṭisambhidā*) and six kinds of insight (*abhiññā : Ap.* I, 175 f.). He is probably identical with Devasabha thera mentioned in the *Theragāthā* commentary (*ThagA*. I, 216 f.).

The other arahant of that name is said to have met Siddhattha Buddha in a forest ninety-four kappas ago and offered him lotuses and *bandhujīvaka* flowers. Fourteen kappas ago he was a king named Samuddakappa. As an arahant he, too, possessed the four types of analytical knowledge and the six kinds of insight (*Ap*. I, 129).

H. R. P.

BANDHULA, commander-in-chief of Pasenadi, king of Kosala. He was the son of a chieftain of the Mallas in Kusināra, and a fellow-student at Takkasilā of Pasenadi and Mahāli (a prince of the Licchavi line with whom he comes into contact again in later life). Returning home from his studies Bandhula was outwitted through a ruse set by his jealous kinsfolk at a performance of martial feats. His kinsfolk, probably consisting of rival princes, inserted strips of iron in the bundles of sixty sticks each, which Bandhula was challenged to cut with one stroke of his sword. Wisdom came late to Bandhula when the click of the iron strip in the last bundle gave away the plot. Finding that he had been deceived, he swore vengeance and threatened to kill his treacherous kinsfolk, one and all, in the wish to become king, but was dissuaded from it by his parents who reminded him that kingship in his country went by patriarchal descent. He then decided to leave the country and live with his friend and fellow-pupil at Takkasilā, king Pasenadi, who had now become ruler of the Kosalas.

Pasenadi, welcoming his friend warmly, made him commander-in-chief of his army and Bandhula went into residence at Sāvatthi, bringing his parents there to live with him.

At Kusināra, Mallikā, the wife of Bandhula, remained for a long time childless. Bandhula, convinced that she was barren, ordered her to go home to her own family. But the Buddha prevented the divorce by asking Mallikā to go back to her husband, when she came to Jetavana to bid him good-bye. When Bandhula learnt that it was the Buddha who had bade her return to him, he accepted her, saying that the Buddha was a far-sighted man and must have had some reason for saying this. Not long after, Mallikā conceived a child.

Mallikā's pregnancy-longing was to descend into the lotus-pool used by the princes of Vesāli for their coronation-sprinkling; to swim therein and to drink of it. Bandhula offered to try, and taking Mallikā with him, drove in his chariot to Vesāli.

Mahāli, who had now gone blind in his service as teacher of the Licchavi princes, and had now been given a dwelling near the gates of Vesāli, could distinguish from its rumble that Bandhula's chariot was passing, and prophesied that that day there would be trouble for the Licchavi princes.

Bandhula entered Vesāli, drove away the guards planted at the lotus-pool and let Mallikā satisfy her longings.

When the Licchavi princes heard from the guards what had happened, they decided to give chase to Bandhula and his wife who were returning home. In spite of the prophetic warning which Mahāli gave them, that every one of them would be killed if they did so, they mounted five hundred chariots

and started in pursuit of the two. Mahāli then warned the princes to retreat, when they saw the wheels of Bandhula's chariot sink nave-deep in the ground, if not, when they heard the crack of a thunderbolt, or when they found their chariots pierced with a hole. The Licchavi princes gave no heed to this advice.

Mallikā, sighting the chariots following them, warned Bandhula. He gave the reins to her and stood in the chariot, when its wheels sank nave-deep in the ground. Heedless, the Licchavi princes pressed on. He twanged his bow to frighten them away, which, though it sounded like a crash of thunder, did not turn back the Licchavis. Bandhula bade Mallikā be on the watch and tell him when all the five hundred chariots were in one straight line, and when she did so, he let fly an arrow which pierced a hole in each one of them, passed through the last, and sank into the ground. But the Licchavi princes, continued undaunted, shouting at him, "Halt there!" "You are all dead men. I shall not fight the dead" retorted Bandhula.

In the dialogue that ensued, Bandhula makes the Licchavi princes realise that he was speaking literally. He bids one of them to undo his armour, and when one does so, he falls dead, the arrow having pierced him through. Bandhula then advises them to go back home, settle their dues, and then take off their armour, so that they would not die, their duties unfulfilled. They do so, and Bandhula's words come true.

Mallikā bore twin sons to Bandhula sixteen times. Deciding a case in which the king's judges had played foul, Bandhula's fairness won the heart of the people and the king's favour. He was thereafter appointed judge, but his growing popularity and the consequent loss of bribes for the displaced judges aroused their jealousy. They poisoned the king's mind against Bandhula, charging him of conspiracy to wrest the throne. The king plots to rid himself of Bandhula, sends the latter and his sons to his own frontier to quell a rebellion. Though Bandhula succeeded in putting down this fake rising, the king had his orders executed when his hirelings waylaid Bandhula and his sons on their return, and killed them all.

This account, found in the *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhpA*. I, 228 f.; 349 f.) and also in the introduction to the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* (*J*. IV, 144 f.), gives us what is probably one of the finest illustrations of the norm of behaviour expected of the Buddhist in hours of crises. When news comes of the death of Bandhula and his sons, Mallikā is serving alms to a congregation of monks, but she tucks the letter in her dress and continues her task. The Jātaka tells us the circumstance which made her break the news to the monks. A pot in which alms are being served breaks and Sāriputta advises Mallikā that it is in the nature of pots to break and that she should not therefore worry overmuch about it. "How should I worry about a pot," replies Mallikā, "when even under these circumstances I do not worry". So saying, she hands over the letter carrying the message of her husband's death.

This event is given as the occasion for Sāriputta, 'the Captain of the Faith' to recite the stanza now given in the *Suttanipāta* (*Sn. vv.* 574 ff.):—

Men cannot calculate, men cannot gauge
This life's brief troublous span, by woes beset.
By no device can what is born not die,
Or length of life annul life's primal law.
Like ripened fruits which threaten soon to drop,
The constant threat of death dogs man from birth.
As every earthen jar the potter shapes
Will broken be, so shows the life of man,
etc., etc.

(trsl. Chalmers, *HOS*. XXXVII, p. 145)

Mallikā, breaking the news to her thirty-two daughters-in-law, advises them not to feel ill-will against the king, who hearing of this, is repentant and grants Mallikā a boon. Mallikā asks for herself and her daughers-in-law to be permitted to return to their respective homes, which Pasenadi readily grants.

Pasenadi appointed a nephew of Bandhula, named Dīghakārāyaṇa, to succeed as commander-in-chief, but he successfully plots to avenge the death of his uncle (s. v. DĪGHAKĀRĀYAṆA).

The Jātaka version of the story does not mention that Bandhula, Pasenadi and Mahāli were fellow-students at Takkasilā. But for such minor differences, the *Dhammapada* commentary and the introductory story of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* tell the identical tale.

The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 74) gives some comments made by Pasenadi on the corruption practised by his judges, observing philosophically that they would meet their retribution. Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 100, n. 3) suggests that the king may be referring to the incident in the life of Bandhula where he is involved wit he judges of Pasenadi's court.

The wife of Bandhula is usually referred to as Bandhula-Mallikā to distinguish her from Mallikā, the queen of Pasenadi.

Bandhula is sometimes referred to as Bandhula-malla (*J.* IV, 148).

B. J.

BANDHUMA, name of a former Buddha, said to have been proclaimed by his predecessor Saṃvṛtaskandha. Bandhuma proclaimed his successor Ariṣṭa (*Mhvu.* III, 230–1).

BANDHUMĀ (1), one of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. They were seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but were never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sages (*isī gilatī ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these paccekabuddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 68 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, 127) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

Bandhumā is further distinguished in the Isigili Sutta by the epithet: he who banished pride (*mānacchida*).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BANDHUMĀ (2), Skt. Bandhumant, king of Bandhumatī and father of Vipassī Buddha. His wife also was called Bandhumatī (*J.* I, 41 ; *Buv.* xx, 23 ; *D.* II, 7). Having attempted to retain his son in household life (*D.* II, 21 ff.) and failed, he fed the Buddha and the other monks and gave all other necessary requisites to them (*Divy.* 282 ff. ; *Mhvu.* II, 271 ff.). When the Buddha passed away he cremated his body and constructed a thūpa over the remains (*Avś.* 156.30).

The king had two daughters who in their final births became Mahāmāyā and Uracchadā. In their birth as his daughters they received one day from their father a golden wreath and precious sandalwood which they offered to Vipassī Buddha and made a wish. It was according to this wish that they were born in this age as Mahāmāyā and Uracchadā (*J.* VI, 480 f.).

H. R. P.

BANDHUMĀ (3), the city, where it is prophesied the future Buddha Ajita of the Maitreya family will be born (*Mhvu.* I, 51). It is apparently different from Bandhumatī, the capital of king Bandhumā. Ajita Buddha is, perhaps, not the same as the future Buddha Maitreya who is to be born at Ketumatī, according to the Pali texts. (e.g., *D.* III, 75).

H. R. P.

BANDHUMANT (Pali, Bandhumā), king of Bandhumatī, father of Vipassī Buddha. See BANDHUMĀ (2).

BANDHUMATĪ (1), wife of king Bandhumā and mother of Vipassī Buddha (*J.* I, 41 ; *Buv.* xx, 23 ; *D.* II, 7).

BANDHUMATĪ (2), capital of king Bandhumā where Vipassī Buddha was born (*J.* I, 41 ; *Buv.* xx ; *D.* II, 7; *Avś.* 63, 156, 223). It is described as having been very prosperous and populous and the king ruled the kingdom with virtue (*Divy.* 282). It was here in this city that the rich merchant Anaṅgaṇa (q.v.) lived. When Vipassī Buddha visited the city, Anaṅgaṇa and the king gave him alms (*Mhvu.* II, 271). Khanda and Tissa, to whom Vipassī Buddha preached his first sermon, were residents of Bandhumatī and it was in a deer-park at Bandhumatī that this sermon was preached (*D.* II, 40). Rhys Davids identifies this park with Isipatana, the deer-park in Gotama Buddha's time (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 33, n. 3.). When Vipassī left the household life about eighty-four thousand people from Bandhumatī, too, followed him (*D.* II, 30). When he became Buddha vast multitudes of the inhabitants of the city listened to his doctrine at the deer-park and attained arahantship. Some of them entered the Order (*D.* II, 42 ; *Buv.* xx). At Bandhumatī, in the days of Vipassī Buddha, the monks assembled once in every six years to recite the *pātimokkha* (*D.* II, 46, 48).

H. R. P.

BANDHUMATĪ (3), a river near Bandhumatī city. Mātaṅga, Buddha Gotama in a previous life, subdued the pride of an ascetic, named Jātimanta, who lived in the upper reaches of this river. Mātaṅga, who knew that the ascetic was determined not to use the water polluted by another, cast away a used tooth-pick into the river. The ascetic saw the tooth-pick, while he was washing in the river, and discovered

that it was Mātaṅga, an outcaste who had polluted the water. Thereupon, the ascetic asked Mātaṅga to live in the lower reaches of the river, to which he consented. But, the tooth picks, etc., used by Mātaṅga and thrown into the water went against the current and were seen by the ascetic. Thereupon, he asked Mātaṅga to go back to the upper reaches of the river which Mātaṅga did. But the ascetic could not prevent himself from using the water polluted by Mātaṅga (*SnA*. I, p. 190).

I. K.

BANDHU-PRABHA, an Indian scholar of Nālandā, sometimes referred to as bodhisattva Bandhuprabha. He is said to have compiled, with the help of others, a work called *Buddhabhūmi-sūtra-śāstra*, which forms a commentary on the *Buddhabhūmi*, probably the text referred to in *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB*. XIII, p. 22; see also *Nanjio*, 502). Hsüan-tsang in 649 A. C. translated Bandhuprabha's compilation into Chinese under the title *Fu-ti-ching-lun* (佛地經論 *Nanjio*, 1195).

S. K. N.

BANDHURA (1), son of a banker of Sīlavatī. Having gone to Sāvatthi on business and heard the Buddha preach, he entered the Order, winning arahantship in due course. On his return to Sīlavatī, he preached to the king who became a convert. The king built for him a monastery (*vihāra*) called Sudassana and paid him great honour. But later Bandhura gave the monastery to the monks and returned to Sāvatthi saying that he had no need of possessions. In a previous birth, during the time of Siddhattha Buddha, he was a watchman (*gopaka*) in the king's palace and offered *kaṇavera*-flowers to the Buddha and his monks. As a consequence of this he enjoyed heavenly bliss for a long period (*Thag. v.*103; *ThagA*. I. 220).

He is probably identical with Kaṇaverapupphiya of the *Apadāna* (I, 182).

W. G. W.

BANDHURA (2), the chief groom of the elephant stables (*hatthimeṇḍa*) of the king of Bārāṇasī. He had only one eye. A crow built her nest over the doorway of the elephant stables, laid her eggs and hatched out her young. But everytime Bandhura entered or left the stable on the back of the elephant he struck the crow's nest with his hook, thus destroying it. The crow, in despair, complained to the king, who, thereupon, dismissed him from his service. The cry of this crow is one of the eight cries (*aṭṭhasadda*) mentioned in the *Jātaka* (*J*. III, 430).

W. G. W.

BANDHUŚRĪ, an Indian monk, a follower of the Vijñapti-vāda, who is believed to have been a contemporary of Vasubandhu. His career is not known.

On the *Triṃśikā-Vijñaptikārikā* of Vasubandhu, commentaries were written by ten commentators, one of whom was Bandhuśrī. It is said that Bandhuśrī made a brief commentary on this text and that Vasubandhu was greatly pleased with it. Bandhuśrī's commentary was the first on this work and it was used as a standard by later commentators. Bandhuśrī's commentary is no longer available now.

K. Tmr.

BANDYAS, more commonly called Banrās, the highest grade of Bauddha-mārgīs (q.v.), or Buddhists of Nepal. Tradition describes them as decended from Buddhist monks whom militant Hindus compelled to re-adopt the lay life and to live as house-holders. Most Bandyas have wives and children living to this day in the vihāra buildings. A few Bandyas continue the celibate life. These are accorded greater respect than the house-holder of approximate religious rank who is called Vajrāchārya. Thus, the greater number of Bandyas are engaged in secular occupations, their hereditary one being that of gold and silver smiths. All Bandyas are of equal standing, but they neither marry into, nor eat food with other groups, except brāhmans whose sons are admitted into their fold, although not belonging to it by birth. Such an entrant has first to be adopted (by a Gubhaju) and receive initiation before marriage (K. P. Chattopadhyay, "An Essay on the History of Newar Culture" in *JASB*. New Series, XIX, 465 ff.).

D. T. D.

BĀṆḌYĀYANA (var. Bhāṇḍyāyana, Bhāṇḍāyana), one of the forty-nine brāhman clans (*gotra*) mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 635). This is a subdivision of the Māṇḍavya gotra, which is one of the seven major clans.

BANERJI, RAKHAL DAS, (1885–1930), Indian archaeologist who contributed to Buddhist studies by the special nature of his duties. When Banerji, as

Superintendent of the Western Circle, was looking out for Buddhist remains in Mohenjo-daro in 1922 he became aware of the greater antiquity of the site which has since became so fundamental to the study of Indian proto-history. His chief Buddhist studies were given in the following: "The Bas-reliefs of Badami" (*ASIMem.* 25), "The Date of Kaniṣka" (*IA.* 37), "Antiquities of the Bauddh State" (*JBORS.* XV), "Buddha-charita in Bengal" (the story as told from the Bengali Pali sculptures, *Modern Review*, Calcutta, XLVII), and "Ancient temples in Orissa, etc." (describing a well-preserved colossal Buddha image and several others in the ruined town near Gandhradi). Further Buddhist notices by him occurred in his two-volumed and comprehensive *History of Orissa* which was posthumously published. After his retirement from the Archaeological Survey, until his death, he held the post of Professor of Ancient Indian History in the Benares Hindu University.

D. T. D.

BANGKOK, the capital city of Thailand, elevated to this position in the year 1782 by king Rāma I, from whom the present ruling Chakkri dynasty is descended. Immediately before the transfer of the capital to Bangkok, the centre of government had existed on the opposite side of the river Menam Chao Phya, in the city of Dhanapuri (Thonburi) which had been fortified by Phya Tak or Taksin after the sack and plunder of Ayuthia by the Burmese in 1767. Bangkok has rapidly grown into a large city, its open areas being built on and developed on Western lines. The population is now more than a million and a half and fast increasing. Everywhere the signs of Buddhism, the Theravāda form of which is the official religion, are as evident in the capital as elsewhere in the country, as also in the adjacent Buddhist countries of Burma and Cambodia. Apart from these signs, seen among the people, the magnificent pagodas embellished by the richest styles of ornamentation, and the hundreds of objects of art both in the National Museum and in the private collections of the leisured classes, impress one as to the Buddhist character of the city. It has several universities and these, too, may properly be called Buddhist. The religious art as well as culture shows also the influences of Mahāyāna (Chinese) and Brahmanical survivals, notably in the popularity of the Rāmāyana themes. Animistic traces are also not wanting.

Bangkok possesses some of the best examples of Royal Monasteries (Wat Luang) which derive their special name from the fact that they were either directly sponsored by kings, or, were built by others and offered to the sovereign in order to ensure their continuance. Among these are Wat Phō, Wat Mahādhātu, Wat Suthat, Wat Bovoranives (Pavaraniveśa), the Chapel Royal in the Grand Palace (the Temple of the Emerald Buddha), Wat Benchamabophit (Marble Temple), and several more of great interest, all of which will be dealt with under their own names. (See also *The Royal Monasteries and their Significance* by Luang Boribal Buribhand and A. B. Griswold, published by the Fine Arts Department in Bangkok.)

D. T. D.

BANKEI (盤珪), one of the three greatest Zen monks of 17th and 18th centuries, belonging to the Rinzai Sect in Japan, the other two being Shūhō Takuan and Ekaku Hakuin. Though he is better known as Bankei, he is also known by the names of Daiju and Ētaku. He was born in 1622 and after learning Confucianism and some teachings of Buddhism, he became a disciple of Zen master Zensbō Umpō of the Zuio-ji (temple) in Harima Province (now Hyogo Prefecture) at the age of 17. Thereafter he practised very strenuous Zen practices for several years, with the result that he fell seriously ill. Then he returned to his native place and stayed in a small hermitage to continue Zen meditation even at the risk of death. At the age of 26 he had reached a high state of mind by practising meditation in his hermitage. In 1650 he met the Zen master, Chōgen Dōsha, who had come from China to the Sōfuku-ji (temple) in Nagasaki and, under his guidance, he attained a higher state in the following year. In 1657, at the age of 36 he attained the final enlightenment under the guidance of the Zen master Bokuō of the San-yu-in (temple) in Okayama, who was the most excellent disciple of Bankei's first master Zenshō Umpō. Before that, he had been engaged in some social activities, established the Henshō-an (temple) in Iyo Province through the charity of Yasuoki Katō, a feudal lord there, and revived the Chōfuku-ji (temple). In 1659 he became the chief monk of the Kaion-ji (temple) at Hamada; but as the number of his disciples increased greatly, he founded the Ryūmon-ji (temple) in Harima Province in 1661 through the donation of Takatoyo Kyōgoku, the feudal lord of Marugame. At a later period he reconstructed 47 temples and was invited to be the founder of more than 100 temples. He had eight great disciples who had attained 'final enlightenment' and made more than 400 persons enter the Buddhist priesthood. It is

said that he was so virtuous that he had more than 50,000 followers. In 1690 he was honoured with the title of Bucchikokaku-Zenji (Zen master) by the imperial court. In 1693 he died at the age of 72, that is 55 years after his ordination.

His Zen method is called Fushō Zen (不生禪 Non-production Zen) because he had his disciples find out the Buddha-mind of Non-production through meditation. He intended to correct the improper use of the Koan Zen (公案禪 *kung-an-ch'an*) of those days which included a display of a loud cry, striking with a stick and a play of so-called Zen words without the real understanding thereof. Bankei admonished his disciples in simple spoken Japanese only, without quoting from any Buddhist sūtras or commentaries written in Chinese. His Zen method seems to be one of the most Japanized Zen methods, transcending Chinese Ch'an. He was also a man of great ability in various fields. He drew beautiful images of Bodhidharma, the founder of Zen in China, of Avalokiteśvara-bodhisattva and others, and carved some Buddha-sculptures and a self-carving of his. The most important of his writings and memoirs are as follows (see *Moc.* X, 829) the *Oshimeshiki-kigaki* 2 vols., the *Bankei-zenji-hōgo* (edited by Sonin Itsuzan), the *Genshiken-ganmoku* (edited by Sonin Itsuzan), the *Shogen-kokushi-goroku* (the classical Chinese translation of the *Genshiken-ganmoku* by Ranchō Gotsu-an), the *Fujisan-shi* in 20 vols., the *Usuhiki-uta* and the *Zeigo.*

S. Mo.

BANNA-JI (鑁阿寺), a Japanese temple at Ashikaga, Tochigi prefecture, and belonging to the Buzan sub-sect of the Shingon sect. This temple was founded in the seventh year of the Kenkyū era (1196 A. C.) by Yoshikane Ashikaga, a son of Yoshiyasu Ashikaga who was the lord of the castle at Ashikaga.

Yoshikane renounced the world and received the title of ' Hokkebō Banna '. After visiting many Buddhist places in various provinces of Japan he stayed at Kōya-san, the center of the Shingon sect. Then in the sixth year of the Kenkyū era (1195 A. C.), he received the higher ordination at the Tōdai-ji. In the following year he returned to Ashikaga, where he built a temple to instal the image of the Mahāvairocana Tathāgata. This is the Banna-ji.

Yoshiuji, one of the sons of Yoshikane, constructed twelve halls for this temple and donated many lands to it. During the Muromachi period (1338–1573 A. C.), as the Ashikaga clan preserved the rulership of Japan, many donations were made to this temple. In 1314 it was recognized as a praying center of the imperial household.

When Hideyoshi Toyotomi was ruling Japan, the temple lands were confiscated, but later Ieyasu Tokugawa contributed lands to this temple and restored many halls.

At present, there are the larger hall, the library for Tripiṭaka texts, the Prabhūta-ratna tower, the smaller hall, the bell tower, the hall to enshrine the spirits of the Ashikaga clan, etc. The larger hall and the bell tower are of Kamakura period (1192–1334 A. C.) architecture and are recognized as Japanese national treasures. At the spirits' hall, wooden images are placed of the fifteen Ashikaga shogunates (warrior-governors), of Yoshikuni Minamoto and of Yoshiyasu Ashikaga, the predecessors of the Ashikaga clan.

K. Tmr.

BANNERS, with Buddhist symbols and their usage in Buddhist practices, see DHVAJA.

BANSHŪ-MONDŌ-RYŌGE-SHŌ (播州問答領解鈔), a Japanese work in twelve fascicles, written by Ryōkō Sontsū, the forty-fourth abbot of the Ji-shū, a sect of the Pure Land Buddhism in Japan. This work is the commentary on the *Banshū-mondō-shū* (q.v.). It explains the title of *Banshū-mondō-shū* and gives an account of its author, followed by an outline of its contents. Then, commentaries are given to every sentence of the *Banshū-mondō-shū*, quoting each sentence.

Sontsū wrote commentaries to half of the first volume of the *Banshū-mondō-shū* at the Kōmyō-ji in Dewa (present Yamagata and Akita prefectures). Then Sontsū went to Kagoshima in 1694 and asked Keiho Kakuryu to complete the work, which was done by him in 1704.

This work is greatly valued by the devotees of the Ji-shū.

K. Tmr.

BANSHŪ-MONDŌ-SHŪ (播州問答集), a Japanese text of the Ji-shū, a sect of Pure Land Buddhism. This is believed to have been written by Jia of Banshū (present Hyōgo prefecture) based on the teaching of his teacher Ippen Chishin, the founder of the Ji-shū.

But, Mochizuki (*Moc.* p. 4250) says that the teachings and the arrangements of this text are quite similar to the first half of the section, the Chishin's teachings transmitted by his disciples, of the *Ippen-shonin-goroku* (一遍聖人語錄 The Analects of the saint Ippen). Thus, the *Banshū-mondō-shū* is perhaps a recompilation, in question and answer form and in the style of Chinese sentences, of the sermons of Chishin from the *Ippen-shōnin-goroku.*

K. TMR.

BANYAN TREE. See NIGRODHA.

BAPISIRIṆIKĀ, a Buddhist lady, donor of an *ayaka* pillar (inscribed) at the chaitya in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, circa 2–3rd cent. A. C. (*EI.* XX, 1 ff.).

BAPTISM, though often used, is an incorrect translation of the term *abhiṣeka* ; (e.g., *titthābhisekaṃ karoti* = baptising at the landing-stage, *The Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 181 ; see also Arthur Lillie, *The Popular Life of the Buddha*, p. 86). There is no rite in Buddhism which could be designated correctly by the term baptism. See ABHIṢEKA.

BARABUḌUR or Borobuḍur (also spelt Baraboedoer or Boroboedoer), one of the greatest Buddhist monuments, situated near the geographical centre of the island of Java, about twenty miles to the northwest of Jogjakarta. The name Barabuḍur, which also denotes the adjacent village, has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Many scholars identify it with Baḍur, mentioned in a list of Buddhist foundations in a fourteenth-century old Javanese text (the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*), but, there are difficulties in accepting this view. Barabuḍur has been well known to archaeologists for more than 150 years, but, intensive research started only at the end of the 19th century. The great restoration lasted from 1907 to 1911. The area in which the monument is situated is very fertile and densely populated ; it is also of great natural beauty with mountain ranges enclosing the green plain.

Architectural plan. The ground plan and section (*EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate LIII) show its basic architectural features. Barabuḍur is built on and around a natural hill, which must first have been fashioned into the desired shape and duly fortified to sustain the monument, which covers it like a stone mantle. Each side measures 126 yards at the base, while the total height is 34·5 yards. The slope is 40° at the bottom, then eases off to 28° and becomes quite gentle at the top (15°). The profile of Barabuḍur is, therefore, flatter than would appear from many photographs, but the mountain-shape remains quite striking, especially from a distance or from the air (ibid. Pl. LIV). It consists of a basement upon which arise nine superimposed terraces, crowned with a terminal stūpa. The plan of the basement and of each of the six lower terraces is basically square but projections on all sides, double in the case of the basement and the three lowest terraces, render it more complicated. The outer borders of the square terraces (except that of the lowest terrace, which is the base of the monument) have been provided with parapets, so that four galleries are formed. These parapets are, in fact, extensions of each of the main walls of the next lower terraces. The pilgrim, walking along the galleries, may feel himself transferred to a 'closed world' (Paul Mus), from which nothing is visible of the ordinary world except the sky over his head. He is forced, instead, to concentrate upon the superior spheres of the cosmos, which are symbolised by representations in the reliefs of both the main walls and the parapets, by the Buddha statues in niches, above the reliefs, and by numerous other details such as miniature *stūpas*, *kalpavṛkṣas* and *toraṇas* (gateways). As soon as the pilgrim has, however, left the fourth gallery and has ascended the round terraces, he feels himself freed from the barrier and is able to admire the wonderful scenery around him. The terraces themselves are devoid of any decoration except large bell-shaped stūpas with small openings, through which sitting Buddhas are just visible. Over the three circular terraces rises, finally, the terminal stūpa, which is completely closed. This stūpa seems to dominate the entire monument, as appears especially from the aerial photograph (ibid. Pl. LIV), but this impression is not so pronounced if one watches the monument from the ground or from the circular terraces.

Barabuḍur is ascended by four flights of stairs in the middle of the sides giving access to the galleries through gateways (*toraṇas*). Although there is no difference between the gateways it follows from the order of the reliefs that the main access is from the east. The order of the reliefs also proves that the circumambulation has to be carried out according to the *pradakṣiṇā* (with the right side of the pilgrim turned towards the centre of the monument). The drainage of the rain water is assured by openings in the parapets of the terraces, which lead the water to the next lower galleries and finally to the soil through beautifully sculpted spouts or gargoyles in the shape of heads of dragons

(*makara*) or demons (*kāla*). One of the most directly striking features of Barabudur is the fact that even the most functional details have been carried out with great delicacy and in perfect accordance with the spirit of the monument as a whole.

The hidden base. During the work of conservation in 1885 the Dutch archaeologist Ijzerman discovered that the original base of Barabudur, though decorated with a series of 60 relief panels, was later hidden by masses of large stones piled all around (cp. the section, ibid. Plate. LIII). As earlier scholars had considered it inconceivable that carefully carved reliefs should deliberately have been put out of sight, it was assumed that the agglomeration was an emergency measure taken by later architects for technical reasons. In particular, it was suggested that the gravitational pull of the monument on the hill would have given rise to a dangerous slide, which, unless stopped in time, might prove catastrophic. Rather than risk complete ruin, a later generation would have resorted to this unaesthetic measure. Against this line of argument, W. F. Stutterheim emphasised this accumulation of stones, in addition to being unaesthetic, would also be ineffective with regard to the danger envisaged. He argued that the hidden base must have been part of the original conception. In this connection, Stutterheim further suggested that this part of the monument symbolised the *kāmadhātu*, the world of desire. In fact, the reliefs of the base represent, as has been pointed out by Sylvain Lévi, the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, a text dealing with the fruits of both good and evil karma. As this necessarily involved the showing of sinful acts, which might have a bad influence on visitors, it was considered proper that the reliefs should be concealed from their view. Although this explanation makes sense, there are strong objections against accepting it. Above all, the evil acts are invariably followed by the appropriate results, such as rebirth as an animal or suffering in hell. The scenes have a strong moralistic content and could, therefore, be expected to act as a deterrent. If the representation of such acts was nevertheless considered improper, it would not have been difficult to find another text which, though dealing with the world of desire, would not necessitate the representation of improper deeds. Finally, as will be pointed out in the next section of this article, it is doubtful whether this part of Barabudur symbolizes the *kāmadhātu*. It is, therefore, difficult to accept Stutterheim's interpretation, although it seems very likely that the hidden base belongs to the original concept. A strong argument is the presence, above the reliefs of the hidden base, of brief inscriptions referring to the topics depicted there. These are evidently intended as indications for the stone-cutter. As such, instructions would normally have been written with chalk so that they could be effaced when they were no longer required, it follows that there was no need to efface the writings on the base, presumably because they would not remain visible. It is, however, impossible to go much beyond this general conclusion, since the explanation of the function of the hidden base is apparently conditioned by the interpretation of the monuments as a whole.

Reliefs. Not only the hidden base but also all the main walls and parapets of the four galleries are decorated with reliefs. In the first gallery, which is considerably higher than the others, both the main wall and the parapet show a double set of reliefs ; all the higher galleries have one relief-series on the main wall and one on the parapet. This yields a total of 11 series, comprising nearly 1500 separate panels, each showing a carefully composed scene, often of artistic value and always pervaded with deep devotion. In addition, the reliefs give us some idea of different aspects of material culture in ancient Java, such as the shape of buildings, ships, utensils, dress and ornaments, flora and fauna, etc., as it is reasonable to assume that the artists would usually have moulded these representations according to what they saw everywhere around them, without attempting to reconstruct the material culture of northern India in or before the time of the Buddha. Finally, as most of the texts followed in the reliefs have now been identified, they supply us with precious information about the Buddhist texts known or studied in ancient Java. In a few cases the reliefs show details not found in the published versions of these texts and may, therefore, help us to reconstruct their textual history.

The identification of the individual reliefs is not yet completed, but it is far advanced, thanks to the efforts of numerous scholars. The difficulties of identification are mainly due to the nature of the reliefs which is devotional rather than narrative, especially in the higher galleries. As a consequence, some accessory details may receive strong emphasis, while more basic features are hardly indicated and may even be omitted.

All the reliefs that have been identified are based on Mahāyāna texts. Those illustrating the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* on the base have already

been mentioned. The upper series of the main wall of the first gallery shows in 120 panels the principal scenes of the life of the Buddha from his sojourn in Tusita heaven to the first sermon. Each of these presents a carefully composed scene with all attention concentrated upon the bodhisattva (or the Buddha before his enlightenment). The life of the Buddha is depicted according to the texts of the *Lalitavistara* but the supernatural (*lokottara*) features, so prominent in the extant versions of the text, receive little emphasis. The lower reliefs of the main wall, both sets of the parapet of the first gallery and the single series of the parapet of the second gallery, all give stories of the jātaka and avadāna type. Although many of these stories can be recognised, only those of the second gallery can be precisely identified: they are based upon the *Jātakamālā*.

The main wall of the second gallery, the parapet and the main wall of the third gallery, and the parapet of the fourth gallery all show scenes based upon the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, while the reliefs of the main wall of the fourth gallery are all based upon the *Bhadracari*, a brief collection of hymns devoted to bodhisattva Samantabhadra. As the latter text is, however, closely associated with the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, which it immediately follows in many manuscripts, this means that nearly half of the available space has been utilised for the representation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* alone. Even more significant perhaps, is the fact that this text is used to adorn all the higher part of the monument. On the whole it is quite clear that the progression from the still earth-bound representations of the base to the adoration of Samantabhadra on the fourth gallery, and from there to the purer shapes of the circular terraces and the culminating stūpa, symbolizes spiritual advance and purification leading to ultimate emancipation and supreme wisdom. For this reason there is little doubt that the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (and the *Bhadracarī*) should be considered as reflecting the ideas in the minds of the creators of the Barabuḍur more closely than any of the other texts. On the other hand, it has also been pointed out by Bosch, the scholar who correctly identified and interpreted these reliefs, that the influence of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* on the Barabuḍur may be explained by assuming that its principal figure, the merchant's son Sudhana, who wanders from place to place and from teacher to teacher to hear the revelation of the Supreme Truth from the bodhisattvas Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, corresponded to an Indonesian ideal; like Sudhana, perhaps hundred or thousands of young Indonesians may have gone to India and Ceylon to visit the sacred sites and to study at the feet of great teachers at Nālandā and elsewhere.

Iconography. There are on Barabuḍur more than 500 large Buddha images, all seated, in five rows of niches above the reliefs and in the stūpas of the round terraces. Apart from the Buddha image supposed to have come from the culminating stūpa, they belong to six types differentiated by their mudrās. On the four lowest rows all the Buddhas on the east walls show the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, those on the south the *varada-mudrā*, those on the west the *dhyāna-mudrā*, and those on the north the *abhaya-mudrā*. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century it has been known that these mudrās symbolize the four transcendental Buddhas (Jinas or, less correctly, Dhyāni-buddhas) who, in later Mahāyāna, each guard a quarter of the sky. Their names are, respectively, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava (or Ratnaketu), Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi (or Amoghavajra). So far there is no problem. Difficulties arise, however, as to the correct identification of the Buddhas in the fifth row, all in the *vitarka-mudrā*, and of the 72 Buddhas in the perforated stūpas on the terraces, all in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. This disagrees with the normal scheme of the five Jinas, viz., the four mentioned above with Vairocana in the centre. Krom called attention to a tantric system of six Jinas, with Vajrasattva added to and above the five others. There are, however, two serious objections against this interpretation: (1) Vajrasattva is usually shown as a bodhisattva, not as a Jina, and (2) the mudrā associated with Vairocana is the *dharmacakra*, not the *vitarka*.

According to a different explanation, proposed by Bosch, the Buddhas in the *vitarka-mudrā* would represent Vairocana (as in Krom's interpretation), whereas those in the *dharmacakra-mudrā* would be images of Bhima, the *Mahābhārata* hero, who according to some old Javanese texts was worshipped as a supreme deity [illegible]. [illegible] points are given in support of this interpretation: first, one of the old Javanese [illegible] (the *Bhimastava*) at one place identifies Bhima with Vajrasattva, and second, one of the Buddhas on the circular platforms was known as *Sang Bima* to the local population in recent times. [illegible]

difficult to agree with this explanation as long as there is nothing to suggest that the Bhima cult in Java flourished in the time of Barabuḍur. There is, at present, no evidence for this cult prior to about the fourteenth century A.C. Finally, according to a new interpretation recently proposed by Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, the Buddhas of the sixth row should be identified as Samantabhadra and those of the terraces as Vairocana. In support of the former identification it is pointed out that (a) Samantabhadra is worshipped as a Jina in some texts, (b) the *vitarka-mudrā*, though not actually attested for Samantabhadra, would harmonise with his role as a supreme teacher, (c) the popularity of the cult of Samantabhadra follows from the considerable number of bronze Samantabhadras discovered in Java, from the Saman images in Ceylon, and from the correct identification as Samantabhadra of the so-called Kuṣṭarāja of Väligama in Ceylon which belongs to approximately the same period as Barabuḍur, when there were close relations between the Buddhist communities of Ceylon and Java.

There has been much controversy among scholars about the authenticity of an unfinished Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, alleged to have been discovered in the culminating stūpa about a century ago. The balance of the arguments can now be said to be in favour of the authenticity of the image but its precise identity is still uncertain. It has been variously interpreted as Vajrasattva, Bhaṭāra Buddha, or Ādi-Buddha, but no satisfactory explanation as to why any of these Buddhas should have been represented as an unfinished Akṣobhya, has hitherto been given.

Other details. It is impossible here to call attention to all the other details of this great monument: only a few may be mentioned here. The niches with the seated Buddhas above the reliefs of the galleries are shaped like miniature temples with elaborate roofs of several storeys and crowned with small stūpas. The actual openings are in the shape of a stilted arch bordered by pilasters supporting a *kāla* head with two *makaras*. Similar, but in detail different, *kāla-makaras* are used to embellish the gateways. No less remarkable are the gargoyles in the shape of lion heads. Further interesting details are numerous kinds of ornamental borders with leaf and flower motifs, wishing trees (*kalpataru*), stylised birds and animals in foliage between relief panels, etc. These decorative elements never predominate in Barabuḍur (as they do in much of the later Javanese art) but are integrated with the architecture and the 'spirit' of the monument.

Date and meaning. The approximate age to which Barabuḍur belongs can be ascertained by the analysis of the script used in the brief inscriptions of the hidden base. A comparison with dated inscriptions of Java leaves little doubt that the writing of Barabuḍur belongs to the period between 760 (the Dinaya inscription) and 850 A.C. (the Perot inscriptions). It is known that from 778 (or a few years earlier) to 856 Central Java was controlled by the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty; it is, therefore, probable that Barabuḍur belongs to this period. The present author has argued that a foundation called Bhūmisambhāra (q.v.) mentioned in an inscription dated 842 A.C. is on account of its name and of the topographical data, identifiable with Barabuḍur. As it is obvious that the construction of a monument of these dimensions must have involved many year's labour, while the building activities could hardly have started much earlier than 778, it follows that Barabuḍur is unlikely to have been completed before the end of the eighth century, but rather in the first half of the ninth century between 800 and 840. The major part of its construction falls, no doubt, within the reign of Samaratungga (792-824).

Intensive research has gradually solved many problems associated with Barabuḍur, while others still await a generally accepted solution. In spite of our knowledge about so many aspects and details we are still ignorant about the true meaning of the monument as a whole. It is usually defined as a stūpa because the culminating element is in fact in the shape of a stūpa. It is true that, as the masterly analysis of Paul Mus has shown, the stūpa has developed from relatively modest beginnings into a most complicated symbol of the Dharma and the cosmos, but the emphasis in Barabuḍur is apparently on what, from the point of view of the stūpa, is merely infra-structure.

Kröm realised this difficulty and, therefore, emphasised the didactic aspect of Barabuḍur as a kind of 'Encyclopaedia of Buddhism' in stone. Stutterheim, who interpreted Barabuḍur with the help of an old Javanese text, admittedly of considerably later date, defined it as a *stūpa-prāsāda*, in which the *prāsāda* part may ultimately be traced back to the *ziqqurat* of the Middle East. He also argued that the hidden base, the galleries and the terraces symbolize the *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu* and *ārūpyadhātu*, respectively. Although there may be some vague points of agreement between the three components of Barabuḍur and the three spheres of the cosmos, there are also difficulties. While the reliefs of the base are partly concerned with this 'world of desire', the same can be argued for the jātaka scenes of the first and second galleries. In addition, there is little in the reliefs and decoration of the galleries that seems characteristic of the 'world of pure form'. Finally, the numbers of galleries and terraces do not seem to correspond to any known subdivisions of the *dhātus* in the texts. From the detailed and penetrating analysis by Paul Mus we learn much about Barabuḍur and Buddhism in general but get no precise answer about what the Barabuḍur really is. Again, Stutterheim, in a later article, suggested that Barabuḍur was essentially a maṇḍala : an object of meditation during tantric ceremonies. Others again have emphasised its character as a cosmic or dynastic mountain. These different interpretations are not necessarily incompatible. Thus, Paul Mus has emphasised that cosmic symbolism has been inherent in the conception of the stūpa since early times. J. L. Moens, H. G. Quartich Wales and the present author have suggested the possibility that the shape of the terraced mountain should be explained as a compromise between Mahāyāna and royal ancestor-worship, in particular of the Śailendra dynasty. The doctrine of the spiritual family of Lord Buddha (*Tathāgatakula*) may have provided a connecting link.

In this connection another problem, that of determining to what Buddhist sect Barabuḍur should be attributed, has to be briefly mentioned. The reliefs and iconography establish beyond any doubt that the type of Buddhism reflected on Barabuḍur is some form of Mahāyāna, more in particular one in which devotion and meditation receive strong emphasis. It is further evident that Samantabhadra and the group of the five transcendental Jinas are of pre-eminent importance. On the other hand, there is no unambiguous indication for tantric influence (such as erotic or demonic features, use of the *vajra* symbol, of *dhāraṇīs* and *yantras*). It is possible that clearly sectarian features were deliberately excluded in order that Barabuḍur might belong to the Buddhist community as a whole. This universality is, indeed, one of the greatest features of Barabuḍur.

Finally, Barabuḍur does not stand alone but clearly belongs to a group of monuments, of which it forms the climax. Two Buddhist temples, Caṇḍi Mĕndut and Caṇḍi Pawon, show by their situation due east of Barabuḍur in a straight line at a distance of 3170 and 1260 yards respectively that they are closely associated with Barabuḍur. Foundations of a monastery have been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of Barabuḍur.

J. G. DE C.

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BARANAMAGABASAKA, the Diagram of Twelve Stanzas, a Sinhalese poem belonging to the Mātara period of literature by Karatoṭa Dharmārāma thera. It is so called because the syllables are arranged in a diagram, embodying a dozen quatrains in the *samudraghoṣa* [1] metre when read from left to right

1 This term is used by several Sinhalese writers (e.g., C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, p. 248, in the same context) to refer to the Sinhalese metre called *samudurugosa* occurring in the *Sandäslakuṇa* (a treatise on metre in Sinhalese poetry. ed. W. Dīpaṅkara Mahā Thera, Matara, 1953, p. 68).

and *vice versa*, and from top to bottom and *vice versa*. The poem is also called the *Bārasakāvyaya*[2], implying that it contains twelve stanzas (*bārasa* in Pali and *bara* in Sinhalese mean twelve).

The subject matter of the poem is a panegyric of the Buddha. In it the author has displayed his ingenuity and ability in introducing many verses into one diagram and Sinhalese critics describe them as elegant and expressive (e.g., James de Alwis, *Sidat Sañgarāwa*, introduction, pp. cvii ff.) C. E. Godakumbura in his *Sinhalese Literature* (pp. 248 ff.) observes that, according to the ideas current in his day, the author probably counted it of great merit to have composed his eulogistic poem in this intricate manner.

The diagram of the complete poem is given below.

	6							5							4				
	si	si	si	si	da	va	ḷa	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ra	ja	la	la	la	la	
1	si	ri	va	la	di	ya	na	va	sa	va	mu	si	na	da	ku	sa	ka	la	9
	si	di	ba	va	gi	ma	na	ra	ňga	na	ga	mi	na	pa	ḷu	na	sa	la	
	si	ri	ga	na	ni	ra	ā	na	ma	di	mi	na	va	na	nu	va	ta	la	
	na	sa	ga	ga				ni	ra	ya	da				ni	sa	du	vi	
	da	ra	pu	na				ma	ha	da	ma				di	da	ra	da	
	na	sa	na	ya				da	si	da	na				sa	se	ma	si	
	na	va	ra	da	na	va	sa	si	ri	pa	ta	la	ma	ni	ma	na	ra	ka	
2	na	ra	ma	na	na	ta	na	va	su	la	va	na	ma	su	pa	sa	sa	ka	8
	na	na	sa	da	da	ma	na	na	la	sa	ni	ri	si	ru	na	da	pi	ka	
	na	va	nu	sa	na	da	pu	ra	ra	ra	su	na	ma	du	vi	na	ya	ka	
	du	na	va	ta				na	va	da	da				sa	sa	bi	na	
	mi	da	du	pa				va	du	na	ri				ka	va	da	ga	
	da	va	va	ni				sa	va	ti	si				na	na	ma	na	
	ga	ta	ya	di	sa	to	sa	da	ga	nu	ta	da	va	ni	da	ma	na	da	
	ga	ni	pi	su	va	ňdu	va	na	ra	sa	na	na	va	ga	na	ta	ma	da	
3	ga	na	na	da	na	ka	la	na	pi	ya	si	ha	ra	na	na	pa	pa	da	7
	ga	ga	ga	ga	na	ra	ti	sa	sa	sa	sa	na	ja	ra	da	da	da	da	
	10							11							12				

2 Many editions of the poem exist in the Sinhalese language, e.g., Eds. of N. D. Silaratana thera, M.G. Piyaratana thera, P. D. S. Weerasuriya.

The following four verses taken from the diagram, one read from each direction, and their translations[3] would show how the syllables are arranged and how the words are interpreted.

1. *sisisisidayala nini nini niraja la la la la*
sirivaladiyana vasavamu sinada kusakala
sidibava gimana rañyanagamina paḷunasala
sirigana nirata namadimi navana nuvatala.

'I worship the Buddha, who abstained from idle praise, was firm, renowned like a precious gem, who extinguished the fire of continued existence, who was chief of the world, who was blessed with prosperity, who, when born as king Kusa, was endowed with a voice like the roar of the lion, in whom there was no allurement of sin and vice, who was gentle as the moon, the benevolent saviour of beings, and an ocean of riverlike wisdom, who destroyed the weakness of the heart by means thereof.'

4. *lalu'lala vidasi kakakakanaganadadadada*
lakasataduramarasapiyabidamanamapada
lasanuvasadase nasadanasavanamatapada
lakuḷunnunidisamapanavisakanadananada.

'Bow at the feet of the Buddha, who was a treasure of compassion, a master of profound meditation, and pleasing to all men ; who was like the new and brilliant moon, who committed no sin even in secret, who gave Nirvāṇa, who did not like sinful men, who carried out in practice his profound doctrines ; and who could delve with his wisdom into others' minds, who cared not an iota for the impure human body which the ignorant regard as a banner.'

8. *kayanavidumana suranara pudana sanuvana*
kapidanarusiri nisalananamada dasanana
kasasapasumana valasuva natana namarana
karanama nimala tapasiri savana daravana.

'Bow yourself before the Buddha, who was pure and determined to subjugate the passions and evil desires, who died to die no more, was without desires, fond of the forest, benevolent, who was robed, handsome, firm and unintoxicated with vanity, who had tenfold wisdom, who possessed six species of intelligence superior to that of all men, was infinite in wisdom, and who received offerings from gods and men.'

(12) *dana nada nakasa vinapama sadini nuḷukula*
dapatuma navasa nadasana seda savana sala
dapamana mada biya pisara maraduta-sakala
dada dada nagana kaka kaka sidavi lalalala.

'Bow before him who was the delight of men and devoid of vicious inclinations, who was born of an illustrious race, who enjoyed in meditation the fruits of Nirvāṇa, which men procured as soon as his words reached their ears. Bow before him, who was moderate in speech, who swept away all fear, and frightened the three daughters of Māra. Bow to him who was like a banner, who hoisted up the flag of victory in all his actions, who had insight into things in earth, air and water ; who was resplendent and pure at heart.'

The circumstances that led to the composition of the poem are interesting. Dharmārāma, though ordained at the village temple at Karatota, later came to Kandy and became an eminent scholar. Conscious of his own capabilities, Dharmārāma submitted an application to the reigning monarch Rājādhirājasiṃha asking that he be made the high-priest of Kandy and the Low-country. Angered at this, the king instantly ordered the priest to be confined as a prisoner in a temple. Here, in solitary confinement he is said to have made use of his otherwise weary hours by composing the *Baranamagabasaka,* and arranged for it to be presented to his royal master, who, though himself a poet, was unable to read the verses on the diagram. The king summoned all the scholars and directed them to read it but when none could do so he brought Dharmārāma from the prison and asked him to read the verses. This he is said to have done with such ability that the king highly pleased, ordered his immediate release, and not only made him high-priest of Mātara, but gave him also gifts of various kinds, for instance, a gold *panhiñda* (a style for writing on palm leaves), an *aṭapirikara* and a piece of land called the Pallebedde in the Sabaragamuwa District. This grant is referred to in two verses by the monk himself, in a colophon to the poem. Since the year of the grant is mentioned here as 1708 of the Saka era, i.e., 1786 A.C., the poem may have been written about that time (John F. Tillekeratne, *The Life of Karatoṭa Kīrti Srī Dharmārāma* in *Orientalist,* III (1888–1889), pp. 204–207).

Though this kind of poetry was popular among the poets of the Mātara period, Europeans who read these poems do not seem to have appreciated them much as seen in a passage from Davy (*Ceylon,* p. 239).

H. R. P.

BĀRĀṆASĪ, (anglicised as Benares), was the capital of the kingdom (*janapada*) of Kāsi

3 Translations are from James de Alwis' edition of the *Sidat Saṅgarava,* introduction, p. cvii.

(*D.* II, 235; *Mhvu.* III, 208). It is one of the four sacred cities of the Buddhists (the other three being Kapilavatthu, Buddhagayā and Kusinārā) on account of the fact that it was at the Migadāya in Isipatana near Bārāṇasī that the Buddha preached his first sermon to the Pañcavaggiya monks (*D.* II, 141).

Situated at the confluence of two tributaries of the Ganges, namely, Varṇā and Asi, eighty miles below Allahabad, on the north bank of the Ganges, the city has obviously derived its name from these two streams. It is mentioned in early Buddhist texts (*D.* II, 146) as one of the six large cities that flourished in the days of the Buddha, the other five being Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa and Kosambi. Its extent, including the suburbs, at the time when it was the capital of an independent kingdom (i.e., sometime before the rise of Buddhism) is stated to have been twelve leagues (*yojana*) or about eighty-five miles (*J.* IV, 377; VI, 160). According to Hsüan-tsang (7th cent. A.C.), Bārāṇasī was about eighteen or nineteen *li* (3–4 miles) in length and about five or six *li* (about one mile) in breadth (Beal, *Travels of Hsüan-tsang,* 291). The city extends four miles along the bank of the river Ganges (B. C. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, p. 2).

The city has been known by other names at various times. According to Cunningham (*The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 438), the earliest name of the city has been Kāsi which, he says, is still in common use, either alone or joined with the later name, as Kāsi-Banāras. The terms Kāsi-pura and Kāsi-nagara also have been used. It is perhaps the Kassida, or Kassadia of Ptolemy. The name Kāsi and the other related names, such as Kāsi-pura and Kāsi-nagara, are said to have originated in connection with Kāsi-rāja, who was one of the early progenitors of the Lunar race. He was succeeded by twenty descendants, all rājās of Kāsi, among whom was the celebrated Divodāsa. At a later stage 'Kāsi' was used to denote the whole *janapada*. The *Yuvañjaya Jātaka* (*J.* IV, 119 ff.) refers to other names. It was Surundhana in the Udaya birth (*J.* IV, 104), Sudassana in the Cullasutasoma birth (*J.* V, 177), Brahmavaddhana in the Soṇananda birth (*J.* V, 312), Pupphavatī in the Khaṇḍahāla birth (*J.* VI, 131) and Ramma in the Yuvañjaya birth (*J.* IV, 119 ff.). Molinī was another name of Benares in the past (*J.* IV, 15).

Though a complete genealogical list of the kings of Bārāṇasī is not available, many of the canonical texts as well as non-canonical literature refer to numerous kings who reigned there. Among them the Jātakas mention the names of Aṅga, Uggasena, Udaya, Kikī, Dhanañjaya, Mahāsīlava, Vissasena and Saṃyama. The commentary on the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* (*SnA.* I, 46 ff.) contains the names of several kings of Bārāṇasī who renounced the world and became pacceka-buddhas. The *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary mentions the names of others who reigned in Bārāṇasī, such as Duppasaha and sixty of his descendents, Asoka, son of Samaṅkara, and eighty-four thousand of his descendants, also sixteen kings, ancestors of Okkāka (*MhvA.* 129). According to the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* (*D.* II, 220 f.), when Mahāgovinda, the brāhman chaplain of king Reṇu, divided his empire, the administration of the kingdom of Kāsi with Bārāṇasī as its capital fell into the hands of Dhataraṭṭha who is represented as a king of the line of Bharata. B. C. Law (*India in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism,* 128 ff.) is of opinion that the Bharata line of the Kāsi kings appears to have been supplanted by a new line of kings called the Brahmadattas who were probably of Videhan origin. Most of the Jātaka stories have been named with reference to the reign of this line of Brahmadattas. The *Mahābhārata* (II, 8, 23) speaks of a dynasty consisting of one hundred Brahmadattas and as such it is obvious that Brahmadatta was more a family designation than a personal name of the reigning king.

Many Jātakas testify to the unsurpassed glory of the city of Bārāṇasī and to the ambition of its rulers for paramount sovereignty over the whole of Jambudīpa (e.g., *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*, No. 465; *Dhonasākha Jātaka*, No. 353). The *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* I, 342 f.), too, bears testimony to the former greatness and prosperity of the city. There was a time when king Manoja of Bārāṇasī was able to subdue the kings of Kosala, Aṅga and Magadha (*J.* V, 312). It can also be inferred that at another time, the kingdom of Assaka became a dependency of Kāsi (*J.* II, 155; cp. B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of India*, p. 142). During the period preceding the rise of Jainism and Buddhism the most important event in the political history of the Kāsis was the repeated struggle for supremacy between the kings of Kāsi and Kosala. Kaṃsa, a king of Kosala, uniformly styled Bārāṇasiggaha in Pali works, eventually succeeded in annexing the latter kingdom (*J.* II, 403 f.). At any rate, it is known beyond doubt that Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi, exercised complete sway over Kāsi. Later, however, when Ajātasattu succeeded in establishing his sway over Kosala with the help of the Licchavis,

Kāsi, too, was included in his kingdom (*S.* I, 82–85). Between Bārāṇasī and Magadha there seem to have been friendly relations, for, Bimbisāra once sent his physician, Jīvaka, to attend to the son of a banker of Bārāṇasī (*Vin.* I, 275 f.).

Bārāṇasī was an important centre of trade and industry. Of the many riparian ports in India it occupied an important place and the great inland routes mostly radiated from Bārāṇasī to Sāvatthi and Takkasilā (*DhpA.* I, 123 ; III, 429). There had been two routes from Verañjā to Bārāṇasī, one rather circuitous, passing through Soreyya, and the other direct, crossing the Ganges at Prayāgatittha (Allahabad). From Bārāṇasī the road continued to Vesālī (*VinA.* I, 201). On the road from Bārāṇasī to Rājagaha was Andhakavinda (*Vin.* I, 219). Trade relations existed between Bārāṇasī and Ujjayinī (*J.* II, 248) and Bārāṇasī and Sāvatthi (*J.* II, 294 f.). Rich merchants of the city used to cross the high seas with ships, laden with merchandise (*Mhvu.* III, 286). A wealthy merchant came to Bārāṇasī with the object of trade (e.g., *Mhvu.* II, 166–167). Horse dealers from northern districts used to bring horses to Bārāṇasī for sale (*J.* II, 287). A trader of Bārāṇasī went with 500 carts to buy goods to a frontier country and bought sandal wood (*SnA.* I, 123). Some traders employed donkies to carry their goods (*J.* II, 109 ; *DhpA.* I, 123).

Bārāṇasī had a special fame for its textiles, popularly known as *kāsī* cloths which were of a very fine texture (*J.* V, 377). These kāsī cloths, by reason of their fineness of texture, do not absorb oil (*DA.* II, 583). A trader of Bārāṇasī is said to have gone to Sāvatthi with five hundred carts full of red cloth (*DhpA.* III, 429). In Bārāṇasī there were ivory workers (*J.* II, 197), stone cutters (*J.* I, 478) and carpenters (*J.* II, 18). Mention is also made of a Bārāṇasī-seṭṭhi (*DhpA.* I, 412 ; III, 87, 365) and a Santhāgārasālā (moot-hall) which, of course, was then used more for public discussions on religious and philosophical questions than for transaction of public business (*J.* IV, 72). Ascetics who came to the city are mentioned sometimes as having found lodging for the night in the Potters' Hall (*DhpA.* I, 39).

Princes and brāhmans of Bārāṇasī used to go to Takkasilā, two thousand leagues away to receive education (*J.* II, 47 ; *DhpA.* I, 250–251). Yet at Bārāṇasī, too, there seem to have had been educational institutions some of which were even older than those at Takkasilā (*KhpA.* 198 ; *DhpA.* III, 445 f.).

As mentioned before, it is as the sacred place where the Buddha preached his first sermon to the Pañcavaggiya monks, figuratively spoken of as setting the Wheel of Law rolling (*dhamma cakkappavattanam* : *D.* II, 141 ; *M.* I, 171 ff. ; *S.* V, 420 ff.), that Bārāṇasī is most famous among the Buddhists. Even previous Buddhas preached their first sermon here. Their custom was to travel by air from the Bodhi-tree to the scene of the first sermon, a distance of eighteen leagues, but Gotama Buddha did the entire journey on foot in order to be able to meet Ājīvaka Upaka on the way (*MA.* II, 88 f. ; *BuvA.* 291 ; *DA.* II, 471 ; *ThīgA.* 220). It was also while staying at Bārāṇasī, in Isipatana, that the Buddha released Yasa and his friends from suffering (*Vin.* I, 15 f., 102), and also the Bhaddavaggiyas in the Kappāsika grove (*Vin.* I, 23 f.). Many other important discourses of the Buddha also were preached at Bārāṇasī (e.g., *A.* I, 110 f., 279 f. ; *A.* III, 320 ff., 392 ff. ; *S.* I, 105 f. ; *S.* V, 406 f. ; *Vin.* I, 189, 216 f., 289 ; *DhpA.* III, 230).

Kassapa Buddha is said to have been born in Bārāṇasī (*Buv.* xxv, 33) and some of his discourses at Bārāṇasī have been referred to in Buddhist texts (e.g., *M.* II, 49 ff. ; *Divy.* 22). In the time of the future Metteyya Buddha, Bārāṇasī will be known as Ketumatī. It will be the capital of Jambudīpa at the head of 84,000 towns. Saṅkha will be the cakkavatti ruler there, but he will renounce the world and will become an arahant under Metteyya (*D.* III, 75 f.).

Bārāṇasī is sacred to the Jainas, too, for Aśvasena, father of a Jaina teacher named Pārśva, was a king of that city. Pārśva obtained *kevalañāṇa* seated under a tree in Bārāṇasī (Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 48, 49).

As revealed in some of the Buddhist texts, kings of Bārāṇasī ruled with justice and equity and hence the country enjoyed good government. The king was always on the alert to know his own faults and with this purpose in view he used to go about in the city in disguise, but he heard nothing against himself (*J.* II, 1–5). Once, a king of Bārāṇasī who thus went out in the city in disguise to enquire whether any of his subjects spoke ill of him, learned from a brāhman for 1,000 kahāpanas a mantra which enabled him to read the evil thoughts of others (*DhpA.* I, 251 f.). No false suit was brought in the court and true cases were so few that sometimes ministers had to sit idly and go away without finding a single suitor (*J.* II, 1–5).

In spite of good government the country was not free from crime. Cakkhupāla thera, in one of his former births as a physician at Bārāṇasī, had given poisonous medicine to make blind a woman who had deceived him (*DhpA.* I, 21). There were also instances of highway robbery and house breaking (*J.* II, 387 f.).

H. R. P.

BĀRĀṆASĪ SEṬṬHI, also called Mahādhana, a wealthy merchant of Bārāṇasī. Once he set out for Sāvatthi with five hundred carts filled with cloth dyed with safflower (*kusumbha*), and arrived at a river where he unyoked the oxen, in order to cross the river on the following morning. During that night a great storm came up and it rained continuously. As a result of this heavy rain, the river was in flood for seven days, during which period the citizens were unable to leave their homes. When the merchant realised that he had no customers to sell his wares, he decided to spend the three seasons, namely, the rainy (*vassa*) season, the winter (*hemanta*), and the summer (*gimhāna*) in Sāvatthi and do his trade.

At that time, the Buddha who was going round for alms in the city of Bārāṇasī became aware of the merchant's intention and smiled. Ānanda who saw the Buddha smiling, questioned him as to why he smiled. Then the Buddha said that, although the merchant Mahādhana had planned to spend a year (*saṃvacchara*) in Sāvatthi selling his wares, his life span would come to an end in seven days. Thereupon, Ānanda, with the Buddha's permission, informed the merchant about it. The merchant felt very miserable, and invited the bhikkhus headed by the Buddha and offered them alms for seven days. At the end of the meal, the Buddha preached a discourse at the completion of which, the merchant Mahādhana entered the stream of holiness (*sotāpanna*). When the Buddha left his house, the merchant accompanied him a short distance, and on his return complained of a head-ache (*sīsaroga*) and died immediately. After his death, he was born in Tusita heaven (*DhpA.* III, pp. 429 ff.).

I. K.

BARBER (*kappaka*), a term of somewhat frequent occurrence in Pali literature. The references make it quite obvious that the barbers were practising their craft as a separate caste during the time of the Buddha. In *Vin.* IV, 6 the barber's craft is mentioned in a list of crafts regarded as low (*hīna*). While the craft of the barber, the potter, the weaver, etc., are regarded as low, work like agriculture, trade, cattle-keeping, etc., are regarded as high. Here it has to be stated that this kind of classification was different from the social division based on the four major castes, wherein everyone had his caste fixed for him by birth. While this latter division distinguishes the high and low according to their birth, the other division made that distinction on the basis of their occupations. Hence, as the craft of the hairdresser was regarded as low, those who practised it were socially lower than the farmer or the cattle-keeper.

Like the mat-weavers and the potters, the barber, too, was a hereditary craftsman. In the case of such crafts it was natural that the son followed the father's trade (e.g., *nahāpitaputta, kevaṭṭaputta, sūdaputta,* etc.) and consequently they formed small castes. As the division was made on work, such people probably formed numerically only an insignificant portion of the population.

The literary references to the barber show that kings and other such wealthy folk had barbers permanently employed in their households. Here it is important to remember that the barber's job was not confined to merely cutting the hair and shaving the beard. He was also the bath-attendant of his employer and had to prepare the bath, rub, massage and shampoo the master's body, cut, clip, comb and plait his hair, as the individual wanted it. His was thus a full-time job. A good index to the fact that the barber (*kappaka*) performed all these functions is that the term *nahāpaka* or *nahāpita,* meaning a bath-attendant, is used as a synonym for *kappaka,* which exclusively means a hairdresser (*DhpA.* I, 253).

In *J.* II, 5 in an account of a barber who lived at Vesālī, it is said that he used to do shaving, hair-dressing and cross-plaiting for the royal household, not only for the king, but also for the queens, princes and princesses. The *Pvu.* II, *v.* 37 says that barbers and cooks were constantly making a loud noise in the house of Aṅkura. In *J.* I, 137 there is the story of king Makhādeva's barber who, in keeping with the king's request, reported to him of the appearance of the first grey hair on the king's head. In *Vin.* I, 344 is found an account of the barber of Dīghīti, the king of Kosala. In *Vin.* II, 182 is found the story of the Upāli thera, who was formerly a barber. Here, too, when Anuruddha and his cousins left the world to join the Saṅgha, Upāli accompanied them as their barber-cum-bath-attendant. When he was asked to go back with all the belongings of the princes, he refused to do so,

entered the Order and became the foremost of theras proficient in the *Vinaya* (*vinayadharesu aggo*). In *J*. III, 451 a court-barber named Gaṅgamālā, uses the razor and tweezers (*saṇḍāsa*) in giving the king a shave.

It is interesting to note that according to *VismA*. 207, a woman goes to a hair-dressing saloon and gets her head close-shaven (*sā nahāpitasālaṃ gantvā khuramuṇḍaṃ kāretvā agamāsi*). This shows that while those who could afford employed these barber-cum-make-up-artists in their households, there were barbers' shops that catered to the poorer classes. When one considers the various functions of a barber as described above and the fact that the term *nahāpita* is used here, one is compelled to pose the question whether in those days there were institutions corresponding to the modern massage clinics.

As given in *Vin*. I, 249, the barber's shaving set (*khurabhaṇḍa*) consisted of a razor (*khura*), whetstone (*khurasilā*), a razor case (*khurasipāṭikā*) and a piece of felt (*namataka*).

Owing to the type and nature of the work, the barber's craft was regarded as ordinary (*puthusippāyatana* : *D*. I, 51). Since the barbers ranked as a low caste socially, rebirth in a barber's family was considered unfortunate. In *J*. II, 5 when a barber's son falls in love with a royal princess the father tells his son 'you are a low-born man, a barber's son' and asks him to forget her. In *J*. III, 451 a court-barber is reviled with the words 'you are a low-born shampooer (*malamajjano*), son of a barber'. The fact that the barber's functions included rubbing and massaging the body of his employers is borne out by the term *malamajjana*, which means 'rubbing off dirt'. In *J*. IV, 138 the fee of a barber is referred to as being only eight *kahāpanas* which amount is considered to be too meagre for any decent work.

A. G. S. K.

BAR-DU-GCOD-PA THAMS-CAD RNAM-PAR-SBYON-BA SHES-BYA-BAḤI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SARVĀNTARAYIKA-VIŚODHANĪ-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ.

BAR-DU-GCOD-PA THAMS-CAD SEL-BAḤI GZUṄS-SṄAGS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SARVĀNTARAYIKA-SAṄGRĀSA-DHĀRAṆĪ-MANTRA.

BARI-KOT (var. Bīr-kot), a small town in the Swat valley in Afghanistan.

Excavations carried out by G. Tucci who headed an Italian Archaeological Mission in the Swat Valley area in 1956, have revealed a number of sites, including Bari-kot, of Buddhist interest belonging to the Gandhāra period of Art (G. Tucci, *EW*, Vol. 9, December 1958, pp. 295 ff.).

It has been reasonably considered now that the present town Bari-kot was a site within the ancient Kingdom of Udyāna (U-chang-na of the Chinese pilgrims, which was about 5,000 li in circuit, i.e., about 834 miles). This factor connects Bari-kot to other famous Buddhist archaeological sites like Jelālābād, Bāmiyān, Haḍḍa etc., in the Punjab valley.

Tucci believes that Bari-kot corresponds beyond doubt to the Bazira of Arrian and he confirms that the earlier Sanskrit name of Bari-kot was Vajirasthāna, which is found in an inscription discovered in that locality (*EI*, XXI, p. 301 ; see also G. Tucci, *EW*. Vol. 9, 1958, Preliminary Report on Archaeological survey in Swat, note 28).

On the east, the very extensive plain of Bari-kot is dominated by two big stūpas, which are now badly damaged. All the wide plain, in Bari-kot, is for some square miles covered by potsherds mostly of the Kuṣāṇa period. Along the banks of the streamlet, which runs through Bari-kot and flows into the river Swat, are found remains of old walls. These factors inspired Tucci to conclude that the site was once thickly populated and is now an archaeological site of the greatest interest (G. Tucci, op. cit. pp. 296 ff.). These potsherds were noticed by A. Stein and perhaps, induced Barger and Wright to make Bari-kot the centre of their investigations, which were unfortunately carried out in a haphazard way that no valuable result was obtained (E. Barger and Ph. Wright, *Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus territories of Afghanistan, ASIMem*. n. 64 ; G. Tucci, op. cit, note I).

Among the ruined sites at Bari-kot representations of the Mahāyānist bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) are found, carved in the rock. Many such carvings of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and other bodhisattvas have now been excavated from the Swat valley, within close proximity to Bari-kot. In this context it is noteworthy to mention a vihāra wherein stood an image of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, which was mentioned by Hsüan-tsang (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, Indian Edition, Vol. 2, p. 172). It is in Bari-kot that Major Dean (H.

Dean, *JRAS*. 1896, Notes on Uddiyāna and Gandhāra, pp. 655 ff.) and A. Stein located the Uttarasena Stūpa of Gandhāra, mentioned also in the writings of Chinese pilgrims (S. Beal, op. cit. pp. 166 ff.).

Most interesting are the iconographic representations of the Mahāyānic bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara, Padmapāṇi and others, found among the ruins of Bari-kot, for the study of the evolution and spread of the plastic representation of these bodhisattvas in other Asiatic countries both in the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna school.[1]

A. D. T. E. P.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT, whose story forms one of the most popular tales of mediaeval Christendom, purports to tell of the second conversion of India to Christianity, after the land had relapsed into 'paganism' following the legendary mission of the Apostle Thomas. Its two heroes were for centuries venerated as saints by the leading Christian Churches. Only in relatively modern times was Saint Josaphat identified beyond doubt as none other than the young Buddha or rather bodhisattva prince, while the holy hermit Barlaam is seen to be an Indian holy man comparable to him, whom the bodhisattva observed in Kapilavastu—"a wanderer who, conspicuous by his flowing yellow robe, crosses the crowded royal street, his body covered with mire, dust and dirt,.. like red goose in a thicket of reeds." (*The Mahāvastu* trsc. J. J. Jones, II, London, 1952, p. 152.). The fact that the Buddha and his tutor were, and indeed still are, widely held in high regard as holy men by the Christian Church, far from causing dismay or derision, provides remarkable evidence of the vitality and universal appeal of the Buddhist creed and of the personality of its august founder.

Subject of the story: There once reigned in India a great and powerful 'pagan' king, named Abenner. His only grief was that he was childless and so had no heir to whom he might bequeath his realm and riches. Abenner was hostile to the Christian faith and persecuted its adherents. Hearing that one of his chief men had been converted to Christianity, he summoned the sage, who preached to the king a sermon on the vanity of the world. The monarch refused to heed his argunonts and banished him from the land.

At last a son is born to the king, who names him Josaphat. All astrologers declare that he will attain great honour and power, all except for the wisest seer of them, who predicted that the child will renounce earthly pomp and that his power will not be of this world. This prophecy distresses the king, who builds a city and palace apart for his son, and takes care that he shall grow up knowing nothing of the true condition and fate of mankind. As he grows up, Josaphat suffers from loneliness and prevails on his guardian to explain to him the reason for his secluded way of life. Eventually the prince persuades his father to let him go out for a drive, in the course of which he catches sight of a cripple and a blind man. On a later excursion, he sees a man in the last stage of senile decay. Josaphat realises that all men are subject to infirmity and death and his pleasure in life deserts him.

At this juncture the holy ascetic Barlaam appears from the wilderness of Senaar (in the Oriental versions: Sarandib = Ceylon), disguised as a merchant. Under the pretext of having a precious jewel to show the prince, Barlaam gains access to Josaphat and preaches to him in parables:—

(1) The Sower (closely adapted from the New Testament parable of Jesus Christ)
(2) The Trumpet of Death
(3) The Four Caskets (later used by Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice*)
(4) The Fowler and the Nightingale
(5) The Man in the Chasm and the Unicorn
(6) The Three Friends
(7) The King for one year
(8) The Sun of Wisdom
(9) The King, his Minister, and the happy poor couple
(10) The rich Youth and the Beggar's Daughter
(11) The Costume of Enemies
(12) The tame Gazelle
(13) The Youth who had never seen a woman.

The Arabic, Hebrew, and longer Georgian (Jerusalem) versions contain other fables and stories, some of them rather profane; these have been expurgated from the Greek and later Christian recensions.

Barlaam ends by converting Josaphat to the Christian faith. They exchange clothes, Josaphat receiving the ascetic's tattered hair apron. The

1 Similar represent tions of the Mahāyānic bodhisattvas, without manifold hands, and especially that of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, are not wanting in China, Tibet and Japan and even in the southern countries like Ceylon, Java, etc. (See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *JRAS*. for 1909, Bronze figures of Avalokiteśvara, etc., pp. 288 ff.; D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, p. 230, plate 39).

prince's tutor, who has overheard part of the proceedings, informs King Abenner, who tries in vain to capture Barlaam. Abenner and his advisers enlist the help of a soothsayer, Nachor, who greatly resembles Barlaam. Their scheme is for Nachor to impersonate Barlaam in a mock debate between the Christian and the idolaters, in which Nachor is to perform so feebly that the pagans will win the day. Josaphat learns of this ruse and forces Nachor to do his utmost on behalf of the Christian side. Nachor pronounces a brilliant oration, the text of which has been shown by J. Rendel Harris and J. Armitage Robinson to reproduce *in extenso* the early Christian defence of the faith known as *The Apology of Aristides*, an Athenian philosopher, who lived in the reign of the emperor Hadrian. Nachor (i.e., Aristides) declares : "I, O king, by the providence of God came into the world ; and having beheld the heavens and the earth, and the sea, the sun and the moon, and all besides, I marvelled at their orderly disposition ; and seeing the world and all things in it, that it is moved by compulsion, I understood that he that moveth and governeth it is god. For whatsoever moveth is stronger than that which is moved, and whatsover governeth is stronger than that which is governed." Nachor (Aristides) refutes successively the creeds of the Chaldaeans, the Greeks, the Egyptians and the Jews, and concludes with a simple but eloquent vindication of Christianity (*The Apology of Aristides*, Texts and Studies, I, No. I, Cambridge, 1891.). To Abenner's fury, Nachor brings victory to the Christian side. As a last resort, Abenner tries to seduce Josaphat by exposing him to the wiles of women, but Josaphat resists every temptation.

Abenner finally decides to divide up his realm between himself and his son. The Christian prince's domains prosper, while his father's decline. The king is ultimately convinced of the truth of Christianity and is baptised together with his courtiers and followers. When Abenner dies, Josaphat hands over the entire kingdom to another Christian, Barachias by name, and departs into the wilderness of Senaar. There he is reunited with Barlaam, and the two saints end their lives together in the odour of sanctity.

Origins and Sources : It should be stressed that the story of Barlaam and Josaphat is in no sense a literal translation of any single Buddhist work known to us. It is rather a compilation embodying many extraneous elements, but built round the Buddha's legendary life story as contained in such works as the *Buddhacarita*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Jātaka* tales. Central features such as the four omens and the great renunciation are easily recognisable in their Christian guise. Likewise, many characteristically Buddhist ideas recur in the preaching of the holy ascetic Barlaam : the impermanence of the world, the impurity of the human body, the impotence of mankind in face of the eternal, the worthlessness of earthly existence, the agony of human life, the evil of passion, the conquest of sin, the vanity of worldly glory, pleasure and ambition.

Since the German expeditions to Turfān in Chinese Turkestan early in the present century, it has been clear that the early development of the Barlaam and Josaphat legend must be located in those areas of central Asia where trade routes crossed and where Buddhism and Manichaeism for a time overlapped. These Turfān expeditions recovered fragments of the *Buddhacarita* along with a great quantity of Manichaean documents in Soghdian and Old Turkish, among which is one containing the episode of the encounter of Bodisav (bodhisattva) prince and the decrepit old man (published by A. von Le Coq, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1909). If one examines the course of conduct laid down for the 'elect' Manichee, one finds precepts recalling the life of the Buddhist monk on the one hand, and the Christian ascetic on the other, but most peculiarly similar also to the austerities practised by Barlaam in the desert. While all Manichees were vegetarians, the elect abstained from wine, from marriage and from possessing property. Their obligation not to produce fresh life nor to take it was so absolute that it extended to the vegetable kingdom : they might neither sow nor reap, nor even break their bread themselves, "lest they pain the light which was mixed with it." And so the Manichee elect went about, as do Indian holy men, with a disciple who prepared their food for them. It is also interesting that some of the early Muslim theologians include Būdhāsaf or Yūdāsaf (i.e., the bodhisattva) along with Mani, Zarādusht, Bardaisan, Marcion and Mazdak in their lists of dangerous heretics and false prophets.

Also recovered from Turfān in Chinese Turkestan is a fragment of an early Persian metrical rendering of the Barlaam and Josaphat legend, written not later than the early 10th century. W. B. Henning, who first made this text known in 1957 at the 24th International Congress of Orientalists, Munich, attributes the work to Rūdakī of his school, and considers it the earliest surviving manuscript of Persian poetry.

The Barlaam and Josaphat legend next makes its appearance in eighth century Baghdad under the caliphs. With its companion works, the *Kalilawa-Dimna* and the romance of Sinbād, the book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf, as the heroes are called in Arabic, was widely diffused in early Arabic literature, as many as five recensions in prose and verse being known to have existed at various times (See *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Vol. I, pp. 1215-17). It is interesting to note that the book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf lies at the root of the Aḥmadī tradition according to which a holy man named Yūz Āsaf, whom the Aḥmadīs identify as Jesus Christ, lived and preached at Śrīnagar in Kaśmīr. In reality, the stories related of this Yūz Āzaf are derived not from the life of Christ, but from the Arabic version of the Barlaam and Josaphat story. "Kaśmīr" has been substituted for "Kuśinārā", the place where the Buddha died, while the disciple "Ba'bid" of the Kaśmīr myth is really the Ābābid of the Arabic Barlaam story, identical with the faithful Ānanda of the authentic Buddhist tradition.

The first Christian versions: During the Middle Ages, the authorship of the Greek Barlaam and Josaphat romance was often ascribed to St. John of Damascus (*c.* 676–749), to whom holy men direct from India were supposed to have related the story. This attribution, despite the arguments of F. Dolger (*Der griechische Barlaam-Roman, ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos*, Ettal, 1953), is now seen to be erroneous. In fact, the first Christian adaptation of the Arabic book of Bilawhar and Jūdāsaf was made, evidently about 900 A.C., by the Georgians, a Christian people of the Caucasus, who named the heroes of the story Balahvar and Iodasaph (whence the Greek name-forms Barlaam and Iosaph). The older and completer of the two Georgian recensions, called *The Life of the Blessed Iodasaph*, is preserved in a unique 11th century Georgian manuscript at the Greek Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, and has been published by I. V. Abuladze at Tbilisi (Tiflis, in 1957. This Georgian redaction was adapted and rendered into Greek by St. Euthymius, the Anthonite, (died 1028) and his school. Among the many clues which point to this line of transmission, we may cite the 11th century Venice manuscript, Marc, Gr. VII. 26, where it is stated that the tale of Barlaam and Josaphat was translated from the Iberian or Georgian tongue into Greek by or on behalf of Euthymius, the Georgian, a worthy and virtuous man. Again, the anonymous author of the first Latin version of Barlaam and Josaphat, writing in 1048-49 A.C., just twenty years after the death of Euthymius, declares that the first person to translate the story from the "Indian" idiom into Greek was a monk called Eufimius (Euthymius), by nationality an Abasgian, that is to say, a native of Western Georgia. This testimony is supported by a wealth of philological evidence (See D. M. Lang, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, 1957, XX, pp. 389-407).

Barlaam and Josaphat in Mediaeval Christendom: The Western version of the Barlaam and Josaphat romance, as well as the Christian, Arabic and Ethopian recensions, derive ultimately from the Greek, though a Hebrew version was made direct from the Arabic. The story become popular in virtually every Christian country from Iceland to the Philippines, and was frequently adapted in poetic or dramatic form, as for instance by Lopede de Vega in Spain. Though never formally canonised both Barlaam and Josaphat were numbered by popular veneration in the roll of saints recognised by the Roman Catholic church, their day being November 27. Included by the 13th century Dominican monk Jacobus de Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea*, their lives were subsequently incorporated by Baronius in the Roman martyrology compiled in the 16th century and sanctioned by successive popes. The Greek church commemorated Ioasaph (Josaphat) on August 26, whereas the Russian orthodox church remembered Barlaam and Ioasaph, as well as the latter's father king Abenner, on November 19. A church at Palermo was dedicated to St. Josaphat, while a bone and part of the spine of that holy man are reputed to be preserved at the cloister of St. Salvator in Antwerp.

The Portuguese author Diogo do Couto (cp. *JCBRAS*. XX, No. 60 for 1908, 113 f., being a translation into English and the edition by Donald Ferguson), writing in 1612, had already compared the story of Barlaam and Josaphat with the legendary life story of the Buddha. But it was not until 1859 that Laboulaye drew attention in the *Journal des Debats* to the Buddhist origins of the romance, a discovery amplified by F. Liebrecht in a paper published in the following year.

D. M. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The story of Barlaam and Josaphat having been translated into all the major languages of Europe, in addition to the Oriental versions, the literature of the subject is very extensive. The most up-to-date survey of the question, with a bibliography listing nearly 400 items, is the book by Hiram Peri (Pflaum): *Der Religionsdisput der Barlaam-Legende, ein Motiv abendlandischer Dichtung*, Salamanca, 1959. The Oriental origins of the work are examined in detail in the book by D. M. Lang, *The Wisdom of Balahvar:*

A Christian Legend of the Buddha, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1957, and in the same author's article, "*The life of the Blessed Iodasaph*: a new Oriental Christian version of the Barlaam and Iosaph romance", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1957, XX.

BARTH, ETIENNE AUGUSTE (1834–1916), noted French Sanskrit scholar. He was only incidentally connected with Buddhist studies. An important contribution of his which touched on Buddhism was the article on India in the *Lichtenberger Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses.* It was re-issued in book-form in Paris (1879) and thereafter in translation into English (Lond., 1882) and Russian (Moscow, 1896). Buddhism forms its third section.

Buddhist cultural subjects were also included in the more comprehensive discussions on Indian culture in the 10 Bulletins contributed by him to the *Revue de l' Histoire des Religions* (1880–1902). Similarly, his epigraphic predilections took him to the Buddhist field with his *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge* as well in *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge,* a work based on the material of an earlier scholar, Bergaigne. He edited epigraphic texts from Indo-China (as it was then called) and India mainly in the *Journal Asiatique* and the *Bulletin de l' Ecôle Française d'Extrême-Orient,* for which latter journal he was partly responsible. He also considerably assisted Fourneau with the epigraphical portions of Siamese history in that scholar's *Ancien Siam.* (See *JRAS.* for 1916 for the obituary Notice by Paul Oltramare.)

D. T. D.

BARUA, BENI MADHAB, who dominated the stage of Buddhistic studies for a long time, was born in 1888 in the village of Pahartali in the district of Chittagong. After completing a brilliant educational career in India he went over to England where he was the first Indian to receive the degree of D. Lit. from the University of London. Under T. W. Rhys Davids, Hobhouse, F. W. Thomas and Barnett he studied Indology, especially Indian philosophy and religious history, including Buddhism and Jainism. He also showed interest in different branches of Indology, such as Buddhist art and Epigraphy. On his return to India he joined the University of Calcutta as a lecturer and soon rose to be Professor of Pali, which he continued to be till he died in March, 1948. He was elected an Ordinary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in recognition of his contributions to Buddhistic studies he was awarded the Dr. B. C. Law Gold Medal by this Society. The title of *Tipiṭakācariya* was conferred on him by the Vidyālaṅkāra Pariveṇa of Ceylon. He was one of the founder-editors of *Indian Culture*, and spared no pains for its improvement.

His valuable writings bear ample testimony to his critical scholarship, wide reading and sound judgment. A list of his main works includes: *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*; *Prolegomena to a History of Buddhist Philosophy*; *The Ājīvikas; Old Brāhmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*; *Barhut Inscriptions* (a critical edition with translation and notes); *Prakrit Dhammapada* (a critical edition with translation and notes); *Gaya and Buddhagaya* (in two volumes); *Barhut* (an authoritative work on the Stūpa of Bharhut in three volumes); *Bauddhagranthakoṣa* (Buddhist Encyclopaedia in Bengali), Vol. I; *Ceylon Lectures*; *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Part I (a critical edition of the texts); *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Part II (translation and notes, 1945); *Asoka and His Inscriptions* (1946); and *Philosophy of Progress*.

B. C. L.

BASE (*āyatana*). There are twelve bases on which the mental processes depend, namely, the five physical sense-organs, eye, ear, nose, tongue and body, which together with the mind-base or consciousness constitute the six inner or personal bases (*ajjhattika*), and to which correspond the six outer or external bases (*bāhira*) which are the sense-objects connected, respectively, with the senses. These are the twelve bases which form the starting point of the process of cognition by the coming together of an inner and an outer base. See ĀYATANA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BASIASITA. When Āryasiṃha, the 24th patriarch, was in danger of death, he transmitted his office to Basiasita, who thereby became the 25th patriarch of Mahāyāna Buddhism in a line of succession beginning with Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda. The line of succession includes Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna with Bodhidharma as the 28th, and last Indian patriarch, according to the Ch'an school. After this, the line of succession is continued in China.

A native of Kaśmīra, Basiasita proceeded to travel in central and south India, and appointed Punyamitra (the name is doubtful) as his successor. In Sanskrit his name is given as Vāsi-asita or Naśaśata. The date of his death is given as 325 A.C. (*DCBT*. pp. 22, 346).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BĀṢPA (=Vāṣpa), one of the five Bhadravargīya bhikṣus. See VAPPA.

BAS-RELIEF. See SCULPTURE.

BASSEIN, a district in Burma, where, in one of its suburbs known as Yegyi-yenauk, ruins of several Buddhist monuments have been discovered. One of them, a mound, revealed that it encased a stūpa. Inside this casing, on the north and south sides of the stūpa, were two chambers in which were found small terracotta votive tablets bearing effigies of the Buddha, stone votive stūpas, over one hundred figures of arahants, both male and female, bronze images of the Buddha, porcelain and glaced earthenware vessels containing relics of the Buddha or his disciples, small rubies in silver caskets and two small figures of a male and a female worshipper, probably representing an official and his wife. Outside the south chamber was also found a slab of stone containing an inscription in mediaeval Môn and dated 886 *sakkarat*, i.e., 1524 A.C. This inscription commemorates the making of bronze and other images of the Buddha, and other relic caskets by three villages. These three villages were probably in the Bassein district, but have not been properly identified yet. The images and the caskets referred to in the inscription are probably those found inside the two chambers.

The core-stūpa is probably of an earlier date than the inscription, but the casing may belong to the year of the inscription, i.e., 1524 A.C. The terracotta votive tablets are, however, assigned on stylistic grounds to the 12th-14th centuries A.C. Two of the stone votive stūpas roughly resemble the core-stūpa and its casing.

Modern stūpas have been built over two of the other prominent mounds in this district (*ASIAR*. 1930–34, Pt. I, pp. 204–6).

H. R. P.

BAT CHUM, a small Cambodian Buddhist shrine (*prasat*) in the province of Siem Rāp, near the river of that name. The shrine has, as its components, three little temples in a row on the same platform. They are oriented and have towers of brick. The door frames are of stone; their lintels are characterised by the sort of decoration (popularly called the Art of Indravarman) with the head of a lion or an elephant in the centre. The colonettes are octagonal. The towers sheltered images of the Buddha, of the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi and Devī, that is, Prajñāpāramitā (See L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, p. 127).

Three inscriptions, two in Sanskrit and one in Khmer, furnish information on the Mahāyānist cum Brahmanical connections of the temple. Śrī Kavīndrārimathana was responsible for these inscriptions. The date of the complex is 960 A.C. The epigraphs were edited by George Coedès, who also gave a description of the shrine (*JAs*. Series 10, Vol. for 1908, pp. 213–52).

D. T. D.

BATHING (*nahāna, sināna, snāna*). At the time Buddhism was spreading in India, the current Brāhmanic religion was full of religious rites and ceremonies. One of the commonest of these was the rite of purification by water. It was believed that all the evil deeds that a man committed could be washed away by ceremonial bathing in a holy river. The belief was that just as physical purity could be obtained by bathing, spiritual purity, too, could be similarly obtained symbolically.

The Buddha, however, condemned such practices as utterly meaningless and laid emphasis on spiritual development by purifying the mind and by the practice of morality. Occasions of such condemnation are found in Buddhist literature. Thus in *M*. I, 39 the brāhman Sundarika Bhāradvāja asks the Buddha whether he is in the habit of going down to the river Bāhukā for the ritual of bathing. When the Buddha asks in return about the usefulness of this river, the brāhman says that it is considered by many people as a means of purification by washing away in it the effects of evil deeds. He further says that since even sacrifices are offered to this river it is a source of accumulating merit. The Buddha then explains in detail the Buddhist attitude towards this practice of ritual bathing. It is a fool, he says, who enters these so-called holy bathing places like Bāhukā, Sarasvatī, etc., for religious purposes, for thereby he can never wash away his evil deeds (*kaṇhakamma*). These fords and rivers can do nothing to cleanse the sinful and guilty people who engage in evil deeds. For the pure man of good deeds (*sucikamma*) there is always the practice of good deeds. To become a pure man one should bathe not in these rivers but in his teaching. It is this bathing that will make all people pure. This spiritual bathing that the Buddha recommends consists, in brief, of the practice of good conduct of mind, speech and body. This being the truth, Gayā (a ford across the river Ganges) is only a reservoir (*udapāna*) and there is no point in going there and bathing ceremonially except that it is a means of physical cleaning. After these words the brāhman gave up his false beliefs and entered the Order.

According to *MA*. I, 179, the brāhmanic view was that whoever bathes in a holy *tīrtha* in the

month of *phagguna* (February-March) on the day after full-moon, will be cleansed of all the evil done during the year. In the above conversation (*M.* I, 39) the Buddha replies to this view by saying that for a man intent on doing good everyday is auspicious and holy.

On another occasion (*M.* I, 281) the Buddha says that the recluseship of one who bathes ceremonially does not depend merely on the ceremonial bathing, which means that such bathing has no spiritual value. The habit of going down to the water for ceremonial bathing three times a day was a very common practice among non-Buddhist ascetics during the time of the Buddha. The Buddha, however, on many occasions, condemned it as useless (e.g., *M.* I, 308, 343 ; *S.* I, 182, etc.).

Again, there is the story of Saṅgārava, the brāhman, who believed in achieving spiritual purity through water (*udakasuddhika*) and consequently was in the habit of going down for the bathing ritual, morning and evening (*S.* I, 182). When the Buddha asks him about the advantage of this practice, he says that the sins he committed during the day are washed by the evening bath and the sins of the night by the morning ablutions. The Buddha, thereupon, utters a stanza wherein new meanings are read into all the aspects of religious bathing : " The Dhamma is the lake, morality the bathing place and good men, clear and unruffled, come and bathe there and cross over to the other shore. " (This verse occurs also at *S.* I, 169) Buddhaghosa, in his commentary, improves on this by saying that when four or five people bathe in the river the water gets muddy, whereas in the lake of the Eightfold Path the water will remain calm and pure even when hundreds and thousands of people bathe and cross over to the other shore of Nibbāna. The so-called well-washed (*sunahāta*) brāhmans are not to be compared with the genuine disciples of the Buddha, as regards spiritual development (*M.* II, 120).

In the *Therīgāthā* (*vv.* 87 ff.), the therī Nanduttarā, after attaining arahantship as a Buddhist nun, recounts how she used to go to river banks for bathing rites, all in vain. Also in the *Therīgāthā* (*vv.* 236 ff.) there is an interesting conversation between Puṇṇā and a brāhman who believed in purificatory rites by water. Here, too, it is the futility of such rites that is emphasised. When the brāhman was going down to the water for his purificatory ablutions, Puṇṇā questions him about its significance. He says that it is for washing away his sins. Then she puts a counter question : If water can wash away the taints of evil deeds, then, all the aquatic creatures, should go straight to heaven and so should the hunters, butchers and others who often splash themselves with water. On the other hand, if these streams wash away their sins, they should wash away their merits too, she argues. She advises him, therefore, to give up his vain habits, and he does so. Later, he enters the Order and becoming an arahant says that although he was born as a mere brāhman, it was only after becoming an arahant that he became a real brāhman for only then was he cleansed by the inner spiritual bath (*sotthiyo ca'mhi nahātako*).

Another interesting point emerges from the use of the term *nahātaka* in this context. The Sanskrit equivalent, *snātaka*, was used in the brāhmanic religion to mean the brāhman who had finished his period of studentship and had performed the ceremonial bath which marked the culmination of his studies. With this ritual bath he finishes his period of studentship as a brahmacārin under his guru, returns home and begins his life as a *gṛhastha*. Like the modern graduation ceremony, this ceremonial ablution, done in sacred waters, was an event which made the person concerned to be regarded as well-educated and cultured. Thus, *snātaka* was a term designatory of academic and religious achievements and, as such, a person so described occupied an important place in the brāhmanic religious and social hierarchy. As in the case of the term *brāhmaṇa*, here too, the Buddha gave the term a new meaning in accord with his teaching. Thus, he used the term to mean a person who had washed away all defilements in the lake of his Dhamma. In this way the term *nahātaka* came to be used as an attribute of the Buddha and the arahants (cp. also *Sn.* 518, 521, 646 and *Dhp.* 422). Thus, *DhpA.* IV, 232 directly explains it as such when it says that one is a *nahātaka* by virtue of one's having washed away the defilements (*nahātakilesatāya nahātakaṃ*). In this connection one may compare *Theragāthā* ccxx, where the story of Nahātaka-muni is given.

In the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* of Āryadeva, religious bathing is similarly condemned. In verse 58 (p. 5, text edited by P. B. Patel, 1949), it is said that this practice should be avoided as a very low one (*snānaṃ śaucaṃ na caivātra, grāmadharmaṃ vivarjayet*). Then he asks how it is that this body, filled with impurities, could be cleansed by bathing in a river and he answers by saying that although washed repeatedly this body cannot be cleansed in the real sense. He further ridicules this habit by saying that a dog.

regarded as a very unclean animal by the Hindus, although it swims in the Ganges—the holiest of rivers—is not considered pure and, therefore, bathing in holy places is futile for pious men. If bathing can confer merit, the fishermen must be the most meritorious, not to speak of fish and other aquatic creatures who are in the water, day and night (cp. *Thīg.* xlii).

In *S.* V, 390, too, physical washing is said to be of no spiritual value as compared with genuine devotion to the Buddha, which is here said to be the real means of purification.

In *Vin.* I, 31, the Buddha meets and talks to the matted-hair ascetics (*jaṭilas*) who were practising purification through water by plunging repeatedly in the river Nerañjarā. Here it is interesting to note that they were practising this cult in cold winter nights at a time of snowfall, which fact shows that they were doing it as a self-mortifying ascetic practice. Here too, the Buddha showed them that this practice was of no value.

There is a similar passage in *Udāna* 6, where a large number of *jaṭilas*, during the same cold period of the year, were doing the same at Gayā. Having seen them the Buddha utters a stanza in which he clearly lays down the Buddhist attitude towards this practice :

Nodakena suci hoti
Bahvettha nahāyati jano
Yamhi saccañca dhammo ca
So suci so ca brāhmaṇo.

" Although many people bathe here it is not by water that one is purified. In whom there is truthfulness and virtue, he alone is the purified one, he is the *brāhmaṇa*. "

In *Theragāthā* cciv (*vv.* 345 ff.), in the story of Kassapa of Gayā, he recalls, after attaining arahantship, how he used to attend the festival of ceremonial bathing at Gayā three times a day, morning, noon and evening. He recollects how in those days he believed that by this ceremonial ablution all sins, past and present, could be washed away. After listening to the Buddha and becoming an arahant he says that he is really bathed and cleansed by plunging into the stream of the Noble Eightfold Path, wherein he has washed away all defilements.

Also in *A.* V, 263, the brāhmanic practice of purification by water is condemned by the Buddha as useless. In *S.* I, 38 the practice of correct asceticism and chastity are said to be the bathing without water (*sinānaṃ anodakaṃ*).

Thus, it is seen that the Buddhist conception of purity and purification differs fundamentally from that of Brahmanism. In Buddhism it is entirely moral and spiritual, and physical washing will never cleanse a man spiritually. There is no ritual bathing in Buddhism, whereas in non-Buddhist religious systems during the Buddha's time, it was a very popular ritual with the symbolic meaning of spiritual purification.

Another noteworthy thing about this cult is that the ceremonial bathing so far discussed was usually held during the month of *phagguna* (February–March) which marked the beginning of spring and the end of the cold season in India. It was the sacramental festival held annually at some important bathing ford (cp. *Ud.* 6 ; *Thag. vv.* 287, 345 ; *Vin.* I, 31).

Apart from ceremonial bathing already discussed there is also the question of normal bathing, especially for monks and nuns, about which rules have been laid down in the Vinaya. Some interesting information could be gathered from the discussion of these rules as found in the text (*Vin.* IV, 116 ff.).

There is, for instance, the story of how monks used to bathe in the hot springs of Tapodā, a lake on the outskirts of Rājagaha, which seems to have been a very popular bathing place during the time of the Buddha. One day, when king Bimbisāra went there for a bath in the afternoon, some monks were bathing there. Out of respect for them, he waited patiently till they finished. As the monks went on bathing till nightfall, the king was forced to bathe very late, at the wrong time. Without uttering a word to the monks concerned, he went to the Buddha on the following morning and reported the matter to him. Then the Buddha summoned the monks and, after having rebuked them for their lack of consideration for others, laid down a rule that if the monks were to bathe at intervals of less than a fortnight it would involve an offence of expiation. This evidently applied only to public bathing-places. But even here exceptions were allowed. Thus, in *Vin.* I, 196, when the monks living in the southern region of Avantī felt the necessity of constant bathing as the people there attached great importance to bathing and purification by water (*nahānagarukā udakasuddhikā*), not, of course, as a rite, but as an essential ablution, they informed the Buddha and the rule was relaxed in their case. Later, because of various practical difficulties encountered by the monks, several exceptions were allowed. Thus, they could bathe frequently during hot

weather, or when it was necessary to bathe after a long journey, or after manual labour, or when the wind blew dust on their bodies.

In a description of the proper behaviour of a monk towards his preceptor when sharing a cell with him, it is said (*Vin.* I, 47 ; II, 224, 229) that if the preceptor wishes to bathe, the pupil should prepare a bath, hot or cold, according to the preceptor's wish. When the preceptor enters the bathroom the pupil should knead the bathpowder (*cuṇṇa*) and moisten the clay. Taking a chair for the bathroom he should go there behind his teacher. He should take his robe, lay it aside, and give him bathpowder and clay. In case the teacher has a warm bath or a steam bath, and the bathroom gets filled with steam, the junior monk, too, was expected to protect his face with a smearing of clay and cover himself front and back. After the bath he had to wipe off water from the preceptor's limbs, give him his inner and outer robes and prepare him a seat, too.

It is quite possible, though not so expressly mentioned, that this kind of attendance on the preceptor was expected from the pupil only if the former was advanced in age and found it difficult to look after himself.

Once, the group of six monks (*chabbaggiyā*) were prevented from using the bathroom by some elderly monks who went on bathing for a long time (*Vin.* II, 220). Then the group of six made a fire at the entrance to the bathroom and blocked the doorway. The heat produced was so great that the monks in the bathroom fell down fainting. When this was reported to the Buddha, he laid down rules regarding the use of the bathroom. Whosoever goes to the bathroom first should throw out the ashes, sweep it, knead the bathpowder (*cuṇṇa*) with water, moisten the clay and pour the water into the jars. One may enter the bathroom after smearing the face with clay and covering oneself front and back. Younger monks should not sit on the space intended for the older ones. On leaving the bathroom, too, one should cover oneself front and back. No one should bathe before his seniors, nor should one bathe above them. If the bathroom is damp, whosoever leaves it last, should mop it. Before leaving it, he should also wash the tub, put away the chair, extinguish the fire, and close the door. These descriptions indicate that the practice of taking steam-baths, too, was in vogue at the time. *Vin.* II, 120 ff. describes the structural form of the bathroom and this description also suggests the existence of steam-baths. For instance, a pipe for the steam to go out (*dhūmanetta*) is referred to as a part of the bathroom. Inside the bathroom was a tub to moisten the clay. If this clay were to give a bad odour, perfume could be used to make it pleasant.

In *Vin.* II, 120, it is said that the monks bathed everywhere in the monastery and consequently the entire place became wet. When this was reported to the Buddha, he allowed the use of a pool. Where the pool was too open the Buddha allowed three kinds of fences (of bricks, stones or wood) to be erected so that the monks could bathe in privacy. Since the floor became muddy he allowed them the same three kinds of flooring. When water began to stagnate he allowed a drain to be constructed. Since a bath in the open made their bodies cold, the Buddha allowed the use of a wiper to dry the water and to sponge themselves with a cloth.

Another interesting piece of information is found in *Vin.* II, 105–6 as to how the monks should rub their bodies when bathing. Here too, the group of six monks, while bathing, rubbed their bodies against a tree. People who saw this criticised the monks for doing so, like ordinary lay people. On hearing this the Buddha ruled that for a monk to rub his body against a tree was an offence. To use a post or a wall for the purpose was also an offence. When a rubbing-board (*aṭṭāna*) was similarly used which was a plank made of wood with rows of squares cut on it and sunk in to the ground, and bath-powder (*cuṇṇa*) sprinkled on it, that too, was disallowed as not being in keeping with a monk's discipline. A contraption called the *gandhabba-hatthaka*, which was a wooden instrument in the shape of a bird's claw, was sometimes used to rub the body while bathing ; likewise, a string of beads covered with vermilion powder, and held at both ends. Their use, too, was forbidden. Sometimes a group of bathers would plunge into the water and each one rub his body against the body of another. This method provided them also with an enjoyable form of massage. When this, too, was made an offence, bathing monks began to use a scrubber (*mallaka*), made of the teeth of fish, which was not allowed either except for monks suffering from diseases of the skin, and in their case also only scrubbers without cutting edges. Where a monk, weak through old age, was not able, while bathing, to rub his own body, he was permitted the use of a strip of cloth (*ukkāsikā*) in rubbing his body. It was also laid down that there was nothing wrong in rubbing the body with one's hands in the usual way.

Bathing in the nude seems to have been not uncommon during the Buddha's time. Even Buddhist nuns are said to have bathed naked. Thus, in *Vin.* IV, 278, several nuns are reported to have bathed naked with prostitutes at the same ford at Aciravatī, whereupon the prostitutes made fun of them for their unbecoming behaviour. When this was reported to the Buddha he made it an offence for nuns to bathe naked (cp. *Vin.* IV, 259). An exception was, however, made if the robe was stolen or lost. Because of this incident, we find Visākhā seeking the Buddha's permission to offer bathing clothes to the nuns (*Vin.* I, 293). Thus, the practice of offering such clothes to the nuns came into being. Hence, in addition to the usual three robes of the monk, the nun has five robes (*pañca cīvarāṇi* : *Vin.* II, 272; IV, 282) with the addition of the bodice (*saṅkacchika*) and the bathing cloth (*udakasāṭikā*). While the other robes are of patchwork fashion, the bathing cloth is plain (*Vin.* I, 294 ; IV, 278–9). In *Vin.* IV, 278–9 it is laid down that the proper measurements of a bathing-cloth should be four spans[1] in length and two spans in width. Exceptions are allowed if a nun wears another's bathing-cloth or if she is mad.

It is interesting to note the various cleansing materials used while bathing. A very popular substance was *cuṇṇa* which was a paste with quicklime and sand as the chief ingredients. Used also as a plaster for walls, it was used as soap-powder for the skin while bathing. It was used as a medicine for the skin also (*Vin.* I,202). This powder was often used in combination with clay (*mattika*) which was another such cleansing material. Of these two substances, *cuṇṇa* was allowed for tender skins or for those subjected to skin diseases, whereas in normal cases clay was used. Thus, in the case of the monks and nuns it was an offence to use *cuṇṇa* unless the skin was not normal, whereas usually they were expected to use clay (*Vin.* I, 47, 51–2). In *Vin.* II, 280, people are said to have criticised nuns for using *cuṇṇa* while bathing and the Buddha told them that it was an offence to do so. Instead of *cuṇṇa*, he allowed the red powder of rice husks mixed with clay. But when they bathed with scented clay, they were asked to use ordinary clay. Nuns were not allowed to bathe in a bathroom, or swim upstream or bathe at an ordinary place in the river and not at a bathing ford. Nor could they bathe at a ford reserved for men. The safest and the correct place for the nuns to bathe was a ford meant for women (*mahilātittha*).

Vin. IV, 341 says that nuns could use perfume and paint (*gandhavaṇṇakaṃ*) only in cases of illness or madness. They could use ground sesamum but unscented.

At *A.* III, 25, explaining right concentration, the Buddha compares a good monk who practises concentration to a clever bath-attendant. Just as the latter sprinkles bathpowder in a basin and gradually mixing it with water, kneads it together so that the paste becomes a ball, so the clever monk, who practises concentration, will suffuse the body with zest and ease without allowing the mind to wander about (also at *M.* I, 276 ; II, 15 ; *D.* I, 74).

These instances show that in place of the shampoos and soaps that are used today as cleansing agents, other kinds of material such as powder, paste, clay, etc. were popularly used. These substances were usually scented, but the Buddha disallowed the use of such scented material for monks and nuns. In *DhpA.* I, 398 it is said that when Visākhā was given in marriage she was given a dowry worth 540 million, which included money for the purchase of bathpowder (*nahānacuṇṇa-mūlakaṃ*). In *DhpA.* III, 88 there is the story of the construction of a bathroom and a bath-seat at an expense of 100,000 for each. It would be interesting to find out whether the bath-seat (*nahānaphalaka*), referred to here, was anything similar to the modern diving-board.

In addition to ceremonial bathing and the ordinary bathing so far discussed, another popular practice among kings and persons of similar rank was that of watersports (*udakakīḷā*). These took place either in private pools or at public fords (*nahānatittha*), as mentioned in *DhpA.* III, 79. It would appear that by the gates of the chief cities in ancient India there were such public bathing places. Pubbakoṭṭhaka (the eastern gatehouse) mentioned in *A.* III, 345 and *M.* I, 161 seems to have been a popular place of this kind in Sāvatthi. In both these references, the Buddha is said to have gone there with Ānanda for a bath. As the river Aciravatī flowed round the city of Sāvatthi, Pubbakoṭṭhaka was probably a great ford in the river at the eastern gate of the city (See *Middle Length Sayings* I, 204, n. 1.).

At *D.* I, 12, bathing other people as a profession is mentioned in a list of low occupations. It will be interesting in this connection to mention that *nahāpita* (one who bathes others) is the term used to denote the professional hairdresser in those days. Both bathing others and hairdressing were done by

1 One span (*vidatthi*) equals twelve finger-joints (*aṅgula*).

the same person, and his profession was regarded as low in the social scale. (For a detailed discussion of this aspect see BARBER.)

Bathing old and weak people, specially one's parents, is regarded in Buddhism as a meritorious deed (*A.* I, 62, 132).

A. G. S. K.

In Indian custom, bathing has come to be considered as indispensable for religious ceremonies as much as being a necessity in life.

Bathing also played an important role in the case of funerals. It is prescribed in the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra* IV, 1–5, that the attendants at a funeral should leave the cemetery without looking back, and on their way home bathe in the water previously provided in order to purge themselves from impurities. They should then put on new clothes, go back home at sunset, and go through a rite of purification by touching stone, fire, water and cow's excrement.

The idea of purification from uncleanliness or sins by bathing was commonly held by Orientals, and especially so in India, Japan, and in the southern countries. This custom is still lingering on in many parts of these countries.

Regulations concerning bathing were not strict in the Buddhist Order of monks. However, in the case of Buddhist nuns, manners of bathing were decided in detail. For example, a Chinese translation of the Vinaya text, *Ssŭ-fên-lü*, Vol. 26, prescribes that in case of bathing, a nun must act upon such rules as : (1) bathing in the water where the stream is bent, (2) bathing in the shade of tree, (3) staying in the water, while dipping the body and (4) wearing bathing clothes.

As for the rules regarding general bathing, *Nan-hai-chih-kuei-nei-fa-ch'uan*, Vol. 3, written by a Chinese monk, I-ching, who stayed 25 years in India in the latter half of the 7th century, gives a detailed description. According to this text, there were more than ten large ponds in Nālandā-temple in Central India. It says, " In this temple, the monks are to bathe at the sound of the *ghaṇṭā* (a wooden gong) in the morning. Each of them has his own bathing clothes and, going out of the temple, bathes in his respective pond. Those who do not go out to the ponds but bathe in the temple, have water poured on them in bathing clothes by others."

It was also permitted to establish a bath-house, when there was no hot spring available. Its primary object was to heal disease. For instance, *Ssŭ-fên-lü*, Vol. 26, records, " From now on, monks shall be granted permission to build a bath-house. Bathe in it in order to get rid of diseases. " It gradually became applicable to healthy monks also and, at least, five curative benefits of the bath-house are mentioned.

The *Tsêng-i-a-han-ching*, Vol. 28, writes as follows ; " There are five benefits to be derived by building a bath-house : (1) removal of paralysis, (2) cure of diseases, (3) washing off dirt and dust, (4) reduction in body weight, and (5) making the body strong and the skin fair."

According to the Chinese version of the sūtra *Fu-shuo-wên-shih-hsi-yü-chung-sêng-ching*, translated by An Shih-kao in the Second Han dynasty (25—220 A.C.) seven diseases could be cured, and beneficial effects could be obtained, by the use of a bath-house. The removal of seven diseases mean (1) making the body tranquil, (2) healing paralysis, (3) getting rid of cutaneous disease, (4) making the body resistant to freezing cold, (5) driving off fever, (6) washing off dirt, and (7) making the body light and the eyes bright.

The seven blessings means (1) that the user of the bath-house will get rid of four great diseases and consequently become venerated by many people because of his vigorous health, (2) he will be respected for his decent and clean appearance, (3) also by those who notice the fragrant odour of his body and his neat clothes, (4) his skin will be admired for its smoothness and gracefulness, (5) as a natural consequence of the people's admiration, he will be blessed, (6) his teaching will be effective, owing to the pleasant smell of his mouth and teeth, and (7) his garments will naturally become bright and strike the spectator with admiration.

As for the shape of the bath-house, the notes added by I–ching at the end of the *Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ieh-yu-pu-p'i-nai-yeh-tsa-shih* (the Chinese translation of the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*) Vol. 3 gives us a description in detail. According to these notes, a bath-house is constructed as follows : upon the foundation of a double layer of bricks, other bricks are built up so as to look like a heap of grain with narrow top and wide bottom ; the height is a little more than 3 meters and the width is about 2.1 to 2.4 meters. It has an entrance with a door attached to it on one side. The window is set in order to let out smoke and to permit light through it. A fireplace is made about 3 meters underground, in which charcoal and firewood are burnt.

The most important document in China prescribing the life of priests is the *Ch'ih-hsiu-pê-chang-ch'ing-kuei*. This provided general regulations for Chinese temples to follow, for 1100 years from the T'ang dynasty to the Ch'ing dynasty, and was introduced into Japan with Zen Buddhism during the Kamakura-period (1184–1333 A.C.). It became a standard of regulation in Zen temples, consequently exerting a great influence on the manners of the *Samurai*, and also on the tea-ceremony and flower-arrangement. According to the chapter on Bathing Procedures in this volume, it was customary to take a bath once in five days during the cold season, and every day during the hot season. Preceding the bathing of the monks it was usual to bathe a Buddha's image enshrined in a meditation hall. Besides, it was the custom of Chinese Zen temples to enshrine an image of bodhisattva Bhadrapāla in a bath-house. This is said to have been based on the incident recorded in *Ta-fu-ting-shou-lêng-yen-ching* Vol. 5, that Bhadrapāla, and lay-supporter from Rājagaha, and his sixteen companions happened to attain enlightenment through contemplation on water when they went into the bath-house after the monks who had also entered into it.

K. Ki.

Bathing of the Buddha image : The origin of the ceremony of washing the Buddha image is given as follows : When Prince Siddhārtha was born in the grove of Lumbinī under the Aśoka tree (also called sāla tree or palāśa tree), according to tradition, there were nine (according to another tradition, two) nāgas pouring water to wash the body of the holy one. This tradition has become a very significant theme in the Buddhist narrative literature. Modern excavations conducted at Mṛgadāva (modern Sārnāth) and Amarāvatī, India, have discovered many Buddhist sculptures and monuments that bear representations of this scene.

The narrative about the birth of Prince Siddhārtha in the first chapter of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa in 420 A.C., is one of the earliest materials concerning the life of the Buddha. As the *Buddhacarita* was an epic poem for the court, Aśvaghoṣa wrote it in verse of an extremely fine style.

In the *Kuo-chü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching* (*Sūtra on the Cause and Effect of the Past and Present*, fasc. 1), translated by Guṇabhadra twenty years later in 440 A.C., it is also recorded that Queen Māyā was amusing herself in the park of Lumbinī, she came under a certain sāla tree ; and, as she raised her right arm to pluck a twig, the Prince was delivered from her right side. At that very moment, seven lotus flowers, each as large as a chariot wheel, sprang forth under the tree to receive the Infant, who, without any assistance, walked about seven steps by himself, raised up his right hand, and proclaimed in a lion roar : " Of all gods and men, I am the chiefest and foremost. The innumerable cycles of births and deaths are now for me brought to an end. This life of mine shall benefit all men and gods." Then the four great deva-kings of the four quarters received the body of the prince with deva garments of extreme lightness, and laid him upon a precious stand ; the two Nāgarājas, Nanda and Upananda, poured down from the sky two pure streams, one of warm and the other of cool water, to wash the prince's body. Thenceforth, Buddhists in successive ages upto the present time, in their ceremony of celebrating the birth of the Buddha, have been accustomed to prepare a basin as a Buddha-bath in a Buddhist hall or some clean open space. In the basin, upon a carved lotus-shaped pedestal, is placed a golden image of the Śākya prince with its right hand pointing towards the sky' and its left one towards the earth. (Later, it was also sometimes made with the left hand pointing upward and the right one downward.) Over the image, scented water is sprinkled as a sign of commemoration and worship. This is called the ceremony of bathing the Buddha image.

With the development of the translation of Buddhist scriptures, the Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, mostly eulogized the merits of making the Buddha's images. During the Southern and Northern dynasties, the making of small golden and bronze images of the Buddha was very popular. Some of these images were in the form of Prince Siddhārtha after his birth. During the Northern dynasty many grottoes were made along rocky mountains. The 'Story of the Buddha's Birth' carved on the four sides of the square pillar in the centre of Cave No. 6 among the famous Yunkang Grottoes, was made in the middle of the fifth century during the reign of Emperor Hsien-wên (466–70 A.C.) of the Northern Wei dynasty. This ceremony was first establised in India, as a development of a religious endeavour to solicit blessing and to expiate sins. Apart from Buddhists, the idea of keeping the soul purified has from very early times found expression among the Hindus too, as a custom of bathing sacred images.

The *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* (fasc. 100) has this story: Princess Vimaladattā, daughter of King Prasenajit of Śrāvastī, accompanied by five hundred brāhmans, was going out of the city, with vases full of water, intending to take part in the bathing of a deva's image, when they happened to encounter some bhikṣus outside the city gate. The brāhmans took it to be a sign of bad luck, whereupon one of the elders among them began to beseech the princess to turn back. But she refused, and on the contrary, she proceeded to argue with them, and, by her eloquent persuasion, made the five hundred brāhmans have faith in the Buddha. This story provides evidence for the fact that there did exist some connection between the ceremony of washing the Buddha image and the ancient Indian custom.

I-ching, a monk of the T'ang dynasty, in his *Nan-hai-chih-kuei-nei-fa-ch'uan*, an account of his travels and life in India, devotes the fourth chapter of his book to the Ceremony of Washing the Holy Image, in which he says: "Although the Great Teacher is gone, here remains his image, an object which it is our duty to revere, turning our hearts towards him as if he were still among us. Constant offering of fragrant flowers will make our minds aspire after the sublime; and by frequent performances of washing the Buddha-image, all dull and heavy effects of the Karma will be exterminated ....But in the western countries the ceremonials of Washing the Holy Image are prescribed thus: at 10 a.m. (of the day), the sexton announces the beginning of the ceremony by beating the ghaṇṭā, a drum-shaped wooden instrument. In the court yard, a canopy above an image, decorated with gems, is overhung. Vases full of fragrant water are installed by the side of the main hall. An image made of either gold, silver, bronze or stone, is set up in a bronze, gold, wooden or stone. The programme of the ritual begins with music played by female attendants. The image is accordingly rubbed with fine incense, sprinkled over with fragrant water, carefully wiped clean with a piece of white cloth, and then brought back into the hall and placed amidst all kinds of flowers and adornments. This is the ritual performed by priests in a monastery........All bronze images, whether large or small, should be polished with fine ashes or stucco powder so as to make them lustrously bright, shining like transparent mirrors when pure water is sprinkled over them. For the larger images, the bathing may be performed at the middle or the end of the month by a body of priests collectively, and for the smaller ones, it may be done in the best possible way in which a priest can do, provided that each image must be washed. The latter is more meritorious than any other ritual though it is less expensive. The water having been thus used for the washing may be dipped into with two fingers and spattered upon one's own head. It is called the water of beatitude.'

In the *Yü-hsiang-kung-tê-ching* translated by I-ching, it is said that only daily washing of the Holy Image will bring immense benefit (to the performer), but the occasion of the ceremony is not fixed exclusively on Buddha's birthday. Thereupon, Tsan-ning, in the item on "Buddha-bathing" in his *Seng-shih-lüeh* (*A brief history of the Saṅgha*) says to this effect: 'Daily washing' implies that the performance does not necessarily take place on the birthday. Perchance, the torpid climate of India has naturally led the priests to infer from their own experience that the Buddha image too has the same necessity of frequent washing. It is just in China that the occasion of washing is fixed on the eighth day of the twelfth month or the second month or the fourth month by reason of its being the Buddha's birthday."

As a consequence of the introduction of Buddhism into China, the custom of Buddha-bathing has been followed from very early times. In the sketchy account of Tso Yung in the *Wu-shu* (*History of Wu*) fasc. 4, given as a supplement to the *Liu-yu-ch'uan* (*Biography of Liu-Yu*), we find this passage: "At first, Tso Yung having gathered together several hundreds of followers, went to offer his service to T'ao Ch'ien, governor of the Hsü-chou region, who entrusted him with the charge of grain transporting by the canal in the districts of Kuang-ling and P'êng-chêng.... There he erected Buddhist temples extensively.... On the occasion of Buddha-bathing, such abundance of wine and food was prepared and served on mattresses spread along the open roads that they extended to several dozens of *li*. The number of people who came to enjoy the spectacles and eat out the viands amounted almost to ten thousand, and the expense was to be counted by the million." These ceremonies performed on such grand scale mark the definite establishment of the ceremony for Buddha-bathing in China.

This custom gradually became a vogue in the court and the official circles, and at the time of the Southern and Northern dynasties, one saw it in full sway in all parts of the empire. Shih Lei of the Later Chao Kingdom (319–332 A.C.) celebrated Buddha-bathing as a means to solicit bliss for his sons. According to the biography of Buddhacinta in the *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 9), "Shih Lei used to send his sons

to be brought up in monasteries. On the 8th day of the fourth month every year he would go to the monastery to make Vows for them." The *Fu-tsu-t'ung-chi*, (*Records of the lineage of the Buddha and Buddhist Patriachs*, fasc. 36), in the section devoted to the 6th year of Ta-ming period of Emperor Hsiao Wu of the Earlier Sung (462 A.C.), has recorded this event: " On the 8th day of the 4th month the emperor performed Buddha-bathing in the inner palace and feted the priests." Again, the biography of Liu Ching-hsüan in the *Sung-shu* (*History of Sung*, fasc. 47) relates: " On the 8th day of the fourth month, (Liu) Ching-hsüan seeing other people perform Buddha-bathing, offered the golden mirror from his head-dress (as donation) and asked to have a share in the ceremony in remembrance of his mother, shedding mournful tears all the while. " These quotations testify that as early as the fifth century A.C., Buddha-bathing had already gained considerable popularity among the Chinese people as well as the barbarian tribes in both the Southern and Northern dynasties.

In China the date assigned for Buddha-bathing varies in different ages. The first date is the 8th day of the second month, the second one is the 8th day of the fourth month, and the third one is the 8th day of the twelfth month. As we know, the dates of the birth, the *Pravrajyā* (leaving home and becoming a monk), the Enlightenment and the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha have all been definitely recorded in the traditions of all schools of both Northern and Southern branches of Buddhism in India, and every school tends to place these "four events " on the same day of the year. The *Ta-tang-hsi-yü-chi* (*Records of the Western Regions of the T'ang Dynasty*, fascs. 6 & 8) has pointed out that, concerning these dates, the Sthaviras have a tradition different from those of the other sects. According to the Sthavira tradition, the date of the conception of Buddha is placed on the 30th day of the month of Uttarāṣāḍha, corresponding to the fifteenth of the fifth month of the Chinese calendar; while the dates of his birth, *Pravrajyā* and Enlightenment all fall on the fifteenth day of the second half of the month of Vaiśākha, corresponding to the fifteenth of the third month in the Chinese calendar. The other sects place the date of the conception on the 8th day of the second half of the month of Āṣāḍha, corresponding to the 8th day of the fifth month in the Chinese calendar: while the dates of the other three events are placed on the 8th day of the second half of the month of Vaiśākha, corresponding to the 8th day of the third month in the Chinese calendar. The southern branch places the Buddha's birthday on the 8th day of the second half on the month of Jyeṣṭha (see Buddhaghosa's Introduction to the *Jātaka*), corresponding to the 8th day of the fourth month in the Chinese calendar.

From the historical records quoted above, the date for Buddha-bathing in the Later Han dynasty (23–220 A.C.) cannot yet be decided as it has not been clearly stated in the account of Tso Yung's Life. During the period of the Northern dynasties (386–577 A.C.), the ceremony was generally performed on the 8th day of the fourth month. From the Liang dynasty (502–557 A.C.) onwards, all through the Tang (618–907 A.C.) and down to the early Liao (916–1211 A.C.), it was generally done on the 8th day of the second month. During the Sung dynasty (960–1279 A.C.) the occasion of Buddha-bathing was shifted to the 8th day of the twelfth month in North China, while in the South it was still on the 8th day of the fourth month.

The instances of the Shih Lei of the Later Chao, Emperor Hsiao-wu and Liu Ching-hsüan of the Earlier Sung, who all performed Buddha-bathing on the 8th day of the fourth month, have been related above. Besides, the chronicle entitled the *Ching-ch'u-sui-shih-chi* (*Folklores in the regions of Ching and Ch'u*, modern Hupei and Hunan provinces, *arranged according to seasons of the year*) written in the Liang dynasty, places the Buddha's birth on the 8th day of the second month. The biography of *Hsüan Wan* of T'ang in the *Hsü-kao-sêng-ch'uan* (*Later Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 22) records, " On the 8th day of the second month, the birth day of the Great Sage, Hsüan Wan used to perform respectfully the bathing ceremony in remembrance of the Holy Tradition, and on this same day every year, he would give sermons and feasts to a great assembly of Bhikṣus and laymen." The *Li-chih* (*Records of Rites*) of the *Liao-shih*, (*History of Liao*, fasc. 53) records that at the time of Liao, the 8th day of the second month was accepted as the birthday of Prince Siddhārtha.

During the Sung dynasty, Buddha-bathing was mostly performed on the 8th day of the twelfth month. In the item concerning the date of the Buddha's birth in Tsan-ning's *Brief History of the Saṅgha* (fasc. 1) there is this remark: " The people of the Eastern Capital (K'ai fêng, the capital of Sung) used to perform Buddha-bathing on the 8th day of the twelfth month, which is acknowledged as the birthday of the Buddha." Tsan Ning's opinion is that the fixing of the 8th day of the twelfth month for Buddha-bathing might have

been the transference of an Indian festival probably in accordance with the śāstra entitled *Sa-po-to-pi-ni-pi-po-sha* (the Chinese translation of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-vibhāṣā*), which places the Buddha's birth on the 8th day of the second month of the year. The twelfth month of the current calendar of contemporary China corresponds to the second month of the ancient Chou Calendar. The *Mahāvyutpatti* (fasc. 7) quotes the words of Pei Shan saying, "The second month in Chou dynasty (1122-247 B.C.) corresponds to the twelfth month in our present calendar. As the Great Sage was born at the time of Chou, it is admissible for us to take our eleventh month to be the first month of the year (in calculating the date of His birth)." But there are also instances wherein the 8th day of the twelfth month is regarded as the date of the Buddha's Enlightenment and hence the performance of the bathing. Tan-hsia Tsu-ch'un of the Sung dynasty once opened his sermon for this occasion with the following verse :

'The 8th day of the twelfth month is now come,
The day when the Buddha got his rare freedom.
Remember this two thousand years since, then
With fragrant water, his body bathe again."

(*Tan-hsi-tzŭ-ch'in-chan-shih-yü-lu : Sayings of Tan Hsia Tsu chun*)

Shih-wen-lei-chü (*Collection of Events and Writings under Classified Headings*) compiled by Chu Mu of the Sung dynasty says, "On the 8th day of the twelfth month all great monasteries in the imperial capital used to hold celebrations of Buddha-bathing and serve a kind of porridge, cooked with seven precious substances and flavoured with five spices, which was called the la-pa porridge (The porridge for the 8th day of the twelfth month)." This is the earliest record mentioning the Buddha-bathing in connection with the la-pa porridge.

But, in the southern regions of China, this ceremony was still performed on the 8th day of the fourth month. The *Sui-shih-tsa-chi* (*Miscellaneous notes on the popular customs in the seasons of the year*) says, "The sūtras give different dates for the Buddha's birth. Most of them put it on the 8th day of the fourth month. Therefore the ceremony of bathing the Buddha is held on this day. At the present time, however, only the people of the South adopt this date (for the performance), while the people of the North still place it on the 8th day of the twelfth month. Since the recent arrival of the master of meditation, Yüan-chao (1020–1099) at the Huei-lin Meditation Monastery, who began to conduct the ceremony on this day (the 8th day of the fourth month) according to the regulations prescribed by the *Mo-ho-h'a-t'ou-ching*, people begin to follow the custom." Later on, the monasteries in the Sung capital (K'ai-fêng) as a rule adopted the 8th day of the fourth month for the occasion of Buddha-bathing. The *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu* (*Reminiscence of the Prosperity and Gaieties of the Eastern Capital*) asserts, "On the 8th day of the fourth month, the ten great monasteries held the festivals of Buddha-bathing, sending one another for presents, flavoured tea and sugar water, which are called the water for Buddha-bathing." Both the *Huan-chu-an-ch ing-kuei* (*Pure Rules of the Huan Chu Monastery*) and Ch'ih-hsiu-pê-chang-ch'ing-kuei (*Pure Rules of Pai Chang, revised under the Imperial Edict*) of the Yüan dynasty have definitely fixed the Buddha's birthday on the 8th day of the fourth month, and ever since, in both the South and the North, Buddha-bathing is performed uniformly on the same day.

The ritual of bathing the Image is most clearly described in the *Yü-hsiang-kung-tê-ching* translated by Ratnacinta : "In performing the Image bathing, first, the scented water should be prepared of such sorts of spice as are obtainable, e.g., gośīrṣa-candana (or oxhead-shaped sandalwood), red sandalwood, tamālapattra-gandha, valerian, coniselinum univitatum, white sandalwood, curcuma longa, camphor, aloes wood, musk, clove, etc.; and let it be contained in clean utensils. The Image is placed on a beautifully decorated couch on a platform constructed beforehand, and besprinkled with various kinds of scented water. When every part of the Image has been washed clean, pure water is poured over it. Those who have helped in the bathing may take drops from the water that has been thus used and spatter it on their own heads; then they make offerings of various kinds of incense. The whole process of bathing is accompanied from the beginning by chanting the following gāthā :

By this washing, thus performed unto you,
O Buddhas, you
The Incarnation of wisdom, graces and virtue,
May living things of this loathesome world be moved from crime,
And be absorbed into your body of Law sublime.

The ceremonials of Buddha-bathing practised in Chinese monasteries are in general conducted according to the regulations which were set down by the Pure Rules of Pai Chang (re-collected in

the year 1336), although some of them had already been touched upon in the *Huan-chu-an-ch'ing-kuei* (*Pure Rules of the Huan Chu Monastery*) written by Chung-fêng Ming-hên nineteen years earlier. In the second chapter of the *Ch'ih-hsiu-pe-chang-ch'ing-kuei* (*Pure Rules of Pai Chang*) the chapter "On the Requital of the Buddha's Favour", there is an item devoted to the birthday of the Buddha which prescribes in detail the ceremonials of Buddha-bathing, saying: "When the day (the 8th day of the fourth month) arrives, the chief manager makes ready a beautifully decorated flowery shrine in which is placed the Image of Buddha descending into the world and a basin of scented water with two small ladles. After the offering and worshipping are over, the abbot goes up to the hall with joss sticks in hand, and utters this prayer: 'On this auspicious day of the Buddha's birth, the abbot of such-and-such monastery. . . . respectfully burns incense as an offering unto the original Master, Śākyamuni, Upādhyāya, in thanksgiving for his compassionate favours. May all living beings of the realms of the Dharma ever cherish the hope for the appearances of Buddhas.' Then he goes on to deliver a sermon, and after that leads the assembly up to the shrine, offering incense and making triple obeisance. As he kneels before the incense burner, the duty-distributor (Karmadāna) proceeds to recite a laudatory address to the Buddha: 'As the moon traversing the sky reflects itself upon all the waters, so doth each Buddha manifest himself in his designated world, each sitting upon his particular lotus flower. The sending out of his white illuminating ray brightens up the three realms, and the sprinkling of his sweet dew enlivens the four forms of birth. . . .'

After the adoration, he leads up the assembly in chanting the gāthā for Buddha-bathing:

'By this bathing thus performed unto you, O
Buddhas, you
The incarnations of wisdom, graces and virtue,
May the living things of his loathsome world be
moved from crime,
And be absorbed into your body of Law sublime.'

As the chanting goes on, the monks of the assembly betake themselves to the performance of bathing the image and finally, by virtue of the performance, turn their thoughts towards the supreme Bodhi, the state of Buddhahood.

The custom of the Ming dynasty was largely inherited from that of the Sung. The *Hsi-chao-lo-shih* (*Customs and Festivals of the Imperial Dynasty*) by T'ien Ju-chêng, in describing the customs of the Ming, says: "On the 8th day of the fourth month, the traditional birthday of Buddha, monks and nuns hold 'an assembly under the Nāga-Puspa, the dragon-flower tree'. A bronze image of Buddha is placed in a basin, sprinkled over with sweet water and sheltered in a flowery shrine." This custom seems to have undergone no significant changes during the Ch'ing Dynasty. According to the *Pure Rules of Pai Chang*, the monasteries have on this occasion another custom of serving 'scented drinks' and 'black rice' to the assembly. In the item dealing with the Chih-tien, the monk in charge of the hall, (fasc. 4, chapter on the two groups), is so instructed, "On the Buddha's birthday, bathe the image and prepare sweet drinks for the assembly." Again, in the item dealing with *Yüeh-fên-hsiang-chih*, (*Necessary Information concerning the months*, fasc. 7, chapter on the Buddhist year and feasts) there is this regulation: "On the 8th day of the fourth month, the ceremony of Buddha-bathing is held. The chief manager prepares 'black rice' beforehand to be served in the name of the abbot as pre-summer refreshment for all the monks." This custom, however, seems to have gone out of practice in successive ages.

L. T.

There seems to be evidence (available from Ceylon) that *abhiṣeka* festivals had been celebrated a thousand years ago by the Theravāda Buddhists of that island. An inscription of the 10th cent. A.C. refers to a ceremony then known as *Budu-biso-magula* (Festival of the Lustration of the Buddha, i.e., Image). Such celebrations were held at the great *stūpas* in the country. S. Paranavitana is of the opinion that the images used in them were those which have been referred to as *abhiṣeka* Buddhas. Music, dancing, offerings of flowers and flags, exhibitions of royal parapher-nalia, were some of the accompaniments of these ancient festivals (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 385). In the Mihintalē Tablets of king Mahinda IV (956–72 A.C.) is mentioned the anointing (with oil) of a great stone Buddha image, and this must have been in the nature of an *abhiṣeka* (*EZ.* I, p. 89). The festivals have long fallen into disuse.

The lustration ceremony is known among the Theravādins of Thailand, too, where it is performed at the festival of Songkran (Skt. *Saṅkrānti*, circa April, 13), New Year day of the traditional calendar.

Although in 1941 this day was moved on to January 1, to conform to the general calendar, the traditional Songkran ceremonies continue to be performed during the period April 13–16, when the special Buddha images are ceremoniously bathed. In 1960 the king and queen bathed such images at the Grand Palace and elsewhere, and the people in general similarly honoured other venerated images like the Buddha Phra Sihing. April 15 is especially dedicated for this purpose. It is held in the Wan Thaloeng Sok, when also the hands of certain senior theras are bathed. The Buddha-bathing is sometimes accompanied by the robing of these same images. (Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism, its rites and activities*, 85 ff.).

D. T. D.

BATOE PAHAT (var. Batu Pahat), a place in west Borneo where are found eight short Buddhist inscriptions in Sanskrit, engraved on a rock near the springs of Soengei Tekarek. The face of this rock which is pyramidal in shape is almost completely covered with seven stūpas carved in low relief. These seven stūpas are divided into two groups of four and three by a vertical, raised band in the middle, which is in the shape of a club placed upside down. The body of each of the stūpas contains a short Sanskrit inscription and the eighth inscription, which is the longest and presumably the most important, is incised within the space of the raised band in the middle.

The seven short inscriptions incised on the stūpas contain a verse each in Sanskrit. In fact, there are only two verses on all the seven stūpas, one verse repeated in three inscriptions and the other repeated in four. Of them the first comprises the so-called Buddhist creed : *ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ* etc., which appears frequently in Buddhist votive tablets, pedestals of Buddha and bodhisattva images etc. The second verse is uncommon and reads as follows :

Ajñānāc-ciyate karma janmanaḥ karma kāraṇam
Jñānān-na kriyate karma karmābhāvān-na jāyate

"Through ignorance *karma* is accumulated. The cause of rebirth is *karma*. Through knowledge *karma* is not accumulated. Through absence of *karma* one is not reborn."

Each of these seven inscriptions also contains a few additional words, perhaps giving the names of some devotees. It is interesting to note that a Buddhist inscription from Kedah in the Malay peninsula also contains these two Sanskrit verses while another inscription, of the sea-captain Budhagupta, also from the Malay peninsula, contains the less known verse of them, without the additional words.

The other inscription, though the longest and presumably the most important, has not been fully read owing to the lack of clear estampages. This inscription also appears to comprise a verse and seems to mention the purport of the record, the name of the donor and the date of the donation. Its concluding portion, when translated, reads "....(this) *Bauddhaudapa* (or *-udakha*) has been set up on the bank of ......by the illustrious......Sana". From this it is clear that the inscription records the setting up of a well or a cistern (*udapa* or *udakha*) which could possibly be one of the natural springs close by, made up by enclosing it with stone slabs. There is also mention of some caityas in this record and it is not certain whether this merely refers to the carvings on the rock or to some structural stūpas in the vicinity that may have existed at that time.

These rock inscriptions at Batoe Pahat have been assigned to about the sixth century A.C. and they testify to the early existence of Buddhism in west Borneo. Further, the Sanskrit language of the inscriptions, their Grantha script and the nature of the doctrine expressed in the uncommon verse which seems to be closely related with the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta testify to the fact that west Borneo received her Buddhism from south India (*Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Third Series, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 15, 41 ff., 56, 61 ; H.G. Quaritch Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, 86).

H. R. P.

BATTŌ, a kind of *Bugaku* (a traditional Japanese dance and music) coming from ancient Indo-China. This is one of the eight *Rin-yū-gaku* dances which are considered to have been introduced into Japan by a Buddhist priest whose Japanese name is Buttetsu, the others being Ranryō-ō, Ko-inshu, Karyōbin (Kalaviṅka), Ama, Bairo-hajin-gaku, Manshū and Bosatsu (bodhisattva). Rin-yū is a name of the ancient country in the east of the Indo-China peninsula, where Buddhism was prosperous in those days. Buttetsu was born there and came with Bodhisena to Japan through China. In April, 752 A.C., he showed the Battō-dance and music at the celebration of a newly made

copper gold-plated Buddha image, of the Tōdaiji (temple) in Nara, which is the largest Buddha image in Japan even today.

According to a view of J. Takakusu (see *On the music of Nara dynasty in Japan—especially on the eight Rin-yū-gakus*), the origin of the Battō-dance is a mythological hymn in the *Ṛg-veda*. The story of the hymn is as follows: there lived a king, named Pedu, who possessed a bad horse and was always disturbed in his mind by fear of snake-poison. On one occasion he happened to be given by a god, Aśvin, a good horse, called Paidva, that had the powers of making its owner rich, of killing bad dragons, of bringing him victory in war, and of giving him rebirth in heaven. Therefore, he was released from his worry of snake-poison. Later, this hymn itself was believed to have the power of exterminating snake-poison and was introduced into Buddhism. Based on this story, the dance and music came into existence, perhaps, in Indo-China. The word ' Battō ' seems to be a translation from ' Pedu ' or ' Paidva '.

S.Mo.

BAṬUVANTUḌĀVĒ DEVARAKṢITA, one of the most erudite of the Sinhalese scholars in Ceylon in the 19th century. Born on May 2nd, 1819 at Baṭuvantuḍāva, a village in the southern part of Ceylon, he was named Don Andris de Silva by his parents. He was sent for his early education to a Christian school at Baddegama, the native place of his mother. In 1832, at the age of thirteen, he was removed from that school and was ordained under a Buddhist monk, Nādugala Rēvata. In 1835 he was handed over to Śrī Dharmakīrti Maṅgala of the Rajamahāvihāraya of Kotte for further studies. Later, in 1840, he was given the *upasampadā* ordination at Kandy with Maligaspē Dharmakīrti as his preceptor. Since then he was known by the name of Baṭuvantuḍāvē Devarakṣita thera. Later on he came back to the Rajamahāvihāraya of Kotte where he studied Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit and also their grammar and phonology from Valānē Śrī Siddhārtha thera. He was eventually made the senior assistant teacher of the same monastery.

It was about this time that the honorific title of ශ්‍රී (ŚRĪ) was conferred on him by the council of Buddhist monks in Kandy in recognition of his acadamic attainments and from that time he was known as Baṭuvantuḍāvē Śrī Devarakṣita thera. In 1842 he was the chief incumbent monk of a monastery at Kolonnawa and during this time he had won the esteem of some Burmese monks by conversing fluently in Pali with them. Baṭuvantuḍāvē's close association with a missionary priest by the name of Haslam helped him to make use of the latter's library and improve his knowledge. It was from this missionary priest that Baṭuvantuḍāvē learnt the Nāgarī characters and continued his studies of the Sanskrit language. As the chief pupil of Valānē Śrī Siddhārtha he helped many of his fellow students, among them Hikkaḍuvē Śrī Sumaṅgala and Uḍugampola Ratanajoti. However, Baṭuvantuḍāvē could not remain in robes for long and he gave up robes at the age of thirty-five. Since then as a layman he was known as Baṭuvantuḍāvē Devarakṣita, the Paṇḍit.

The Wesleyan missionary, D. J. Gogerly who, too, had studied under Baṭuvantuḍāvē, following the instructions of Haslam, made him a teacher of the Norman School in Oriental Studies. But, after some time, Baṭuvantuḍāvē had to resign from the post because of a disagreement that arose between the scholar and the missionary on the refusal of the former to assist in the proof-reading of an anti-Buddhist work by the latter. Later, again, Baṭuvantuḍāvē resumed duties at the request of his preceptor Maligaspē Dharmakīrti thera.

His marriage with Celestina Rajakaruna of Kotte was solemnised in a church because the government of that time had not made arrangements for registration of marriages. Baṭuvantuḍāvē who realised its bad effects on Buddhism (for the Buddhists when they wanted to enter marriage had to become Christians) submitted a petition signed by fifty thousand people to the British Government. This was done with the assistance of several others like C. A. Lorensz, a famous lawyer, and Louis Fernando, a philanthrophist, and it was as a result of this movement that facilities were provided by the government for the registration of civil marriages.

In 1872, he was invited by the Government of India to be the professor of Pali in the Rangoon College, but he refused preferring to serve his own country. In 1888, he was made a registrar of marriages and this post he held until he died. He was also appointed by the Government to teach Sinhalese to civil servants and also to inspect their proficiency in the subject.

The greatest service done by Baṭuvantuḍāvē was in the field of literature. Jointly with Hikkaḍuvē Śrī Sumaṅgala thera he translated the

Mahāvaṃsa into Sinhalese. The *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* was also published by him. *Suśruta*, the well known Sanskrit work on Āyurveda, was brought from India and was translated into Sinhalese. Some of the other Sanskrit books that he translated into Sinhalese and also printed and published are the *Vṛttamālākhyā* of Śrī Rāmacandrabhāratī, *Buddha Śataka, Yoga Śataka, Anuruddha Śataka* and the *Sūrya Śataka*. Sinhalese books revised and edited by him are the *Tebhātikavastu* of the *Saddharmālaṅkāra, Saddhammopāyana, Ummagga-jātaka, Kāvyaśekhara* and *Guttilakāvya*. The *Sidatsaṅgarā* was revised and paraphrased. The *Kaccāyana* and *Bālāvatāra* were revised and printed with a commentary in Sinhalese. *Ruvanmala* and *Piyummala* were revised, paraphrased and published with foot-notes in English. Another book on medicine, the *Mādhava Nidāna*, was revised and printed.

Baṭuvantuḍāvē is credited with founding one of the early printing presses owned by a Sinhalese Buddhist. Since he could not get his book *Kristi-yāni-prajñapti-khaṇḍana* published in any of the existing printing presses, as the book was a criticism of Gogerly's book mentioned before, and the printing presses were owned by Christians, Baṭuvantuḍāvē founded his own press with the assistance of an expert carpenter. This printing press later came to be known as Laṅkābhinava-viśruta yantrālaya.

Most of the pupils of Baṭuvantuḍāvē became great scholars. Among them were learned monks, like Hikkaḍuvē Śrī Sumaṅgala (already mentioned), Vaskaḍuvē Śrī Subhūti, Mulleriyāvē Guṇaratana, Heyyantuḍuvē Devamitta and Talāhēnē Amaramoli, the then Governor of Ceylon Sir Arthur Gorden, other Englishmen like John Scott, Spence Hardy, James Nicolson and R. S. Copleston and well-known Ceylonese like James de Alwis, Tuḍāvē Paṇḍita Gunavardhana and Sir Muttu Coomara-swamy.

Baṭuvantuḍāvē died on 20th April, 1892, at the age of 73. He had ten children.

H. R. P.

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BAUDDHA—MĀRGĪS, 'farers on the Buddha way', the name by which the Buddhist are generally known in Nepal, as distinguished from the Hindus who are called Śiva-mārgīs. Bauddha-mārgīs belong to the country's earliest ethnic stratum, the Newars. They are of three social grades or castes. In the order of precedence, these are Bandyas (q.v.) or, more commonly, Banrās, Udas ; and a group at the head of which stand the Jaypoo. This last group has largely merged with the Hindus on account of the interplay of the two religions in the country, more acutely so after the Gurkha dynasty seized power in the 18th cent. The first two groups have the hereditary monopoly of working in metal, an occupation denied to the last group.

An interesting social attitude, on the part of Newar Hindus of high caste, is that they consider the three Buddhist groups as of pure degree. Therefore, they accept water from them,the unmistakable sign (among high caste Hindus) of the recognition of taintlessness. On the other hand, the Brahmanic Hindus of the Gurkha tradition consider Bauddha-mārgīs impure and label them *anācaraṇīya* in disparagement. (See K. P. Chattopadhyay in "An Essay on the History of Newar Culture", *JASB*. New Series, XIX, 465 ff.)

D. T. D.

BAUDDHA VAIṢṆAVA, a sect of Hindus living chiefly in the limits of the Marāṭha country of Deccan in India. They are so known because they consider the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu, namely, the Buddha-avatār, to be their god. This sect seems to have originated about the beginning or the middle of the fourteenth century, when, as a result of the Muslim invasion, the political power of the supporters of Hinduism fell and the more liberal minded Hindus were free to lift their heads against the dogmatism and superstitions of the brāhmans. They borrowed religious ideas from all sects, even from the hated oppressors of their country, guiding themselves by reason rather than by tradition. Like Buddhists, they admit no distinction of caste and they believe in forgiving injuries and repaying evil with good. The Buddha-avatār of Viṣṇu, they consider, guides them to salvation (*JRAS*.VII, pp. 64 ff.).

H. R. P.

BĀVARĪ, a brāhman ascetic who later became a disciple of the Buddha. He was a very learned brāhman who along with his sixteen disciples had left Sāvatthi for the Southern Country (*Dakkhiṇā-patha*) and lived on the bank of the Godhāvari between the kingdoms of Assaka and Aḷaka. Soon after he had held a great sacrifice with the revenue

he received from a village close by, there came to him a weary brāhman, foot-sore and covered with dust, who demanded five hundred kahāpaṇas. Bāvarī expressed his regret that he was penniless having spent all he had on the sacrifice. But the brāhman, disappointed and angry, cursed Bāvarī that his head should on the seventh day split in seven pieces. Bāvarī was much distressed at this curse and could neither take food nor engage in meditation. Seeing him in this condition, a well-wishing deity (his mother in a previous birth, *AA*. I, 335), assured him that the brāhman knew neither the meaning of heads nor of head-splitting. The deity further informed Bāvarī of the appearance of the Buddha in the world, that he would have this knowledge and that he was living at Sāvatthi.

Thereupon Bāvarī summoned his sixteen pupils, Ajita, Tissa-metteyya, Puṇṇaka, Mettagū, Dhotaka, Upasīva, Nanda, Hemaka, Todeyya, Kappa, Jatukaṇṇī Bhadrāvudha, Udaya, Posāla, Mogharāja and Piṅgiya, and sent them to Sāvatthi to question the Buddha on the subject of head-splitting. They set out with their following of pupils; northwards taking a circuitous route, through Patiṭṭhān, Māhissati, Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vidisa, Kosambi, Sāketa, Sāvatthi, Setavya, Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhojanagara, Vesālī and then to Rājagaha and met the Buddha at Pāsāṇakacetiya. They saw the characteristic signs of a great being that he bore. (A reference to this incident is made at *DA*. I, 275 f.). As instructed by their teacher, they framed introductory questions mentally, to which the Buddha replied. Thereupon Ajita asked the Buddha Bāvarī's question on the subject of head-splitting. The Buddha explained that the 'head' was ignorance and this 'head' could be split by knowledge. Thereafter, Ajita and the other fifteen brāhmans in turn asked a question to which the Buddha replied. After hearing the Buddha preach, they all became his disciples. Piṅgiya, the last of the brāhmans to question the Buddha, took his leave to return to Bāvarī. Piṅgiya sang the Buddha's praises to Bāvarī and spoke of his doctrine (*Sn. vv*. 976-1149).

The *Suttanipāta* commentary and the *Aṅguttara* commentary furnish additional information regarding Bāvarī, sometimes with varying detail. Regarding his early life, we are told that Bāvarī was born as the son of the chaplain of the king of Kosala, Pasenadi's father. On his father's death Bāvarī succeeded to the post of chaplain. Tiring of worldly life, he informed Pasenadi (who had become king on his father's demise) of his wish to become an ascetic. Unable to make Bāvarī change his mind, Pasenadi asked Bāvarī to live in the royal park, after he took to asceticism, so that he would still be near him, and Bāvarī agreed to do so. Along with him, his sixteen brāhman pupils and their following of a thousand each lived as ascetics in the king's park. But this was not a suitable place for meditation and they looked for a more secluded spot. Unable to stop them, Pasenadi gave two hundred thousand kahāpaṇas to two of his ministers whom he sent with instructions to build a hermitage where the ascetics should take up their abode. From Uttarajanapada, they went southwards to Dakkhiṇa-janapada and stopped in an island on the Godhāvarī which lay on the boundary of the two territories of Assaka and Aḷaka and which had been the abode of sages of old. It is said that this land, five leagues in extent, was bought by the ministers by paying a hundred thousand kahāpaṇas each to the kings of Assaka and Aḷaka. The ministers put up a hermitage there and obtaining more money from Sāvatthi, bought a village close by, the revenue of which would accrue to the ascetics. Bāvarī had no wish for wealth and with the hundred thousand kahāpaṇas that he got annually as income he held a great alms-giving once a year. A young brāhman woman unwilling to do the housework sent her husband to Bāvarī to obtain five hundred kahāpaṇas with which to buy a slave. This was the brāhman who cursed Bāvarī (*SnA*. 580 f.). A slightly different version is found in the *Aṅguttara* commentary. When the ascetics settled down on the banks of the Godhāvarī, a hundred families took up residence close by. Each of them brought a kahāpaṇa for the brāhmans' use in spite of the latters' protests that they had no wish for money. Bāvarī distributed the hundred thousand kahāpaṇas every year among the poor and the needy. The report of his generosity spread throughout Jambudīpa. At that time there was in Dunniviṭṭha in Kāliṅga a brāhman woman, a descendant of Tūjaka (Jūjaka?) who was in the habit of pestering her husband to ask Bāvarī for money. Unable to bear her constant nagging he visited Bāvarī (*AA*. I, 334).

According to the commentaries, Bāvarī's sixteen pupils and their following of a thousand each—all of them, with the exception of Piṅgiya alone—became arahants after hearing the Buddha preach. They became bhikkhus with robes and bowls that appeared miraculously. Piṅgiya reached only the state of an anāgāmi because he had been thinking of Bāvarī. When Piṅgiya returned to

Bāvarī and reported the Buddha's words, the Buddha emitted a golden beam of light in which the Buddha himself appeared, and preached to him. After hearing his words Bāvarī became an anāgāmī while Piṅgiya reached arahantship. Bāvarī's five hundred pupils attained the state of Sotāpanna (See *SnA*. 603 ff.; *NdA*. II, 86 ff.; *AA*. I, 337).

We are told that Bāvarī was a clan name, and that Bāvarī's span of life was a hundred and twenty years. He bore three of the signs of a great being (*Sn. v.* 1099).

Reference has been made to Bāvarī in the *Apadāna* in connection with Mettagū (*Ap.* II, 342), Todeyya (ibid. 357) and Mogharāja (ibid. 487).

It has been suggested by Karl E. Neumann that the name Bāvarī may be a representative of the famous Kātyāyana school of the White Yajurveda (Bādarī. See N. A. Jayawickrama, The Sutta Nipāta: Pucchās of the Pārāyana Vagga, in *UCR*. IX, I, Jan. 51, p. 61).

The *Vatthugāthā* of the *Pārāyana-vagga*, depicting the legend of Bāvarī, is to be dated much later than the questions. It has been pointed out that Dakkhiṇāpatha, where Bāvarī is said to have settled down, was in early times considered by brāhmans as unholy land. Therefore, the suggestion has been made that if Bāvarī was a historical figure he must have lived at a time when the brāhmans had begun to consider the Dakkhiṇāpatha no longer as unholy land (N. A. Jayawickrama, The Vaggas of the Sutta Nipāta, in *UCR*. VI, 4, Oct. 1948, pp. 245 ff.).

The story of Bāvarī in a later form has been found among the manuscripts discovered in Central Asia in Uigurian and Tocharian (Sieg und Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste* i, p. 101. See E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 274).

The commentaries also give an account of his past lives. In the time of Buddha Kassapa he was born as a carpenter who later established himself on the throne in a Himalayan kingdom as king Kaṭṭhavāhana. His sixteen disciples were then his sixteen assistants, whom later he made his ministers. Kaṭṭhavāhana did not meet Buddha Kassapa but after coming under the influence of his teaching he engaged in works of merit and, after death, was reborn in the Kāmāvacaradeva world. His sixteen ministers and their following of a thousand each were also born there as his retinue. There they remained until their final birth in the time of Buddha Gotama (*SnA*. 575 ff.; *AA*. I, 332).

The name of the ascetic is spelled variantly as Bāvari, Bāvāri, Bāvariya, Bāvāriya, Bāvarika, Bāvārika.

L. R. G.

BĀVERU, a kingdom outside India, beyond the sea. Trade was carried on between Bāveru and India by sea. It is described as a birdlesss country (*J*. III, 126). Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 65) and B. C. Law (*India in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 185) identify Bāveru with Babylonia.

H. R. P.

BĀVERU JĀTAKA (No. 339, *J*. III, 126 ff.) told by the Buddha in reference to the fact that from the time the Buddha appeared in the world the heretics lost all their glory (cp. *Ud*. vi, 10).

Once, some merchants sailed from Bārāṇasī to Bāveru with a crow on board to help them find land. There were then no birds in Bāveru, and the people, marvelling at the sight, bought the bird, after much bargaining, for one hundred pieces and paid it great honour. On another voyage, the same merchants brought with them a peacock (the bodhisatta), and this bird, after much show of reluctance on the part of the merchants, was sold to the people of Bāveru for one thousand pieces. From the time of the arrival of the more beautiful peacock, the crow was entirely neglected and flew away on to a refuse heap. The crow was identified with Nātaputta, the leader of the Jains (*DPPN*. s.v.).

The Shwezigon Pagoda of Pagān, Burma, has two terra-cotta plaques (11-12th centuries), showing a woman feeding and worshipping the peacock, in illustration of this jātaka (*ASIAR*. 1912-13, pp. 103, 114, plates 53, 58).

H. R. P.

BAWBAWGYI PAGODA, one of the earliest stūpas in Burma, probably belonging to the 6th century A. C., situated at Hmawzā, five miles to the east of Prome. This stūpa has a cylindrical dome resting on three terraces and crowned with an iron tee. The pagoda is 153 feet high from the natural ground to the top of the tee and is 240 feet in circumference.

Bawbawgyi is described as one of the most interesting pagodas in Burma. It has several peculiarities which are not found in the shrines of Pagan. The outer surface of the bricks on the

pagoda is notched in squares so as to increase the adhesive qualities of the plaster. In the centre of the pagoda is a vertical hollow shaft, 80 feet in height and 10 feet in diameter, used apparently to secure economy.

The conservation of the pagoda was taken up in 1907 by the British government of India at the time (*ASIAR.* 1907–8, p. 37).

A few noteworthy discoveries have been made among the debris round this pagoda in 1911 and 1912. Among them are three fragments of a three-lined stone inscription whose language is Pali and the script is south-Indian Kadamba. The inscription has been assigned to the 6th or the 7th century A. C. The text of the inscription is as follows :—

1. *Nā samphusitattaṃ vedanakkhandho saññakkhandho saṅkhārakkhando*
2. *diṭṭhivippanditaṃ diṭṭhi ayaṃ vucchati salāyatana pacchayā tattha katamā phassapacchayā vedanā iyaṃ cetasikā*
3. *saññojanaṃ gāho patiggāho abhiniveso kummaggo.*

At the same place where these fragments of the inscription were found were also discovered four stone heads of the Buddha, two of them aureoled and the other two plain. Of the two aureoled heads the eyes are closed in contemplation. The same site yielded some bronze images of the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara. The image of Avalokiteśvara, particularly, with its four arms is the first of its kind found at Hmawzā. These bronze images are generally assigned to the period from the 6th to the 11th century A. C.

Among other discoveries from the debris of the Bawbawgyi pagoda are a few clay seals and votive tablets. One such seal represents an object like the phallus (*liṅga*). Another broken piece of a votive tablet shows thirteen small figures of the Buddha in Gupta style and a fragment of a Sanskrit legend below it purports to give the name of a locality or a kingdom and its ruler.

At the north-western part of the Bawbawgyi pagoda, in a niche about six feet below its dome, was found a small decorated earthenware vase containing bone-ash, five silver coins, small pieces of jadeite and inscribed gold and sliver scrolls.

Most of the treasure-relics have been robbed by treasure-hunters.

It is quite evident that the few discoveries described above were connected with the Bawbawgyi pagoda in some way or other. The inscription, particularly, is considered as having been enshrined in the pagoda and thus the date assigned to the inscription, i.e., 6th or 7th century was the date of the construction of the pagoda. This would lead to the conclusion that the Bawbawgyi pagoda was built by the Pyu rulers who ruled in central Burma from about the fifth until the tenth century A. C. with their capital at Śrīkṣetra, modern Hmawzā.

An examination of the few discoveries described above also helps to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the state of Buddhism in central Burma during the 6th–7th century. The inscription indicates that Hīnayāna Buddhism prevailed there with Pali as its language and the use of the south-Indian Kadamba script indicates that central Burma received Hīnayāna Buddhism from the Āndhra-Pallava region. The discovery of sculpture both of the south-Indian and east-Indian types indicates that the Pyus were inspired in their sculpture from both these directions. The clay seal which represents an object like the phallus, mentioned above, is considered an indication of the absorption, by Buddhism, of the pre-existing cults of Śiva and Nāga worship in the early centuries of the Christian era in Burma. The discovery of the image of the four-armed Avalokiteśvara proves the prevalence of Mahāyānism at Hmawzā at an early period, before the eleventh century A.C. (*ASIAR.* 1909–10, 15 ; 1910–11, 89 ff.; 1911–12, 141 ff.).

H. R. P.

BAYINNAUNG, known also as Anekasetibhinda (*Sāsv.*), a Burmese king (1551-81 A.C.) famous as a strong upholder of Buddhism. He was a relentless fighter who ultimately unified upper and lower Burma and imposed his will by military conquest. This is evident from his command that every single subject, including Muslims and Roman Catholic Portuguese, should profess Buddhism. Emulating the great Asoka, he also forbade animal sacrifices, whether by his Muslim subjects during their Bakr-id festival, or by foreign (European) settlers in his realm.

Apart from such obviously eccentric ways of furthering the cause of his religion, not to speak of his own un-Buddhistic attitude in being almost wholly pre-occupied with war, he genuinely worked

for Buddhism not only by building pagodas, but also by encouraging the ordination of monks, and by his patronage of religious writing.

He maintained religious relations with Ceylon. The pagoda which does him special credit is the Mahāzedi (Great Cetiya) of Pegu. In this he enshrined a stone begging-bowl (of the Buddha), and a relic described as a tooth of the Buddha. Both these had been sent by a Ceylon king. That another king of the same country claimed to hold the genuine Tooth Relic was a matter to which he paid no attention. A Sinhalese 'princess' also was sent to him and he installed her as queen—in actual fact, she was not of royal blood, and it was a deception which a Sinhalese king (of the then divided Ceylon) had practised on him. Bayinnaung, however, was deeply stirred by these acts of kindness of a Buddhist king, in the land famed for the religion for which he so earnestly strove. He even sent across warriors to help the Ceylon king.

He himself spent on the ordination of monks *en masse* at the Kalyāṇī Sīmā and personally supervised the ceremony. The vihāras in the Talaing country (once his enemy) received his benefactions without any discrimination. Thus a line of distinguished scholars came into being among the Talaing Saṅgha as a direct result of this patronage. Saddhammālaṅkāra, Ānanda, Dhammabuddha are three of the best known among these.

When he sent his son as viceroy to Yonakaraṭṭha he also sent, as the prince's counsellor, the learned thera Saddhammacakkasāmi 'for the purification of the religion.' The result of the thera's work was visible in the Pali treatises which were written by monks in that part of the country, e.g., those by Ñāṇavilāsa and Sirimaṅgala.

The king visited the well-known shrines as pilgrim. Shwe Dagon, Shwe Sandaw, Shwe Mawdaw—such sacred pagodas—received his benefactions. To the first and the last-named he gave the jewels of his crown for adornment.

His relations with Ceylon were obviously due to the depth of his earnestness in the religion. He sent rich presents to the Daḷadā Māligāva (Temple of the Tooth) in Kotte, where his emissary had land bought to maintain the continual lighting of lamps. He sent craftsmen to beautify this famous temple. His extreme piety he showed by the gift of his own hair—to which the queen added hers—to be used as a broom. When news reached him that the Portuguese authorities in Goa had seized what they had been told was the (Ceylon) Tooth Relic and that the Roman Catholic Archbishop was on the point of compelling the governor to surrender it to be destroyed, it was this king who sent envoys to try to purchase it even at great cost. The failure of his mission caused him immense sorrow.

Bayinnaung had his idiosyncracies; he was fascinated by military glory. But he had a wider vision than many another ruler on the Burmese throne. He was able to understand and reflect on what was happening in a greater world outside his own confined realm. This was why he looked towards Ceylon and India. In the one he was moved by devotion to Buddhism, no less than in the other, the land of the great Asoka, whose own exertions in the religion were an example to him.

D. T. D.

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BAYON, the most magnificent and celebrated Buddhist monument of the Mahāyāna order in Cambodia (Kambuja), built either at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century A.C. by the Cambodian Buddhist ruler Jayavarman VII. The monument occupied the centre of his new capital Angkor Thom (2½ miles square) and was, therefore, his central mountain-temple which, according to Cambodian concept, formed the kingdom's axis. The walled city outside this temple has four principal gates and it is at the Bayon temple that the four roads leading inwards from these gates meet.

For many years the Bayon was regarded as a massive Hindu temple constructed and dedicated to Ṣiva or Brahma by king Yaśovarman when he built the first city of Angkor, about 890 A.C. But, in 1927 Philippe Stern of the Musée Guimet who made a profound study of Khmer sculpture proved clearly that the ornamental sculptures of the Bayon and of the gates of the city of Angkor Thom belonged to a later style than those of Angkor Wāt and other earlier monuments of Angkor. In the following year Coedés discovered stelae epigraphs at the four angles of the present city of Angkor Thom which testify that this city was built by Jayavarman VII, and, that the Bayon, situated at the centre of this city was the central mountain-temple of this ruler. In 1933 George Trouvé unearthed, from the bottom of the pit under the socle, in the main, central tower of the monument a large statue of the Buddha seated

on a *nāga,* thus supplying the most conclusive evidence of the fact that the Bayon is a Buddhist monument.

According to Cambodian concept, kingship is embodied in a palladium which is housed in the central mountain-temple. This palladium, the *devarāja,* in the present case is the Buddha with whom the king identifies himself. Thus, the Bayon is Jayavarman VII's temple of the *devarāja*[1] where he himself is apotheosized as the Buddha (Buddha-rāja).

L. P. Briggs (*JAOS.* LXXI, 246) thinks that it was originally dedicated to Lokeśvara and was finally dedicated to the Buddha. The colossal faces carved on the towers of the Bayon and on the gateways of the city wall, were, prior to the discovery of the Buddha-image, considered representing those of Śiva. They are now, however, definitely identified with those of Avalokiteśvara.

At a depth of about eleven feet below the present floor of the monument was discovered the foundation of a building older than the present Bayon. This indicates that the site was formerly occupied by another older building whose nature or purpose is not known. This older building must have been smaller in size for its foundation is not as large as that of the present monument.

The plan of the temple is so highly complex that it is described as 'an architectural puzzle'. It is thought that at some stage of its construction the original plan was altered and as a result, the monument, as it is, produces the feeling of 'pilling up' and 'pressing together'. The towers, courts, and the various other buildings press against one another without adequate space.

Architecturally, the Bayon assumes a pyramid of three stages, each stage being marked by a system of galleries. The lowest stage forms a rectangular gallery, open to the exterior, measuring 492 ft. east-west by 328 ft. north-south, and its inner wall is embellished with relief sculptures, dipicting history and early life of the Khmers. The middle stage consists of another gallery concentric to the first with towers placed at the exact entrance and the corners and adorned with human faces. The inner wall of this gallery is decorated with relief carvings depicting religious and legendary subjects. The gallery in turn encloses an elevated earthfill and on this artificial terrace rises the sanctuary of the Buddharāja in the form of a central tower with enormous smiling faces (E.G. Coedés, *Ency. of World Art,* Vol. III). The monument rises to a height of nearly 140 ft. above the ground level.

The outer and the inner galleries are connected to each other by sixteen tiny chapels, four on each side. From the epigraphs incised on the uprights of the doors of the outer gallery it is learnt that each of these chapels contained several statues of the gods venerated in the various provincial sanctuaries. The galleries are all roofed with corbelled vaults. The exterior of the roofs is carved in imitation of tiling.

The central circular shrine carries a tower with twelve surrounding towers. The sixteen chapels as well as the corner and the axial courts of the inner gallery are also surmounted by similar towers, thus making fifty-four towers in all. On the four sides of each and every one of these towers are carved the colossal faces of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

These colossal faces of Avalokiteśvara are the most distinctive feature of the Bayon. As the visitor approaches the temple they are seen from a distance as if they are gazing at him with a mystical smile. Paul Mus explains that these faces are those of Samantamukha Avalokiteśvara, who looks in all directions and is incarnate in all other deities. They, at the same time, are portraits of the king. Thus, seen as Avalokiteśvara, his beneficial influence flows out to the four quarters of the universe, and seen as the king they symbolise the extension of the king's power over the four quarters. The multiplicity of the faces indicates his presence and the extension of his power throughout his dominion. The images in the chapels indicate a certain kind of concentration of local worship in the central temple of the empire and possibly symbolises that Jayavarman was king not only in Angkor Thom but in every region of his dominion.

1 This conception of the *deva-rāja* prevailed in Cambodia as a state-cult from about the ninth century, with the establishment of Śaivism there. The cult has originated from the belief that the king received divine power from Śiva through the intervention of a brāhman, versed in magic. The king who identified himself with this god Śiva set up a phallus (*linga*) to symbolise both him and the god, in the central mountain-temple. In the reign of Sūryavarman II, when Vaiṣṇavism was predominant in Cambodia the *deva-rāja* was superseded by Viṣṇu-rāja, and later, in the reign of Jayavarman VII, the subordination of both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism resulted in the development of a Buddha-rāja cult and its substitution for the *deva-rāja* cult.

The four-faced towers of the Bayon have been described as one of the most unique motifs of Khmer architecture and one of the most striking architectural motifs to be seen anywhere.

Not only the colossal faces but the temple as a whole is the finest example of Jayavarman VII's architectural symbolism. Scholars of repute agree that the Bayon, at the kingdom's axis, symbolises the mythical mountain Meru which according to the Indian concept is at the axis of the universe. The city walls around the Bayon represent the *cakravāḷa*, the circumambient mountain range. The outer moat represents the Milky Ocean that girdles the world. Thus it is seen that the walls and the moat around the temple are symbolically connected with the temple, though there is no apparent material connection between them.

With this architectural symbolism of the Bayon is connected another beautiful conception of Khmer art, namely, the avenues of gods and demons which again is said to symbolise the Indian concept of the churning of the Milky Ocean by the gods and the demons in order to obtain ambrosia. Fifty-four figures on each side of these avenues hold an immense, majestic *nāga* and strain their bodies rhythmically backwards, looking on with impressive eyes which make this sculpture one of the moving creations of Khmer art. Like the walls and the moat, the connection of these avenues with the Bayon is not material but symbolic for, according to the Indian concept, it is the central mountain Meru, represented here by the Bayon round which the gods and the demons coiled the *nāga* in their act of churning. The symbolic meaning of this representation may be that the Khmer king, a god on earth, brings wealth and life by the water of the canals.

Some scholars would believe that these sculptured avenues depict the Indo-Chinese myth of the rainbow bridge which is said to unite the earth with the heavens. This concept is represented in sculpture by serpents. Here, the heavens are the cosmic mountain of the *devarāja*, i.e., the Bayon, and the earth is his kingdom beyond the moat.

The walls of the outer and the inner galleries of the Bayon are profusely sculptured with bas-reliefs which form another striking feature of the Bayon. Of these bas-reliefs those of the outer galleries are described as radically different from those of the inner and they seem to represent two worlds, the former the world of men and the latter the world of gods. The reliefs of the world of men contain many historical scenes of peace and war, of kings, the palace and the court, and of the ordinary folk. The reliefs of the world of gods contain figures of gods and scenes from the legends and the epic stories like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

The sculptural embellishments of the Bayon tend experts to consider it more a monument of sculpture than one of architecture.

On the quality of these bas-reliefs of the Bayon scholars agree that though the haste displayed in the execution of these reliefs has made the workmanship rather crude and the details rather careless and summary, yet there are many specimens which have a peculiar charm. Here, among the beautiful reliefs one sees a group of strong warriors being rowed across a river, a rabble of stragglers and camp-followers pressing on to the heels of the army, the guards in the halls of the stately buildings taking their position, while the great lords take their ease, a small boy stealing fruits from a sleeping stall-keeper, the ducks paddling in a pond and a cow suckling her calf.

Of the innumerable bas-reliefs of the Bayon the figures of the dancing apsarases on the pillars have been described as one of the best specimens. The charm, balance and harmony as well as the lively movement of the body, the hands and the feet is a notable achievement in stone. These beautiful specimens of the Bayon, classed among the best in Khmer art, are even preferred to those of Angkor Wāt, the greatest Hindu monuments in Cambodia.

The large secular characters of the bas-reliefs of the outer galleries of the Bayon, which are mainly intended to commemorate the warlike exploits of king Jayavarman VII would suggest, according to Quaritch Wales (*The Making of Greater India*, 177) that the Khmers, at the end of the twelfth century were on the brink of forgetting all but their local religion and their national deity. The representation of scenes from the Hindu epics in the inner galleries would indicate the close syncretism of Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Cambodia at that time as is indicated also by the epigraphs of this period. The representation of two worlds, those of the gods and of men in the same temple would symbolically mean the assimilation of gods with men.

As regards the overcrowding of the narrative of the bas-reliefs B. Rowland (*The Art and Architecture of India*, Gt. Britain, 1956, p. 229) observes that this development from a limited, almost classical conception of relief to an immensely complicated

rich type of late sculpture is suggestive of the transition from the Gupta relief sculpture to the Pallava and other later Hindu sculptures. Further, this immensely complicated rich type fully corresponds to the complexity of the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism.

Of the sculptures in high relief the *nāga* is the most striking motif, depicted in the classical type seen at Angkor Wāt. Lions, resembling those of Angkor Wāt guard the stairways. Figures of *dvārapālas* and apsarases adorn the doorways.

One of the loveliest and most unusual specimens of Cambodian metal-work is said to have come from the Bayon. This specimen which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Rowland thinks (op. cit. 232), was probably a part of a flowering candelabrum representing a wonder-tree in Indra's paradise, the fruits of which consisted of beautiful maidens for the pleasure of gods. The fragment shows an apsaras dancing on an open lotus pod while another apsaras emerges from a lotus bud at the left. The quality of stylized rhythm displayed in this fragment of metal sculpture is very seldom met with in Cambodia. The floral frame repeats the sinuous outline of the arms and legs of the dancer, as though animated by the beauty of the dance. The details of the floral accessories display a high degree of refinement in modelling.

The Bayon is not without its defects. In the construction of the walls, for instance, stones were set on one another without any cementing and in some cases without much over-lapping, and as a result, when the lower part settled down on the soft soil after heavy rains it resulted sometimes in deep, almost vertical cracks. No mortar has been used in the construction of the towers either. These defects in its construction are the causes for the comparatively bad state of preservation of this one of the latest Khmer monuments. The bas-reliefs do not always display the same high standard of beauty as was discussed above.

Inspite of these defects, the Bayon, as described by Groslier (*Indo-China*, p. 182), remains the most astounding of all Jayavarman VII's works and the finest example of his architectural symbolism. In his *Angkor* (p. 158) Groslier describes it as " the sweetest flower of Buddhism springing from an exceptional king. " Commaille remarks that the Bayon, taken in its architectural and ornamental ensemble, is the most beautiful of the temples of Cambodia and is also the one which offers the greatest variety (cp. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*).

H. R. P.

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BCINS-PA-LAS GROL-BAḤI GZUṄS, the title of a Tibetan text which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥbum* (100,000 tantra) and *Gzuṅs-ḥdus* (*dhāraṇī*) sections of the Kangyur. This text appears in duplicate form (*TT*. Nos. 260, 660). No restored Sanskrit title for this work has been suggested. The author is unknown and also the name of the translator of the work into Tibetan is not known.

The text, which begins with a salutation to Avalokiteśvara, mentions a spell which is used for the curing of a disease caused by bile (Tib. *mkhris-pa*, Skt. *pitta*), namely, jaundice (*mig-ser*). The spell has to be repeated three times. During the course of this incantation, the Triple Gem as well as the god of wisdom (Tib. *ḥjam-dpal*, Skt. *Mañjuśrī*) and the water-god (Tib. *cu-lha*, Skt. *Varuṇa*) are worshipped.

I. K.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS DGYES-PAḤI RDO-RJEḤI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS DE-KHO-NA-ÑID BSHIḤI RIM-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVADDHEVAJRA-TATTVA-CATUṢKRAMA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA.

BCOM-ḶDAN-ḤDAS DE-BSHIN-GŚEGS-PA DGRA-BCOM-PA YAṄ-DAG-PAR RDSOGS-PAḤI SAṄS-RGYAS ṄAN-SOṄ THAMS-CAD YOṄS-SU-SBYOṄ-BA GZI-BRJID-KYI RGYAL-POḤI RGYUD-KYI RGYAL-PO-CHEN-POḤI RṄAM-PAR-BŚAD-PA MDSES-PAḤI RGYAN SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATSARVADURGATI-PARIŚODHANA-TEJORĀJA-TATHĀGATĀRHAT-SAMYAKSAMBUDDHA-MAHĀTANTRARĀJA-VYĀKHYĀSUNDARĀLAṄKĀRA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS DPAL BDE-BA CHEN-PO RDO-RJE-SEMS-DPAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVACCHRĪ-MAHĀSUKHA-VAJRASATTVA-SĀDHANA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS DPAL BDE-MCHOG ḤKHOR-ḶOḤI DKYIḶ-ḤKHOR-GYI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVACCHRĪ-CAKRASAMBARA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS DPAL ḤKHOR-LO BDE-MCHOG-GI SGRUB-THABS RIN-PO-CHE GTSUG-GI NOR-BU SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVACCHRĪ-CAKRA-SAMBARA-SĀDHANA-RATNA-CŪḌĀMAṆI-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS GÑIS MED-KYI RGYAL-PO CHEN-PO-LA PHYAG-ḤTSHAL LO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See PRAJÑĀBHAGAVAN-MAHĀRĀJA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS ḤJAM-DPAL-DBYAṄS-KYI KHRO-BO GŚIN-RJE-GŚED-POḤI SBYIN SREG-GI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAN-MAÑJUŚRĪ-GHOṢA-KRODHAYAMĀNTAKA-HOMAVIDHI.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS ḤJAM-DPAL RNON-PO-LA PHYAG-ḤTSHAL LO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAN-MAÑJUŚRĪ-TĪKṢṆĀYA-NAMAḤ.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS ḤJAM-PAḤI RDO-RJEḤI SGRUB-THABS, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM*. No. 1501, as occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. No restored Sanskrit title is suggested. A corresponding Sanskrit title might be *Bhagavān Mañjuvajra Sādhana*, the worship of the Buddha Mañjuvajra. The text does not appear in the *TT*. collection. The author's name is mentioned as Ñin-mor mdsad. The translators are named as Subhūtiśānti and Dge-baḥi blo-gros.

I. K.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS ḤKHOR-LO BDE-MCHOG-SGRUB-PAḤI THABS RIN-PO-CHE YID-BSHIN-GYI NOR-BU SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ŚRĪ-BHAGAVACCAKRA - SAMBARA - SĀDHANA-RATNACIṆTĀ-MAṆI-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS ḤPHAGS-MA DUG-SEL-BAḤI RTOG-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See JĀṄGULĪ-BHAGAVATĪKALPA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS ḤPHAGS-PA ḤJAM-DPAL-GYI BSTOD-PA BYIN-RLABS DAṄ-BCAS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVADĀRYAMAÑJUŚRĪSĀDHIṢṬHĀ-NA-STUTI.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS KYEḤI-RDO-RJEḤI SGRUB-PAḤI-THABS MṄON-PAR-RTOGS-PAḤI RIM-PA DON RAB-TU GSAL-BA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVADDHEVAJRA-SĀDHANĀBHI SAMAYAKRAMĀRTHAPRASANNA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-KYI GTSUG-TOR CHEN-PO DE-BSHIN-GŚEGS-PAḤI GSAṄ-BA SGRUB-PAḤI DON MNOṄ-PAR-THOB-PAḤI RGYU BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤ THAMS-CAD-KYI SPYOD-PA DPAḤ-BAR-ḤGRO-BAḤI MDO LEḤU STOD-PHRAG-BCU-PA-LAS LEḤU BCU-PA, the title of a text occurring in the Mdo-sna tshogs section of the Kangyur (*TT*. Vol. 35, No. 902). The title indicates the nature of the contents of the work, which is an extract from a work of ten thousand chapters. Instructions to be followed by all bodhisattvas, the secret teaching of the Tathāgata, Mahāuṣṇīṣa, forms the theme of the work. The teaching is imparted to an assembly headed by Ānanda. Those present are first informed of the necessity of cultivating the 'mind of enlightenment' (*bodhicitta*), whether they be trainees or paccekabuddhas.

R. H.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-KYI MṄON-PAR-RTOGS-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVADABHISAMAYA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-KYIS ḤJAM-DPAL RNON-PO-LA BSTOD-PA, a metrical composition in praise of Mañjuśrī, occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (*TT*. Vol. 6, No. 164).

Mañjuśrī is described in laudatory terms in this text. He is bluish-black in colour. He has a smooth, shining head covered with wavy hair. He has the auspicious sign of hair reverting to the right side at the upper end. He wears a head-ornament studded with many jewels, a necklace of pearls and golden ornaments.

The shape of his upright nose is that of a fortunate person. He emanates a golden hue from his mouth. The mass of lustre around him exceeds that of a hundred suns.

Mañjuśrī dispels the sorrows of all beings. The glance from the corners of his half-closed eyes reveals his compassion. His soft and melodious voice is as pleasing as that of an Indian cuckoo (*kalaviṅka*). He smiles with a pure heart.

His nature is as pleasing as a rivulet in the heat. By looking at his fairness and goodness, one does not get satisfaction even within a hundred years.

The next ceremony described is that of threshing the grain. In addition to the offering of oblations and the chanting of incantations, the special feature of this ceremony is the festive entertainment held on the four sides of the heap of grain, by four newly-wed young women whose husbands are alive.

The last ceremony described in the text is that of storing the grain. Firstly, two naked creatures with drooping bellies, golden-hued and decked with ornaments, should be drawn on the right and left of the entrance of the store-house. A great feast should be held at the entrance to the store-house at which the Vasudhārā dhāraṇī should be recited and lavish gifts distributed. A mantra that confers blessings (*bsgrub byaḥi sṅags*) should be recited three times a day, one hundred and eight times at each session, at the entrance to the store-house.

R. H.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA NOR-RGYUN-MAḤI RTOG-PA, a text describing the procedure of propitiating Vasudhārā, in order to secure wealth, occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (*TT*. Vol. 7, No. 342).

The worshipper is instructed to go to a stream flowing into the sea, during the last month of spring, immerse himself in the water and chant some mantras. He should then anoint an image of Vasudhārā with saffron and sandalwood paste and wash it.

Vasudhārā is described in the text. Greenish-yellow in colour, she is adorned with all kinds of ornaments. In her right hand, she carries a fruit, while in her left she carries a vessel of wish-conferring jewels, pearls, diamonds and cat's-eye gems. Gods shower jewels over her. On her right is seen Durgā (*dpal chen-mo*), in a posture of meditation, while on her left, Padmaśrī carries a handful of jewels.

Fragrant flowers, sandalwood and agaru should be offered to her as also a hundred lamps fed with melted butter. The worshipper should then sit down and chant more incantations. These rites ensure the gain and increase of wealth. The favours of kings and ministers and the state of a universal monarch are among the rewards promised to those who carry out the rites described in the text.

R. H.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU-PHYIN-MA ḤPHAGS-MA TSHIGS-SU BCAD-PA BDUN-MA SHES-BYA-BAḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SAPTAŚLOKIKĀ-BHAGAVATĪ PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-(NĀMA-) SŪTRA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU-PHYIN-PAḤI DON BSDUS-PAḤI TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PA DGU-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-NAVA-ŚLOKA-PIṆḌĀRTHA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU-PHYIN-PAḤI DON BSDUS-PAḤI TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PA DGU-PAḤI RGYA-CHER BŚAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-NAVAŚLOKA-PIṆḌĀRTHA-ṬĪKĀ.

BCOM-LDAN-HDAS-MA SES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU-PHYIN-PAḤI MAN-ṄAG-GI BSTAN-BCOS MṄON-PAR-RTOGS-PAḤI RGYAN-GYI ḤGREL-PA SES-RAB SGRON-MAḤI PHREṄ-BA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ABHISAMAYĀLAṄKĀRA-BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITOPADEŚA-ŚĀSTRA-VṚTTI-PRAJÑĀ-PRADĪPĀVALĪ-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU-PHYIN-PAḤI SÑIṄ-PO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-ḤRDAYA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU-PHYIN-PAḤI SÑIṄ-POḤI ḤGREL-PA DON-GYI SGRON-MA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-ḤRDAYA-ṬIKĀRTHAPRADĪPA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU-PHYIN-PA LṄA-BCU-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-PAÑCAŚATIKĀ.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU PHYIN-PA RDO-RJE GCOD-PAḤI DON BDUN-GYI RGYA-CHER-ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-VAJRACCHEDIKĀ-SAPTĀRTHA-ṬĪKĀ.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS-MA SGROL-MA-LA BSTOD-PA ÑI-ŚU-RTSA-GCIG-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-TĀRĀDEVYEKAVIṂŚATI-STOTRA-SĀDHANA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS MÑON-PAR-RTOGS-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-ABHISAMAYA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS PHYAG-NA-RDO-RJE GOS SNON-PO-CAN-GYI RGYUD CES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAT-NĪLAMBARADHARA-VAJRA-PĀṆI-TANTRA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS PHYAG-NA RDO-RJE GSAṄ-BA MÑON-PAR BSTAN PAḤI RGYUD-KYI RGYAL-PO SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-VAJRAPĀṆI-GUHYĀBHIDEŚA-TANTRA-RĀJA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS PHYAG-NA-RDO-RJE-LA BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVADVAJRAPĀṆI-STOTRA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS PHYAG-NA RDO-RJE LCE-DBAB-KYI GSAN-BAḤI YAṄ-BKOL-GYI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-VAJRAPĀṆYANALA-JIHVA-GUHYA-SAṂVEŚA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS RAL-PA GCIG-PAḤI BRATG-PAḤI RGYUD-KYI RGYAL-PO CHEN-PO SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-EKAJAṬA-MAHĀKALPA-TANTRARĀJA-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS RAL-PA GCIG-PAḤI DKYIL-ḤKHOR-GYI ḤKHOR-LOḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-EKAJAṬA-MAṆḌALA-CAKRA-SĀDHANA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS RAL-PA GCIG-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-EKAJAṬA-SĀDHANA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS RAL-PA GCIG-PA-LA BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-EKAJAṬA-STOTRA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS ŚĀKYA THUB-PAḤI, BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVACCHĀKYAMUNI-STOTRA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS SMAN-GYI BLA BAIḌŪRYAḤI ḤOD-KYI SÑON-GYI SMON-LAM-GYI KHYAD-PAR RGYAS-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATO-BHAIṢAJYA-GURUVAIḌŪRYA-PRABHASYA-PŪRVA-PRAṆIDHĀNA-VIŚEṢA VISTĀRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS SNAṄ-BA MTHAḤ-YAS-KYI GZUṄS-SÑAGS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-AMITĀBHA-DHĀRAṆĪ-MANTRA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS TSHE DAṄ YE-ŚES DPAG-TU-MED-PAḤI DKYIL-ḤKHOR-GI CHO-GA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-APARIMITĀ-YUR-JÑĀNA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI-NĀMA.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS YON-TAN RIN-PO-CHE SDUD-PAḤI TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVAD-RATNA-GUṆA-SAÑCAYA-GĀTHĀ-NĀMA-PAÑJIKĀ.

BCOM-LDAN-ḤDAS YUM ŚES-RAB-KYI-PHA-ROL-TU PHYIN-MAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-SĀDHANA.

BCU-GSUM-GYI BDAG-ÑID DPAL ḤKHOR-LO SDOM-PAḤI DKYIL-ḤKHOR-GYI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See TRAYODAŚĀTMAKA-ŚRĪ-CAKRA-SAṂVARA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI.

BDAG BSRUN BAḤI GZUNS, the title of a text occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 7, No. 254; Vol. 11, No. 653). The spell, *Oṃ a-le kāli a-le kāli ṃuda cite svāhā* follows the formula of salutation to the three

Jewels. It is stated that one should recite this formula seven times, strew oblations in the ten directions and then resort to solitary contemplation.

R. H.

BDAG-BYIN-GYIS-BRLAB-PAḤI-RIM-PA RNAM-PAR-DBYE-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SVĀDHIṢṬHĀNA-KRAMA-PRABHEDA.

BDAG-GI DON GRUB-PAR-BYED-PA SHES-BYA-BA RNAL-ḤBYOR-GYI BYA-BAḤI RIM-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ĀTMĀRTHA-SIDDHAKARA-NĀMA-YOGA-KRIYĀ-KRAMA.

BDAG-GI RNAL-ḤBYOR SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ĀTMAYOGA-NĀMA.

BDAG-MED-MA GCIG-BUḤI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KEVALA-NAIRĀTMYĀ-SĀDHANA.

BDAG-MED-MAḤI DKYIL-ḤKHOR-GYI ḤKHOR-LOḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-MAṆḌALA-CAKRA-SĀDHANA.

BDAG-MED-MAḤI MAN-ÑAG CES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYOPADEŚA-NĀMA.

BDAG-MED-MAḤI-RAB-TU-GSAL-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-PRAKĀŚA.

BDAG-MED-MAḤI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-SĀDHANA.

BDAG-MED-MAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-SĀDHANA.

BDAG-MED-MAḤI SGRUB-THABS RGYAS-PAR BSTAN-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-SĀDHANA-PAUṢṬIKA-NIRDEŚA.

BDAG-MED-MA LHA-MO BCO-LÑA-LA BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-DEVĪ-PAÑCADAŚA-STOTRA.

BDAG-MED-MA RKYAN-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KEVALA-NAIRĀTMYĀ-SĀDHANA.

BDAG-MED-MA SHES-BYA-BAḤI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-SĀDHANA-NĀMA.

BDAG-MED-PA DRIS-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BDAG-MED RNALḤ-BYOR-MAḤI SGRUB THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NAIRĀTMYĀ-YOGINĪ-SĀDHANA.

BDAG-SGRUB-PA-LA ḤJUG-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ĀTMA-SĀDHANĀVATĀRA-NĀMA.

BDE-BA-CAN-GYI BKOD-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUKHĀVATĪ-VYŪHA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BDE-BA CHEN-PO GSAB-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAHĀSUKHA-PRAKĀŚA.

BDE-BA CHEN-POḤI BDUB-RTSIḤI HOD CES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAHĀSUKHĀMṚTA-PRABHĀ-NĀMA.

BDE-BA ḤBYUN-BAḤI SGRUB-TAHBS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KHASARPAṆA-SĀDHANA.

BDE-BAR GŚEGS-PA-GSHUN RNAM-PAR-ḤBYE-PAḤI TSHIG-LEḤUR-BYAS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUGATAMATA-VIBHAṄGA-KĀRIKĀ.

BDE-BAR GSEGS-PAḤI BSTAN-PA RIN-PO-CHEḤI GRU-BO SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUGATA-ŚĀSANA-RATNA-VOHITTHA-NĀMA.

BDE-BAR GSEGS-PAḤI GSHUN RNAM-PAR ḤBYED-PAḤI BSAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUGATA-MATA-VIBHAṄGA-BHĀṢYA.

BDE-BAR GSEGS-PA SUM-CU-RTSA-LNAḤI BSTOD-PA MTSHAN RIN-PO-CHES SPRAS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUGATA-PAÑCATRIṀŚAD-RATNA-NĀMA-MĀLĀ-STOTRA.

BDE-BYED-KYIS SHUS-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KṢEMAṄKARA-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BDE-GSEGS-KYI-LTA-BAḤI GLU SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUGATA-DṚṢṬĪGĪTIKĀ-NĀMA.

BDE-LDAN-GYI SÑIN-PO, a text containing a dhāraṇī, the reading of which is said to ensure birth in the Sukhāvatī heaven. This text occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (*TT.* Vol. 6, No. 147; Vol. 11, No. 514).

The dhāraṇī which occurs after the formula of salutation addressed to bodhisattvas headed by Avalokiteśvara is as follows : *hana hana sāne na pāsāne jvala jvalane tsala tsalane pūrvayogam anusmara phaṭ mahā hastāya svāhā.*

R. H.

BDE-LDAN-MA LUṆ-BSTAN-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KṢEMAVATĪ-VYĀKARAṆA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BDE-LEGS-KYI TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SVASTI-GĀTHĀ.

BDE-LEGS-SU ḤGYUR-BAḤI TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SVASTYAYANA-GĀTHĀ.

BDE-MCHOG-GI DKYIL-ḤKHOR-GYI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SAMBARA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI.

BDE-MCHOG-GI RGYA-CHER BŚAD-PA TSHIG DON RAB-TU GSAL-BA SHES-BYA-BA, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Dpaḥ-bo rdo-rje (?Vīravajra) is named as the author of the work while the translators are said to be Parahita and Ḥphags-pa śes-rab (*TM.* No. 1412).

Judging by its title, the text is a commentary on a work on Sambara (Bde-mchog), an important tantric deity of the Buddhists, who is popular in the Tibetan regions of China.

R. H.

BDE-MCHOG-GI SBYIN-SREG SPYIḤI GSAL-BYED, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The author of the work is known to be Padma-dbyaṅs, while the translator is unknown (*TM.* No. 1473).

The title indicates that the work describes the manner of making a burnt offering (*homa*) to the popular deity Sambara.

R. H.

BDE-MCHOG ḤBYUṄ-BA SHES-BYA-BAḤI RGYUD-KYI RGYAL-PO CHEṆ-PO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text which is presumably lost. See MAHĀSAMBARODAYA-TANTRARĀJA-NĀMA.

BDE-MCHOG ḤKHOR-LOḤI CHO-GA YID-ḤOṄ PHREṄ-BA, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The authorship of the work is ascribed to Kṣānti dpaḥ-bo rdo-rje (?Kṣānti Vīravajra). The name of the translator is not known (*TM.* No. 1513).

The title of the text indicates that it explains the manner of performing the magical rite (*cho-ga*) of the circle of the deity Sambara (Sambara-cakra).

R. H.

BDE-MCHOG ḤKHOR-LOḤI MṄON-PAR-RTOGS-PAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The author of the work is Vīravajra (*TM.* No. 1512).

The title indicates that the text is a commentary on a work dealing with the circle (*cakra*) of Sambara.

R. H.

BDE-MCHOG LHAN-CIG SKYES-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SAHAJA-SAMBARA-SĀDHANA.

BDE-MCHOG NAM-MKHAḤ DAṄ MÑAM-PAḤI RGYUD-KYI RGYAL-PO SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SAMBARAKHASAMA-TANTRARĀJA-NĀMA.

BDE-MCHOG PHYAG GÑIS-PAḤI LHAN-CIG-SKYES-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See DVIBHUJA-SAMBARA-SĀDHANA.

BDE-MCHOG ŚES-PAR-BYED-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SAMBARA-KALITA-NĀMA.

BDEN GÑIS RNAM-PAR ḤBYED-PAḤI ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SATYA-DVAYA-VIBHAṄGA-VṚTTI.

BDEN-PA BROD-PAḤI BKRA-ŚIS-KYI TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SATYA-KATHIYA MAṄGALA-GĀTHĀ.

BDEN-PA BSHIḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See CATUḤSATYA-SŪTRA.

BDEN-PA GÑIS-LA ḤJUG-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SATYA-DVAYĀVATĀRA.

BDEN-PA GÑIS RNAM-PAR ḤBYED-PAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SATYA-DVAYA-VIBHAṄ-GA PAÑJIKĀ.

BDEN-PA GÑIS RNAM-PAR ḤBYED-PAḤI TSHIG-LEḤUR-BYAS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SATYA-DVAYA-VIBHAṄGA-KĀRIKĀ.

BDE SDUG GÑIS BRAL-GYI LTA-BA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUKHA-DUḤKHA-DVAYA-PARITYĀGA-DṚṢṬI-NĀMA.

BDUD BTUL-BA-LA BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MĀRA-JIT-STOTRA.

BDUD-RTSE THAB-SBYOR-GYI SÑIṄ-PO BSHI-PA SHES-BYA-BAḤI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KUṆḌAL-YAMṚTA-HṚDAYA-CATURTHA-NĀMA-DHĀ-RAṆĪ.

BDUD-RTSI BRJOD-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTA-VYĀKARA-ṆA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BDUD-RTSI BUM-PAḤI LUṄ, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text: See AMṚTA-KALAŚA-SIDDHI.

BDUD-RTSI BYIN-GYIS-BRLAB-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTĀDHIṢṬHĀNA-NĀMA.

BDUD-RTSI GRUB-PAḤI RTSA-BA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTA-SIDDHI-MŪLA-NĀMA.

BDUD-RTSI ḤBYUṄ-BA SHES-BYA-BAḤI GTOR-MAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTODAYA-NĀMA-BALI-VIDHI.

BDUD-RTSI ḤBYUṄ-BA SHES-BYA-BAḤI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTA-BHAVA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ.

BDUD-RTSI ḤKHYIL-BAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTAKUṆḌALĪ-SĀDHANA.

BDUD-RTSI ḤKHYIL-PA-LA PHYAG-ḤTSHAL LO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTAKUṆḌALĪ-NĀMA.

BDUD-RTSI ḤOD-ZER-CAN SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTAMĀRĪCI-NĀMA.

BDUD-RTSI ḤO-MAḤI MCHOD-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See DUGDHĀMṚTA-PŪJĀ-NĀMA.

BDUD-RTSI SÑIṄ-PO YAN-LAG BRGYAD-PA GSAṄ-BA MAN-ṄAG-GI RGYUD, or the *Amṛta-hṛdaya-aṅga-aṣṭa-guhya-upadeśa-tantra* in Sanskrit (also known as the *Sman-gyi-rgyud bshi* for short), is a sūtra about medicine prevalent in the Buddhist monasteries in the Tibetan and Mongolian regions, and in some of them it is a special subject for study. The meaning of the title of the sūtra is as follows : As it can save one from untimely death, so it is called *amṛta* (deathlessness) ; the word *hṛdaya* signifies that all medical theories are included in this work ; *aṣṭa-aṅga* represents the eight kinds of treatments for the eight classes of diseases ; by *guhya* is meant that this sūtra is not to be understood by persons lacking mental capacity ; as it is concise and rich in meaning, apprehensible and easy

to practise, it is called *upadeśa* ; and as it is a fundamental work of all medical knowledges, like a treasury containing all sorts of valuables, it is known as a *tantra*.

According to the statements in the *Legs-bśad dṅul dkar me-loṅ* and in some other works, Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-prabhārāja is said to be the speaker of this sūtra, Draṅ-sroṅ Yid-las skyes, its composer, and Kha-che Zla-ba and Lo-chen Vairocana, its translators. Afterwards it was revised and annotated by Gyu-thogs-pa and his successor (c. 9-11th century) with the new translation language (skad-gsar). According to the history of the Rñiṅ-ma-ba sect in Thuḥu-bkwan's *Legs-bśad śel-gyi me-loṅ*, this sūtra was brought out by a "gterston-pa" (treasure explorer) named Grags-pa Mṅon-śes ḥbar for circulation. It seems that it was not given to the public after it had been translated into the Tibetan language.

This sūtra is divided into four *rgyuds* or *tantras*. The four *rgyuds* are the *Rtsa-baḥi rgyud*, the *Bśad-paḥi rgyud*, the *Man-ṅag-gi rgyud* and the *Phyi-maḥi rgyud*. The *Rtsa-baḥi rgyud* is divided into six sections, and the first section relates how Bhaiṣajya-guru Buddha in the Palace of Five Gems in the city of Sudarśana (Bltana sdug-pa) entered the Samādhi of the King of Healing that could cure 404 diseases. He emitted a light from his heart, which was transformed into Draṅ-sroṅ-rig-paḥi ye-śes, and then emitted another light from his tongue, which was transformed into Rig-paḥi yid-las skyes. The whole sūtra consists of the interrogations of Rig-paḥi yid-las skyes and the answers given by Draṅ-sroṅ Rig-paḥi ye-śes. The next five sections give a complete list of all the sections in the whole sūtra and are of the nature of a preface or of an introduction to the book. The *Bśad-paḥi rgyud* is divided into thirty-one sections which relate the process of growth of the human body, its physiological and constitutional functions, the causes of diseases, the ways of living, the proper and the improper foods and drinks, the functions of medicine, medical appliances, the nursing of the sick, the characters of a doctor, and so on. The *Ma-ṅag-gi rgyud* is divided into ninety-two sections, of which the first section is a general introduction and the other ninety-one sections describe the various treatments for different diseases, which again may be classified into eight classes, or the so-called *aṣṭa-aṅga*. Section II, to LXX belong to the class of bodily diseases (*kāyacikitsā*), and they describe the various treatments for the different diseases caused by *vāta* (wind, i.e. dynamic force), *pitta* (choler), *kapha* (phlegm), *saṃnipāta* (mixture), etc. Sections LXXI to LXXIII belong to the class of pediatric diseases (*kumāra-bhṛtyā*); and they describe the ways of rearing infants and the methods of treating pediatric diseases. Sections LXXIV to LXXVI belong to the class of gynaecological diseases, in which the treatments for gynaecological diseases are described in the three sections of general, particular and common cases respectively. Sections LXXVII to LXXXI belong to the class of diseases caused by evil spirits *bhūta-vidyā*), and the treatments for the various illnesses caused by the bhūtas. The *unmadas*, the nine *grahas*' and the *nāgas* are related in the different sections. Sections LXXXII to LXXXVI belong to the class of wounds (*vraṇaṃ*) and they describe the treatments for wounds on the head, the neck, the trunk and the limbs. Sections LXXXVII to LXXXIX belong to the class of poisonous diseases (*agada*) and the treatments for the same are related in them. Section XC belongs to the class of the elixir of life (*rasāyana*) and the methods of how to prevent old age and prolong life are described in it. Sections XCI and XCII belong to the class of aphrodisiacs (*vājīkaraṇa*) and the methods of how to strengthen sexual ability and how to beget progeny are related in them. These eight classifications of diseases are well-nigh the same as the "eight medical treatments" related in the *Record of the Inner Law Sent Back from the South Seas* fascicle III, written by I-ching of the T'ang Dynasty, except the point that the section on the "treatment of head diseases by acupuncture" in that work is included in the class of bodily diseases in this sūtra, in which there is disclosed moreover a separate class of gynaecological diseases (mo-nad). The *Phyi-maḥi-rgyud* is divided into twenty-seven sections, which relate the various methods of diagnoses by feeling the pulse, looking at the countenance of the patient, analysing his urine, the use of the mirror, etc., as well as the preparation of medicines and the method of acupuncture ; and the last section summarizes the contents of the whole sūtra and advocates its propagation.

The retinue of the Bhaiṣajya-guru Buddha, as mentioned in the introductory section of this sūtra, such as Prajāpati-śīghriya, Ātreya, Agni-veśa, Dhanvantari, Jīvaka-kumārabhṛtya, etc., were all traditional medical *ṛṣis* of renown, but no ancient Indian medical saints who were born after the time of the Buddha are mentioned in it. Among the Tibetan annotators there are various opinions concerning the position of Sudarśana where this sūtra was spoken, but Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653–1705) summarizing all the different opinions, suggested that it was in Uḍḍiyāna (see the

Vaiḍūrya sṅon-po, first part, p. 8). According to the *History of Wei*, compiled in 551–554 A.C., it is recorded that a Chinese envoy to Kāśmīra during the reign of Emperor Snih-tsu of Wei, (424–451 A.C.) reported that the capital of Kāśmīra at that time was Sudarśana. Moreover, the translator of the first Tibetan version of this sūtra was Kha-che Zla-ba, and therefore, its original text must have been brought from Kāśmīra. Uḍḍiyāna and Kāśmīra were two adjoining countries in North India and they were situated on the ancient route of communications between China and India. In view of the content of this sūtra, the treatment of diseases seems to have been influenced by Chinese medical theories and techniques. For instance, the diagnosis by feeling the pulse, the prescriptions and the method of using medicines are not quite different from those recorded in Chinese medical works; the positions of the human body for acupuncture and its method of application are nearly the same as those recorded in ancient Chinese medical works. But the acupuncture in this sūtra is used exclusively for phlebotomy in certain limited cases, unlike the Chinese method of acupuncture which is used in a wider scope.

The medical theories in this sūtra, as designating the eight classes of diseases and attributing the causes of illnesses to *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*, *saṃnipāta*, etc., are similar to those in Indian traditional medicine. As for the physiology and the exposition of the structure of the human body, they correspond greatly with the theories of Tantric Buddhism in India. Compared with ancient Chinese medical works, this sūtra has its own salient features: for instance, each ailment is analyzed into *rgyu* (cause), *rkyen* (condition), *dbye-ba* (variety), *rtags* (symptom), and *bcos-thabs* (cure), and it does not exaggerate the functions of medicine. It is explicitly stated that there is no thorough treatment for certain diseases, and special emphasis is laid on the prevention of illnesses, as well as on the nursing of a patient and the nutrition during his recuperation. All these are quite near to modern medical points of view.

Since Gyu-thogs-pa revised and annotated the Tibetan version of this sūtra, a number of commentaries have been written on it, of which the works by both Byan and Zur are well-known. At the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty, Sans-rgyas rgya-mtsho, the "Sde-srid" (political administrator) of Tibet, composed the *Gso-ba rig-paḥi bstan-bcos sman-blaḥi dgoṅs-rgyan rgyud-bshiḥi gsal-byed vaiḍūrya-sṅon-poḥi mallika* (consisting of 1,068 pages in the Peking edition). It is a very complete commentary on that sūtra, in fact, the most popular one during the last two hundred years.

K. Yu.

BDUD-RTSI THAB-SBYOR SHES-BYA-BA KHRO-BO BSHIḤI DKYIL ḤKHOR-DU DBAṄ-BSKUR-BAḤI CHO-GA ZAB-MO, the title of a Tibetan text, ascribed to Dpal Mar-me mdsad bzaṅ-po (Śrī Dīpaṅkarabhadra) occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 79, No. 3774). The Sanskrit title of the text has been reconstructed as *Amṛtakuṇḍalī-nāma-catuṣkrodha-maṇḍalābhiṣeka-gambhīra-vidhi*.

As the title indicates, the text describes the rite of consecration of the maṇḍala of the four *krodha* deities.

The devotee, who wishes to perform the rite is instructed to choose a suitable spot and draw the maṇḍala according to specified instructions. He should then draw the symbols of each of the four *krodha* deities and the presiding deity of the maṇḍala, and place five vessels, one each at the place of each deity. Pegs of wood of a poisonous tree should be driven into the corners of the maṇḍala to the refrain of mantras quoted in the text. These mantras are the same as those quoted below which are recited later on during the ceremony, while the devotee concentrates his vision on holy vessels placed in each direction.

Four offerings of flesh of various kinds should then be placed in the four corners of the maṇḍala. The rite of warding off obstacles should be performed by offering these to the guardians of the directions and demons. The maṇḍala should then be purified by the muttering of a particular incantation.

These preliminary rites being concluded, the devotee should gesticulate the form of a three-pronged vajra and the holding of a wheel-marked vessel against the chest with his hands, concentrate his vision on the vessel placed in the east, and chant the formula *oṃ trāsaya trāsaya vajrakīlikīlaya svāhā* a hundred and eight times. The deity (?) Vajrakīli[1] will then make his appearance. He

1 Yamāntaka is the name of the *krodha*-deity associated with the eastern quarter according to the Mañjuvajra maṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. His second name is given as Vajradaṇḍa in the Vajrahūṅkāra maṇḍala (vide p. 252, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, B. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1958). Vajrakīli may be yet another name of this deity.

is a one-faced, three-eyed and two-armed deity. He bears a three pronged vajra in his right hand and holds a wheel-marked vessel against his chest with the left. He has wavy hair and is decked with skulls and serpents. The lower part of his body is covered with skins of beasts of prey like the tiger and the leopard. This description of the deity may be compared with that of the Raktayamāri variety of Yamāntaka described in *Sādhana-mālā* (p. 530).

When the devotee concentrates his vision on the vessel placed in the south and chants the formula, *oṃ chinda chinda mahākīlikīlaya svāhā*, one hundred and eight times, the *krodha* deity of the south (? Mahākīli, by name) will appear. Single-faced, two-armed and decked with ornaments, he carries jewel-made ears of corn in his right hand and a peg in the left.

As the devotee concentrates on the vessel in the western direction and chants the formula, *oṃ curu curu caṇḍalikīlikīliya svāhā*, a hundred and eight times a red *krodha* deity (? Caṇḍakilī by name) will appear. Single-faced, he has two arms. He carries a blazing brand of fire with the right hand and a peg held against the chest with the left.

When the devotee concentrates on the vessel placed in the north and chants the formula, *oṃ bandha bandha krodha kili kīlaya svāhā*, a hundred and eight times, a greenish-black deity will appear. He carries a staff of jewels in his right hand and a peg held against the chest with the left.

The deity that appears at the centre of the maṇḍala is described as a bluish-black deity, who has one face and two arms. He carries a wheel in his right hand and a peg in his left. He is to be hailed with the formula, *oṃ namaś caṇḍavajra-krodhāyā svāhā*.

All these deities are to be welcomed and the following mantra chanted: *oṃ namaś caṇḍavajra-krodhāya hulu hulu tiṣṭha tiṣṭha bandha bandha hana hana amṛte hūṃ phaṭ*.

Offerings are to be made to the deities and blessings solicited. The mantras quoted in the text suggest that the function of the deities is that of protective deities.

R.H.

BDUD-RTSI THIGS-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AMṚTASVARA-NĀMA.

BDUD THAMS-CAD SKRAG-PAR-BYED-PA SHES-BYA-BA, the title of two texts of unknown authors which occur in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Kangyur (*TT*. Vols. 7, 11, Nos. 261, 678; *TM*. Nos. 797, 1053).

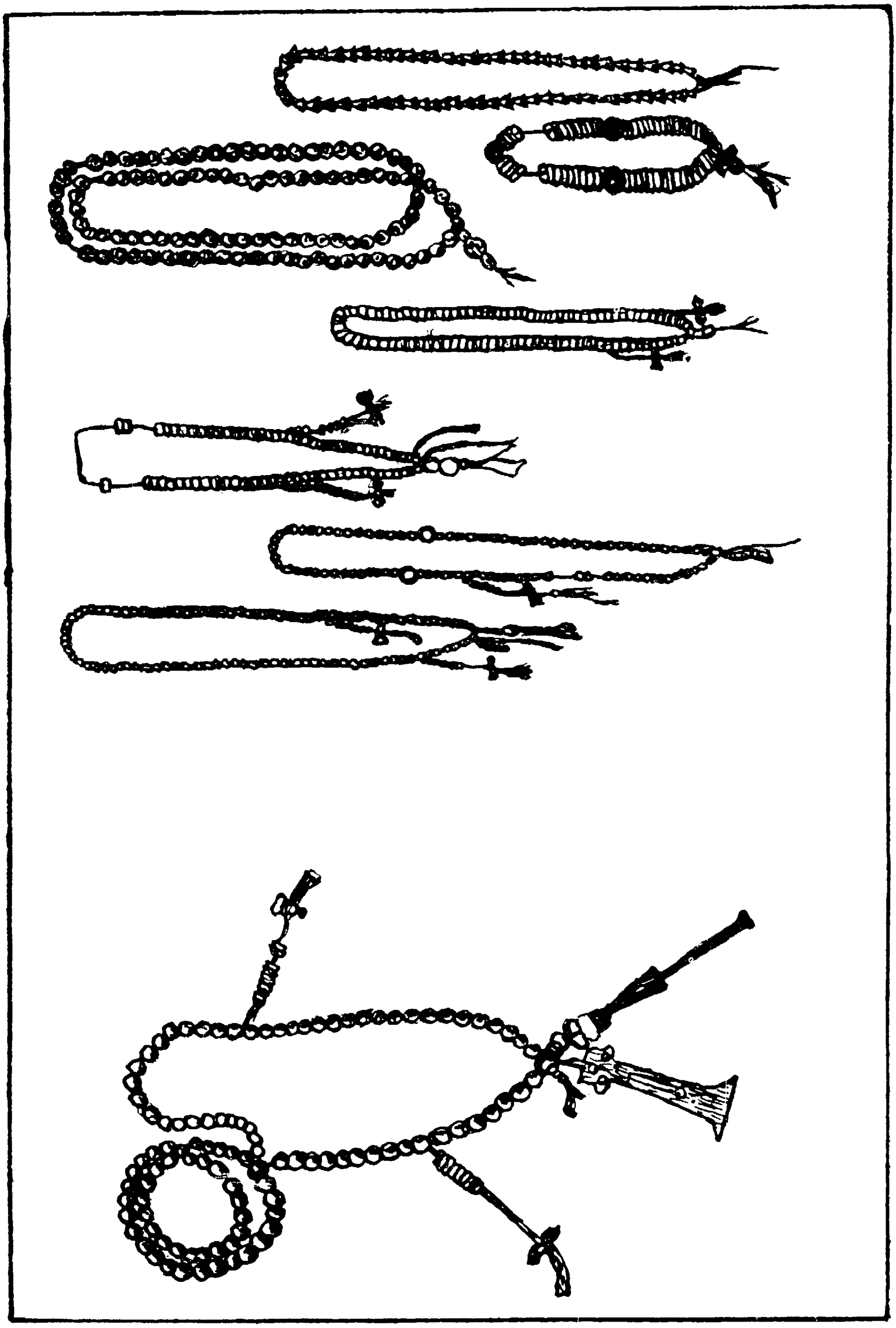
It is a very short text of three lines beginning with a salutation to the Śākyamuni. The entire text mentions a magical formula which is useful for vanquishing all the Māras. The formula runs as follows: *Oṃ sarva Tathāgata mani śatadhipati dsva la dsva la, dharma dhātu garbha, mani mani mahā mani, hrīdaya mani svāhā*. After chanting the above spell, one should ask for protection from the gods who belong to the side of virtue (Tib. *dkar-phyogs-lha*).

I. K.

BDUN TSHIGS-KYI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SAPTA-PARVA-VIDHI.

BEADS are generally used as an aid in meditation by Buddhists of all Buddhist countries, especially those of the north. When strung together they form one of the devotional objects possessed by monks and nuns and also by lay-devotees of both sexes. There is no evidence in early Indian literature of beads being used by Buddhists for any religious purpose in the time of the Buddha. On the other hand, it seems clear from such literature that the use of the string of beads was fairly common among the brāhmans. The Jaina canon, which refers to such strings by the name *gaṇettiyā* (the counter) and *kañcaṇiyā* (golden or bright), shows that it formed one of the appliances of brāhmanical monks. *The Forty-two Points of Doctrine*, a Buddhist work, in the following passage alludes to the counting of beads. " The man who, in the practice of virtue applies himself to the extirpation of all his vices, is like one who is rolling between his fingers the beads of the chaplet. If he continues, taking hold of them one by one, he arrives speedily at the end. By extirpating his bad inclinations one by one, a man arrives at perfection " (quoted in *ERE*. X, 848). Names like *mālā* or *mālikā* (garland) and *sūtra* (string) in later brāhmanical works refer to a string of beads. The Sanskrit terms *japa-mālā* (muttering chaplet) and *smaraṇi* (remembrance) indicate that the string of beads helped in counting the number of times a prayer was muttered (loc. cit).

It is generally accepted that it was the Hindus in India that evolved the use of the string of beads for the first time as an aid in prayer and meditation



Courtesy : The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism by L. A. Waddell, London, 1958

Strings of Beads

subsequent to its use by the brāhmans of the Buddha's time, and that it was from the Hindus that the Buddhists borrowed the practice. A close similarity is seen in the Hindu and Buddhist string of beads in the number of beads used in a string, the materials used for beads, the purposes for which the string of beads is used, the manner in which it is used, etc. The fact that beads play a part more important in the life of the Hindus than in the life of the Buddhists is clear from the evidence of the practices they observe in connection with it. Monier Williams (*Religious Thoughts and Life in Ancient India*, 117) has observed that when children are admitted to the religion of Viṣṇu at the age of six or seven years, a string of 108 beads, usually made of the *tulsi* wood, is passed round the child's neck by the priest, merely to aid the possessor in repeating anyone of Viṣṇu's names 800 times, the eight additional beads marking eight recitations of a hundred each. The string of beads of the Śaivites consists of 32 beads and there are other strings that consist of 6, 9. 12, 18, 27, 36 or 54, any sub-multiple of 108 (*ERE*. X, 848).

The brāhmanical and Hindu practice of the use of the string of beads could also be a development of the practice of the use of knots by the people of primitive societies in many parts of the world as a means of aiding the memory for keeping records (E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 154 ff., referred to in *ERE*. X, 847). This ancient practice, which was current more in connection with secular matters than religious, gradually came to be applied to count the number of times a devotional prayer was repeated, when there developed a tendency in the primitive man to regulate human affairs by fixed ordinance and to arrange worship into mechanical routine. These devotional utterances, repeated a specific number of times, developed, from being at first as free and flexible as requests to a living patriarch or chief, to the state of mystic formulas whose repetition required verbal accuracy and whose nature practically assimilated more or less that of charms (cp. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 371 f.). This stage of development which is true also of the string of beads of the Buddhists is seen in northern Buddhist countries like Tibet and Japan where great mystic value is attached to the string as well as to the prayer that is repeated, and this development took place in the latest ritualistic stage, when a belief had arisen in the potency of muttering mystic spells and other strange formulas (cp. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 202). Though strict Buddhist philosophy makes no allowance for such practices, popular Buddhism adopted in no small measure a prayerful temper and even practice from Brāhmanism and also some of the beliefs of the rude spirit-worshipping populations. Hence such practices as the use of the string of beads. Its use in the repetition of religious formulas was considered as an easy way of acquiring merit (cp. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 371 f.).

The string of beads of the Buddhists generally has 108 beads. This number is significant in Buddhism. It corresponds with the number of mental conditions which are overcome with the help of the beads. Further, according to Buddhist texts, 108 brāhmans were summoned at the Buddha's birth to foretell his destiny. In Burma and Thailand, the foot-print of the Buddha is engraved with 108 marks. The sacred writings of Tibet run into 108 volumes. The Chinese and the Japanese, too, hold 108 as of Buddhistic importance. It is held in Tibet that this number of beads is used to ensure the repetition of the sacred spell one-hundred times with the extra eight beads for omission and breakage.

The types of strings of beads and the practices observed by Buddhists in the different countries in connection with it vary considerably. In India, it is very similar to those of the Hindus. A great variety of materials are used, some of them very costly like turquoise, coral, amber, silver, pearls, and others like wood, pebbles, berries or bone. The poorer people who use cheap materials for beads do not care much for the number either.

In Ceylon, a kind of a rough seed is commonly used as beads whereas other materials, not very costly, like sandal-wood are also occasionally used. The number of beads frequently found in a string is 108 and the string is mostly used by old men and women to count the repetition of certain formulas when they observe the eight precepts (*aṭṭhaṅga-sīla*) on *uposatha* days. The *Navaguṇavāla* is the Sinhalese term for it, meaning string of nine good qualities, for it is generally used in the repetition of a Pali formula which refers to nine exalted qualities of the Buddha.[1] Another Pali prose passage referring to 32 impurities of the human body and found in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (II, 293) is also repeated with the use of the string of beads.[2]

1 The phrase begins, *iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammā sambuddho*....and is recited frequently in worshipping the Buddha.

2 This passage begins, *atthi imasmiṃ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā*..........

In Burma, too, the string of beads contains 108 beads. These beads, which are black and sub-cylindrical in shape, are said to be made of slips of some kind of leaves on which charmed words are inscribed. These leaves are rolled into pellets with the help of lacquer and varnish. The monks use a string called *bodhi* consisting of 72 beads. In Burma, this string is merely used to count the repetition of the names of the Triple Gem, namely, *Phra* (Buddha), *Tara* (Dhamma) and *Saṅgha*. On the completion of the round, the formula *anicca, dukkha, anatta*, all is transitory, painful and unreal, is repeated while holding the central bead (*JASB.* LXI, 33 ; *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, 282, referred to in *ERE*, X, 850).

In the Tibetan region of China the string of beads is as essential a part of a lama's dress as much as a common possession of every layman. It is also held in the hand of the image of Avalokiteśvara, the patron god of Tibet. Called *pren-bā* in the Tibetan language, it is used for storing up merit at every opportunity, by the repetition of certain religious formulas. It is also used for some secular purposes.

The Tibetan string of beads, too, comprise 108 beads. The materials used for the beads vary in kind and costliness according to the wealth and sect of the wearer and also the god worshipped. The chief monk of a wealthy monastery, for example, may have beads of pearl and other precious stones and even gold. Turner (*Embassy to Tibet*, p. 261) relates that the Grand Tāshi Lama of Tibet, possessed strings of beads made of pearls, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, coral, amber, crystal and lapis-lazuli. Among the different kinds of strings of beads the one used by the 'Reformed School', also called the 'Yellow-Hat sect', is the yellow string of beads made of the ochrey yellow wood of the Bodhi-tree, so deeply yellow that it is doubtful whether the wood is really of the pipal (*ficus religiosa*). The beads are manufactured wholesale at a Tibetan temple. There are two types of beads made of this material, the spherical beads, each about the size of a pea and a less common type of lozenge-shaped, perforated beads. This string of beads is used for all kinds of worship, including that of furies. The 'Red-Hat sect' or the old (i. e., Unreformed) school of lamas use beads made of the rough brown seeds of a tree which grows in the outer Himālāyas. The string of such beads is also used for all kinds of worship and the 'Reformed School' makes use of it in the worship of fiercer deities. A string of beads made of the perforated cylindrical discs of the conch shell, used especially in the worship of Avalokiteśvara, is generally a possession of the nuns. Strings of beads made of plain crystal or glass are also used in the worship of Avalokiteśvara.

Another type of beads is made of red sandal-wood or some other wood of a similar appearance. This is used only in the worship of the fierce deity Tam-din (Skt. Hayagrīva). A string of beads of coral is also used for the worship of the same deity. The Old Sect uses it for the worship of their wizard-saint Padmasambhava. Since coral is expensive, red glass or a similar material is used as a substitute. A string of beads made of the human skull is specially used for the worship of the fearful tutelary fiend Vajra-bhairava, slayer of the King of the Dead.

Still another type is prepared from 'elephant stone', a porous bone-like concretion which is sometimes found in the stomach or the brain of the elephant. This is used in the worship of Yama. Since the material is extremely scarce and expensive, a substitute made from the fibrous root of the bow-bamboo is also used.

The *rakṣa* string of beads made of large, brown seeds of the *eloecarpus janitrus* is specially used in the worship of fierce deities and demons. These seeds are normally five-lobed. The abnormal six-lobed seeds are highly valued, for the Tibetans believe them to be the offspring of some seeds of Padmasambhava's string of beads, which, according to legend, broke off from it and were not picked. This string of beads is quite similar to the *rudrākṣa* string of beads of the Hindus (*rudrākṣa* meaning Rudra's red eye), the former apparently being derived from the latter.

A glossy jet-black nut, the seed of the *luṅ-t'an* tree, which grows in the sub-tropical forests of the south-east Himālayas, is used for the worship of Vaiśravaṇa, the god of wealth. These seeds are emblematic of the Garuḍa bird, a henchman of Vajrapāṇi and the great enemy of snakes. Hence the Sanskrit name *nāga* (serpent) for these beads. Since the *nāga* is considered the guardian of wealth in mythology, its association with the god of wealth is befitting.

A string comprising about fifty beads, made of the vertebrae of snakes, is used by sorcerers in necromancy and divination.

The colour of the beads also varies according to the complexion of the god or goddess that is to be worshipped. Thus, a turquoise string of beads is used in the worship of the bluish-green goddess

Tārā, red beads are connected with the red Tam-din or Hayagrīva, yellow beads with the yellow Mañju-śrī and amber with Vaiśravaṇa, of golden-yellow colour.

The various types of strings of beads of the Tibetans mentioned above are those of the monks and nuns. The beads of the laity are generally composed of any sort of material according to the taste and wealth of the owner. Most are glass beads of various colours, the same string sometimes containing beads of several colours, interspersed with coral, amber, turquoise, etc.

The lamas use certain mystical formulas prescribed for repetition with the string of beads in hand. A particular string with a particular formula is used for a particular deity. These formulas are very often gibberish and unintelligible to the worshipper and they probably have a Sanskrit origin. The laity when using the string of beads, seldom repeat any formula other than the well-known *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*.

The string of beads is used in Tibet in prayer in the following manner. When prayer begins, the right hand is passed through the string which is allowed to hang freely with the knotted end upwards. The hand with the thumb upwards is then taken to the breast and held there during the recital. With the pronouncement of the initial word *Oṃ*, the first bead resting on the knuckle is grasped with the tip of the thumb and the second joint of the index finger, and is gently revolved to the right while repeating the prayer. On the completion of the prayer the bead is dropped down the string and then the next bead is taken up in a similar manner. The string of beads usually has two counter-strings with ten metallic rings in each. The one terminating with a miniature *dorje* (the thunderbolt of Indra) registers units of bead cycles and the other terminating with a small bell registers tens of bead cycles. When about to begin the prayer, the rings on each string are slipped up. After completing one bead-cycle, one ring on the *dorje* string is slipped down ; thus all the ten are slipped down when ten cycles are complete. Then they would be slipped up again while one ring in the bell-string is slipped down, registering ten bead cycles. When all the ten rings on the bell-string are slipped down, the devotee will have repeated the prayer (108 × 10 × 10=) 10,800 times. The number of times a prayer is thus repeated is enormous, the average daily number in the early career of a lama being about 5,000 times, this varying according to the zeal of the individual. The act of praying is called *taṅ-c'e* in the Tibetan language, literally meaning 'to purr', and the muttering of the prayers is rather suggestive of this sound (L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 202 ff. ; *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, 330 f. referred to in *ERE*. X, 850).

The string of beads of the Buddhists in China is known as *su-chu* and consists of 108 beads, whereas another set of 18 beads, representing eighteen chief disciples of the Buddha, sometimes carved into images, is also in use. This string is sometimes worn by the laity round the waist. The Chinese officials, too, wear a string of 108 beads, but this apparently has no religious significance.

In China, the string of beads is used mainly for counting the repetition of prayers or set phrases which, if performed at a temple, the Chinese believe, would bring great merit. They are also used to count the prostrations when the devotee would prostrate and strike the ground with his forehead while repeating a formula, moving a bead in the string round the neck at the end of each prostration. On occasions of sickness and death, too, a religious ceremony is performed with the string of beads. On such occasions Buddhist monks or those of a certain class of Taoists are employed to chant in a monotonous sing-song certain quotations from the sacred books,[3] using beads mainly for counting the number of repetitions (J. F. Davis, *The Chinese*, 330 f. ; J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, II, 386 ff., 458 ; *Proc. U. S. National Mus.* XXXVI, 338 ; all referred to in *ERE*. X, 850 f.).

The Korean string of beads has 110 beads though, according to the classics, the number is 108. The two extra beads are bigger in size, one with the *svastika* at the begining of the string and the other at the middle, dividing the string into two halves. Each bead has its own special name and is dedicated to a particular deity. The devotee, when using the string of beads repeats the formula *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* while holding each bead. The fact that the materials of which the beads are made give them a special value is seen from the belief that in repeating a formula once with an ordinary string one would obtain tenfold blessings, but if the beads are made of lotus-seeds, one obtains thousandfold blessings, and if they are of pure crystal ten thousandfold blessings, and if they are made of the wood of the Bodhi-tree the blessings that one would obtain will be incalculable.

3 This act seems similar to chanting of *pirit* (Pali *paritta*) in Ceylon on such occasions, though in this case the string of beads is not used.

The *Chyei Syek* classic gives certain rules to be observed in connection with the string of beads (*ERE*. X, 851).

E. B. Landis, (*The Korean Repository*, II, No. 1, mentioned in *ERE*. X, 851) in an investigation made of the classic of the string of beads on the walls of the Buddhist temples in Korea, states that, though their authorship is not sure, it is quite clear that they are very old as they contain many Chinese characters that are obsolete now.

In Japan, there is a separate string of beads for each sect, while at the same time a string common to all sects, too, is found.

The string consists of 112 beads divided into two equal parts by two larger beads called the upper parent bead and the lower parent bead. From the upper parent bead hang two more strings with smaller beads containing eleven beads in one and ten in the other. When the string is held properly the bead close to the upper parent bead in the string, containing twelve beads, should be on the left hand. Both strings end up in an elongated bead each and the collective name for the two strings is *kami-deshi* (superior disciples). From the lower parent bead hang three more strings with small beads, two strings known as *shimo-deshi* (inferior disciples) containing five beads each with an additional elongated terminal bead and the other containing ten beads with no terminal bead. The four terminal beads in the four strings are called dew-drop beads and are supposed to represent the Four Regents who are said to preside over the four quarters of the universe. The string, further, is considered as representing metaphorically the Buddhist pantheon. In the main string there are several dividing beads of a material different from that of the other beads. These beads show where a special invocation should be uttered, the string of beads being at the same time raised to the forehead with reverence.

The materials of beads of the Japanese string, too, vary according to the wealth, taste or fashion of the wearer. The wood of the Bodhi-tree (pipal, *ficus religiosa*) is a highly valued material for beads, but the wood of the cherry and plum trees is more often used probably due to the scarcity of the former.

In Japan, there are three special ceremonies in which the string of beads plays an important part. They are known as *kanō*, *ki-tō* and *goma*. In the *kanō* ceremony which is meant for the recital of prayers or requests of a just nature, the devotee raises the string slowly and reverentially to his forehead when the prayer is repeated and also rubs the beads up and down between his hands, causing an unpleasant and grating sound. The *ki-tō* ceremony is peculiar to several Buddhist sects in Japan. The *goma* ceremony has two varieties, one *goma* and *ki-tō* combined and the other known as *go-ki-tō*. In the first variety, the use of the string of beads is just like in the *kanō* but the ceremony is accompanied by a fire, the fire-wood of which causes a rattling noise, inside a box in front of the altar in the temple. In the second variety, the string of beads is tied to a short wooden sword and the ceremony is performed by a specially trained monk (*Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Japan* IX, 173-182, mentioned in *ERE*. X, 852). There are special shops in temples and places of pilgrimage in Japan for the sale of strings of beads. The devout attach special value to strings which are consecrated over the sacred flame and incense smoke of a venerated temple. The Japanese use the string of beads also for secular purposes (*Proc. U. S. National Mus.* XXXVI, 342, mentioned in *ERE*. X, 852).

H. R. P.

BEAL, SAMUEL (1825–89), Christian clergyman who specialised in Chinese Buddhist studies. Perhaps he is best known for his English account of the travels of such famed ancient travellers as Hsüan-tsang, his *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures* (1872) and the *Fo-so-hsin-tsan-ching* (*SBE*. XIX), being the translation from the Chinese of Aśvaghosa's Life of the Buddha (*Buddha-carita-kāvya*) which had been rendered into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa in the early 5th cent.

Beal served as naval chaplain and his ship, H.M.S. "Sybille" was stationed in the China Sea. He made use of this opportunity to learn Chinese, both spoken and written, and he familiarised himself sufficiently with it to serve as naval interpreter during the war of 1856–8. But he had more earnest reasons, for he aimed to be a deep student as he wanted to elucidate the little known Buddhism of that country. Having attained his ojective, he developed a proper attitude in interpreting a religion to which he by no means subscribed. Indeed, that approach is emphasised in his own way when dealing with some other topic: "I have suffered no prejudice to interfere with the honesty of my work" (*Chinese Accounts of India*, Susil Gupta Ltd., Calcutta, 1957, Introd.).

Besides the above books by him are the following: *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims* (1869), *The Romantic*

Legend of Buddha (1875), *Dhamma Pada or Texts from the Buddhist Canon* (1878), *Buddhism in China* (1881) and *Si-Yu-Ki : Buddhist Records of the Western World*. The last-named work, published in Trübner's Oriental Series, is a constant source of information which is now more easily available in the Indian reprint noted above. Although an independent worker in his chosen field, Beal was in touch with such fellow-workers as Colonel Yule and R. Rost.

He was a valued contributor to the *JRAS*. and *IA*. Vols. XIX (Old Series) and I, II, V, VI, XIII, XV, XVI and XIX of the former, and IV, VIII, XII, XV and XVI of the latter, contain Buddhist articles, notes and miscellaneous communications by him. They were mainly on aspects of Chinese Buddhism, naturally enough, but he also occasionally wrote on outside topics. Among these were 'Some Remarks on the Great Tope of Sanchi' (*JRAS*. New Series, V), 'Remarks on the Bharhut Sculptures and Inscriptions' (*IA*. XI), 'Kukkuṭapāda-Giri and Kukkuṭa Saṅghārāma' (ibid. XII), 'The Age and Writings of Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva' (ibid. XV), as far as related to Buddhist studies. A very interesting comparative examination of the *prātimokṣa* ritual was made by him (*JRAS*. Old Series, XIX) from the Chinese, in concordance with the Pali by D. J. Gogerly of Ceylon. 'Confessional Service of the Great Compassionate Kwan Yin' (*JRAS*. New Series, II) and 'The Eighteen Schools of Buddhism' (*IA*. IX) are of more than ordinary interest.

Beal was honoured by the Durham University with the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws. At the University of London he gave five lectures on Chinese Buddhism. In the year following (1877) he was appointed to the post of Professor of Chinese in that institution. His last three appointments in the Christian priesthood were as rector, respectively of Falstone, Wark and Greens Norton. Some of his best Chinese studies were made during this period. (For succint biographical notices see *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXII, Suppl. Vol.; *JRAS*. New Series, XXI, p. 1128; bibliographical details appeared in the *JRAS*. & *IA*. Index Vols.)

D. T. D.

BEARD (*massu*), its treatment as found in Buddhist literature. In the first place the Buddhist monks were expected to shave their beard as well as their head. Anyone entering the Order had to do it before donning the saffron robe. Thus, wherever there is a reference in Buddhist literature to one entering the Order we have the very common phrase that he "shaving his hair and beard and donning the yellow robe, went forth from home to homelessness" (*kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji : D.* I, 60, 115; II, 42; III, 60, 64, 76; *A.* I. 107; III, 386; *It.* 75 etc.). The reason for the monks being expected to shave their hair and beard is obvious. As the hair of the head and the beard could be attended to in such a way that they would add to the personality of the person concerned, it was not in keeping with the discipline of the Buddhist monk to cultivate such taste. Such personal looks were advantageous only for the layman; but the Buddhist monk was expected to forego such tastes.

It is interesting to see that even in the society of the Buddha's time there were various fashions regarding the beard. The group of six monks (*chabbaggiyā*), who constituted the reactionary elements of the Order during the Buddha's time, are represented as having indulged in such fashions. Thus, according to *Vin.* II, 134, some of them had their beard trimmed (*massuṃ kappāpenti*) with scissors; some made it grow long; some had it shaped like a goat's beard (*golomikaṃ kārāpenti*). This is further explained by saying that they made it long on the chin and thus arranged it like a goat's beard (*elakamassuka*); some had it shaped like a square on the bottom of the chin (*caturassakaṃ ti catukoṇaṃ : VinA.* 1211). When the Buddha was informed about these 'fashions', he laid it down that the shaping of the beard in any of these ways is an offence (*dukkaṭa*). The monks were not expected even to use scissors and trim their beards. Instead, they were expected to use the razor and also the entire equipment of a barber (*Vin.* II, 133).

In addition to these references which prove that various styles regarding the beard were fashionable in the society of the Buddha's time, there are other references, too, which bear out their existence among the people. Thus, trimming the hair and beard nicely (*kappitakesamassu*) and wearing full white clothes (*odātavatthavasano*) are referred to (*A.* IV, 94) as signs of fashion and high social status. A similar instance is at *J.* III, 314–5, where, in a dialogue between a pigeon and a crow, the latter speaks proudly of well-cropped hair and well-trimmed beard. (See also *J.* VI, 268.) Even in those days, it was not the normal thing to allow the hair and the beard to grow. The fashion then was to cultivate it in

various ways, according to the taste of the individual, as it is today. Allowing it just to grow without any attention being paid was no fashion at all. Instead, it was unsociable to do so. Thus, when some shipwrecked people were stranded and living in an island naked and with thickly grown beards, it is referred to as something unusual (*naggo parūḷhakesamassu* : *J.* IV, 159).

Pulling out the hair and the beard and thereby inflicting pain on the body was practised by some ascetics as a means of self-mortification. These are mentioned in a list of the ascetic practices, which were condemned by the Buddha as useless (*A.* II, 206 ; *Pug.* 55, 57, etc.). Here it is shown that even in the sacrificial religion of the brāhmans it was the custom to shave one's head and beard before embarking on any religious undertaking. It is said that the king, too, or some similar person before entering the sacrificial hall to take part in a major sacrifice, used to shave his head and beard.

The story of Cullapanthaka thera (*DhpA.* I, 253) shows that the royal hairdresser (see BARBER) was not expected to shave the king's beard daily. According to this reference the barber used scented water to moisten the king's beard. The work of the royal hairdresser does not appear to have been a simple affair.

There is no Vinaya rule prohibiting a monk from allowing his beard to grow. It was the cultivation of the beard as practised by laymen that was prohibited for them. Thus, there is the story of how a monk in Ceylon during the time of Vaṭṭagāmiṇī was nick-named Bahalamassu (thick-bearded) thera, as he had a thick growth of beard on his face (*Mhv.* xxxiii, *v.* 96.). See also HAIR.

A. G. S. K.

BEASTLY TALK, low or wrong kind of conversational talk, comprising twenty-eight topics, which are forbidden for a Buddhist monk. See TIRACCHĀNA-KATHĀ.

BEAUTY. From the Buddhist as well as from the general point of view, beauty can be of two kinds, as physical or external and moral or spiritual. The former satisfies the sense organs, whereas the latter satisfies the intellectual and the moral sense of man. In Buddhist mental culture it is the cultivation of the latter kind of aesthetic sense, by realising the vanity of the former, that constitutes the spiritual progress of man. The two processes, negative and positive, take place simultaneously. In other words, it is a process whereby one realises by intuitive experience the beauty of the external world in his own person, in his spirit or the mind or whatever one may call it. Almost all the non-Buddhist philosophers describe such inward experience as being undergone by a 'soul'[1] whereas in Buddhism the whole process is only a mere process without an agent, the experience itself being the agent. It is only an experience and there is no experiencer.[2] The greater becomes this spiritual experience the more detached the person will be from the material world and as such he finds physical beauty meaningless in the ultimate sense. Physical beauty which pleases the eye from without and to which one gets attached is only actuality. By understanding the outside attractions as such and realising their true nature in one's own intuition (*yathābhūtañāṇa*) one experiences spiritual beauty, beauty in reality. The culmination of this process would be complete detachment from things of the world, the sensual world, with full knowledge of the world.

In the *Nīvaraṇa-vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 3—4), the Buddha addresses the monks and tells them that he does not know of any other single thing so powerful in giving rise to the psychological state of sensual lust (*kāmacchanda*) or to increase thereof as the feature of beauty in things (*subhanimitta*). What the Buddha means by *subhanimitta* is the general human tendency of getting attached to anything that is pleasurable to the organs of sense : it is an object, material or mental, that serves as a basis for that thought of attachment (*rāgaṭṭhānīya-ārammaṇa*). As we are here concerned mainly with the term beauty even expressions like beautiful music cannot be excluded. In a way, the pleasurable feeling that is created by a beautiful object or sweet music or sweet scent or tasty food or pleasurable touch—all these symbolise the same phenomenon in the human mind. The organs of sense symbolise various

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1 For instance Plato. Even the Upanishadic theory of the realisation of Brahman (*brahmāsvāda*) is supposed to be experienced by the soul, the *ātman*.

2 Cp. *Visuddhimagga*, ch. xix, section, 20 :

Kammassa kārako natthi
vipākassa ca vedako
suddhadhammā pavattanti
eve'tam sammadassanaṃ.

aspects of it. The phenomenon is universal, only the particulars differ. The Pali words *rāga* or *lobha* or *taṇhā* are used to mean this tendency of the mind : it is the *rāga-cetanā*, the thought of attachment. Such attachment might lead to some temporary pleasure, which is based on something external. This does not mean to say that beautiful objects are bad or dangerous in themselves. Let beautiful things be there in the world, but attachment to them leads to loss of insight and true knowledge. The world is full of beauty in a very spiritual and an abstract sense, but it is the man himself who defiles and destroys that beauty by trying to possesss it. Therefore the Buddha's advice is to get detached from the beauty that pleases the physical eye, the apparent beauty of the external world, and to cultivate *virāga* or non-attachment to them which would result in man himself realising the beauty supreme within his own mind. This is the moral or spiritual beauty as understood in Buddhism. It is this inward beauty that has found expression in the whole of *Thera-* and *Therī-gāthās* and in the various utterances of joy (*udāna*) attributed to the Buddha himself.

Now, one may question whether a person who has realised this state of mental culture cannot see beauty in the external world : whether he cannot have any aesthetic experience from something external. The simplest answer to this would be that as he is completely detached from the world his aesthetic enjoyment is unbounded. It is extra-sensory, and supra-individual. As he knows the true nature of everything he does not see beauty in things in the same way as an ordinary man would see it. In the case of this cultivated person, the idea or the experience of beauty goes from within to without and not from without to within. He has no attachments, nor repulsions but only knowledge. His outlook is centrifugal and not centripetal. In keeping with this attitude of his, he likes peaceful and calm surroundings. An uncultivated man also would like such surroundings because he wants to soothe his inner self but in the cultivated person he likes such surroundings because his nature is that.

There are several episodes recounted in Buddhist literature illustrating the Buddhist attitude to mere physical beauty. One such incident is the meeting of Khemā, Bimbisāra's queen, with the Buddha (*DhpA.* IV, 168 f.). Khemā was a woman who was so proud of her physical beauty that she refused to visit the Buddha saying that he had a habit of speaking disparagingly of physical beauty. But she was made to visit him by making her listen to a poem recounting the beauty of the Veḷuvanārāma where the Buddha was residing. When she went near the Buddha, the latter conjured up a woman like a celestial nymph who stood near him, fanning him with a palm leaf. This left a profound impression in the mind of Khemā as she observed that the woman near the Buddha was more beautiful than herself. As he kept on looking at the woman she observed how she passed on from youth to middle age and then to old age and then finally fell down like an old hag. Khemā was intelligent enough to realise the evanascent nature of physical beauty and changed her views accordingly, later to become not only an arahant but also the foremost bhikkhunī possessing wisdom.

The same theme is illustrated in the story of Māgandiya, the brāhman, and his daughter Māgandiyā who is said to have been of rare physical beauty. Her father was postponing her marriage until he could get a man to match her in appearance. One day he saw the Buddha passing by and thought that he would be a suitable son-in-law for him. He immediately got his daughter to array herself in all splendour, brought her to the Buddha and offered her as wife. The Buddha told them who he was and explained to them about the unsuccessful attempts of the beautiful daughters of Māra to tempt him. He further told them that compared with Māra's daughters Māgandiyā was a corpse filled with the thirty-two impurities, an impure vessel painted without : he would not touch her even with his feet. Māgandiyā felt so insulted that she later tried to wreak her vengeance on the Buddha whereas her parents understood the truth and became the Buddha's followers.

The ultimate vanity of physical beauty is again illustrated by the story of Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha. On the day that Nanda was to get married to the Janapadakalyāṇī, the Buddha asked him to become a monk. Nanda could not refuse the request and it was only unwillingly that he joined the Order. But as the days passed he was tormented by thoughts of his fiancee and his health began to suffer. The Buddha suggested that they should go to the Himālayās. On the way he showed him the charred remains of a she-monkey and asked him whether the Janapadakalyāṇī was more beautiful than that : the answer was in the affirmative. Then the Buddha took him to Tāvatiṃsa where Sakka with his most beautiful nymphs waited on them. In answer to a question by the Buddha Nanda admitted that those nymphs were far more charming than his beloved and the

Buddha promised him one as wife if he would lead the monastic life. After their return the Buddha recounted the story to the two Chief Disciples. When they questioned Nanda he felt very much ashamed of his lustful nature. Propelled by this feeling, he strove hard and attained arahantship and became the foremost among the self-controlled ones. He thereupon visited the Buddha and absolved him of his promise (*DhpA.* I, 96–105; *UdA.* 168 ff.).

The story of Vakkali thera is another case in point. He was a brāhman who, after seeing the Buddha once, could never tire of looking at him. In order to be near the Buddha he became a monk and spent all his time contemplating the Buddha's person. One day, the Buddha told him that merely contemplating on his foul body was useless and that if he wanted to "see" him he should "see" the Dhamma. Even then Vakkali could not get over his habit and only when the Buddha commanded him to leave that he left him with a grieved heart (*AA.* I, 249-51).

Another interesting story illustrating this theme is that of the courtezan Sirimā of Rājagaha (*DhpA.* III, 104 ff.). She is said to have been of unique beauty. A certain monk, having heard that Sirimā's alms were excellent and her beauty extraordinary, decided to go to her, a distance of three leagues. When he went there she was ill and her attendants were attending on the monks. When she was brought to pay her respects to the monks, the lustful monk at once fell in love with her and was unable to eat. That same day Sirimā died. The Buddha, too, was present at the funeral ceremony with the monks, the passionate monk included. The Buddha made the king proclaim that anyone who would pay 1,000 pieces of money could have Sirimā's body. There was no response. By gradual lowering of the price the body was offered for nothing. Yet none wanted it. The Buddha's purpose was to show that while, earlier, people were spending a thousand to spend a single night with her, now none was willing to have her body even as a gift. Physical beauty in itself is an appearance without real value.

Numerous such stories may be cited from the Buddhist scriptures. It would not be correct to say that the Buddha was prejudiced against physical beauty. His point was that attachment to beauty was folly, because beauty is transitory and when the object of beauty loses its attraction, there is sorrow and disappointment. Therefore, what he recommended was only a change of disposition, a change of attitude. He realised that if man were to be really happy he should give up attraction to material beauty which merely pleases the eye of the flesh and turn inward to his own heart, whereby man becomes morally and spiritually beautiful. Instead of running after some external beauty and thereby blinding one's eyes he pointed out that man could become beauty incarnate. That was within and not without the individual. The idea of contemplating on ugliness (*asubha-bhāvanā*) is not a result of prejudice but a psychological method whereby the true nature of things can be understood. As the Buddha himself symbolised by his own achievement, real happiness lies not in attachment but in renunciation which is a mental revolution.

The Buddha very often says that he has become one with the beautiful (*subha*). To those who regard the Buddha's idea of renunciation and the resultant emancipation as pessimistic, he gives a fine answer at the end of the *Pāṭika Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 34). Here the Buddha addresses a brāhman called Bhaggava and tells him that there are certain brāhmans and recluses who misreport him by saying that he has said "whenever one has attained to the stage of deliverance, entitled the beautiful, one then considers all things as repulsive." The Buddha denies having made such a statement and expresses what he had actually said in the following words: "whenever one attains to the stage of deliverance, entitled the beautiful, one is then aware, 'It is lovely'."[3] It is the permanent state of aesthetic experience as the Buddha understood and realised. He wanted all those who have the ability to do so (*upanissaya*) to be one with the beautiful in their complete personality. It is a "spiritualisation and transfiguration of the body as it had been reported by certain *siddhas* and above all the Buddha, whose body is said to have been of such unearthly beauty that even the golden robes offered to him lost their lustre."[4]

The fundamental concept in the Indian theory of aesthetics, generally known as *rasa-vāda*, is also this kind of aesthetic pleasure resulting from detachment. By witnessing a dramatic performance or reading a poem or looking at a painting or listening to music one releases oneself from the empirical

3 *Yasmin samaye subhaṃ vimokkhaṃ upasampajja viharati subhaṃ tu eva tasmin samaye sañjānāti.*

4 Lama Anagarika Govinda, ***Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*** p. 69.

world for a time and abides in a world of aesthetic bliss by making use of that particular branch of art as the medium. If by any chance one were to identify oneself with the means one cannot be successful in going through that aesthetic experience. This is why perfect detachment is necessary. Whereas the artist, whatever be his medium, produces this for a limited period of time the Buddha shows the way, both by example and precept, how this state of spiritual peace, of *mokṣa*[5] or release could be permanently attained so that there is no more return to the world of conflict, the empirical world. This state of mental culture, of aesthetic experience, is also a state of knowledge. It is the knowledge of the beautiful. The Buddha's way of release is an intuitive experience, which has to be individually experienced by the wise (*paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi*). When the Buddha compares the various classes of humanity to lotus flowers in a pond[6] where some lotuses are above the water, some others are hidden under the water on various levels and some are on level with the water, there, too, he means this same concept. One may add that in the mud are so many possibilities of such blossoming but it is not every tank-bed that produces lotus flowers.[7]

In later Pali literature (i.e., Commentarial texts) there is a traditional standard by which female beauty is judged. There are five features collectively called *pañca kalyāṇa* which are the beauty of hair (*kesa*), flesh (*maṃsa*), teeth (*aṭṭhi*), skin (*chavi*) and youth (*vaya* : *J.* I, 394; *DhpA.* I, 387). Such perfection of physical beauty is to be found in a woman of great merit. The beauty of hair means that such a woman's hair is like a peacock's tail and when it is released and allowed to fall it touches the hem of her garment and then the ends of the hair curl and turn upwards. This is *kesakalyāṇa*. Her lips have the colour like that of a bright red gourd (*bimbaphala*) and are even and soft to the touch. This is *maṃsakalyāṇa*. Her teeth are white and even and without interstices and shine like a row of diamonds set upright or like an evenly cut conch-shell. This is *aṭṭhikalyāṇa*. Her skin, without the use of sandalwood or rouge or any other cosmetic, is as smooth as a garland of water-lilies and is of yellowish brightness as a garland of *kaṇikāra* flowers. This is *chavikalyāṇa*. Though she has brought forth ten times her youth is just as fresh as though she had brought forth but once. This is *vayokalyāṇa*.

A. G. S. K.

BEBE (GYI) PAGODA, one of the oldest Buddhist monuments in Hmawzā, lower Burma, probably belonging to the period of the Pyu rulers (circa 5th–8th century). At present it is only a cubic block of brick measuring 17 feet by 16 feet, surmounted by three stepped terraces and a cylindrical *sikhara*. One of the four walls has an entrance which leads to a single room inside the edifice. On the side walls are two niches which once contained statues.

Inside the room, on its rear side, is a large stone plaque, 8 feet 2 inches high, 6 feet 3 inches broad and 1 foot 3 inches thick. Its upper part is sculptured and the lower part is inscribed. In the sculpture the Buddha is shown seated between two disciples who, with their hands clasped in front of the breast and the legs crossed, are in the act of worship. The inscription which is one of the only two long Pyu inscriptions so far (1921) discovered is very much withered and is therefore, practically illegible, but the sculpture, below which it is inscribed, tends to assign it to the 6th–8th centuries.

All the plaster-work and the decorations of the monument have disappeared (Louis Frédéric, *The Temples and Sculptures of Southeast Asia*, p. 25; *ASIAR.* 1909–10, p. 120; *Report of the Archaeological Survey, Burma*, 1921, p. 23).

H. R. P.

BECOMING, a term of great significance in Buddhist psychology. Existence is viewed as a process of change and not as a permanent essence, in which process phenomena 'become' without a substance, in which only actuality can be experienced. It is the current of actuality which is life in action, whether it is called birth or death. Becoming, then, is the very essence of existence, and the universality of this becoming lies at the root of the main characteristic of all things : all components are impermanent (*sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā*).

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5 Compare the use of the term *mokṣa* with the Buddha's use of the term *vimutti*. See V. Raghavan, *The Number of Rasas*, The Adyar Library series, 1940.

6 On this simile see *Majjhima Nikāya*. Vol. I, p. 169. The lotus is a symbol of spiritual beauty in Buddhism. Not only it is a favourite simile of the Buddha himself, but a favourite symbol of the Buddhist artist too.

7 Plato's theory that aesthetic experience is a process of discovery and that differences in aesthetic judgment are differences of knowledge invites comparison with the Buddhist view. See C. E. M. Joad, *Guide to Philosophy*, p. 330.

This corner stone in the foundation of the Buddha's doctrine should be seen in its proper perspective for the right understanding of its significance. That the Buddha's doctrine was revolutionary in more than one aspect is clear from the opposition it evoked. Many sectarians, ascetics, Nighaṇṭhas, Jains, materialists, annihilationists, spiritualists, eternalists, from the time of the Buddha, and throughout the centuries, whose doctrines culminated in the Vedānta of Saṅkarācārya, sometimes expressed their doubts about existence : Some say : there is ; others say : there is not (*astī-tyeke , nāyam astī-ti caike : Katha Up.* 6, 12); at other times they most emphatically asserted an absolute existence with their doctrine of immanence, either positively : Thou art that (*tat tvam asi*) or negatively : Not that (*neti*).

The break with tradition which constitutes the origin of Buddhism and its continued characteristic, is not the choice between the 'is' and 'is not'. It lies in the rejection of both, in the new psychology of becoming, in the philosophy of actuality. Things are not what they appear to be, and it is their appearance which influences the observer. The actuality of phenomena conditions the reaction, and all knowledge is only of actuality. But action is always in action and never static, and thus phenomenal existence is always a process of becoming.

The famous questions which even the Buddha left undecided (*avyākata*) hinge entirely on this distinction between being and becoming. And thus the view that the Tathāgata exists after death (*hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā*) is equally unacceptable as the view that the Tathāgata does not exist after death (*na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā : S.* III, 215). Likewise, the opposite views that after death the soul, not subject to decay and conscious, has form (*rūpī attā hoti arogo paraṃ maraṇā saññī*), according to the Ajīvakas, and that after death the soul has no form (*arūpī attā hoti : D.* I, 31), according to the Nigaṇṭhas, are again equally unacceptable, for the same reason that in the process of becoming there is neither being nor having, neither essence nor attributes, neither owner nor possessions. The phenomena do not belong to a substance, just as the current does not *belong* to the river, which is but a convenient designation indicating the total process of flow, i. e., of becoming.

Life, existence, the flow of actuality, is a process of conditioned reactions and reflexes, which in its very essence is based on change. Thus, essence is nature and not an absolute reality. Nature is culture, is growth. is cnange, is evolution and involution, all of which is expressed in the word 'becoming'. That which is static, can acquire properties ; but that which evolves, *becomes* those properties, as milk becomes curd, as the seed becomes the plant, as birth becomes death.

See further BHAVA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BE-CON CHEN-PO SHES-BYA-BAḤI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAHĀDAṆḌA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ.

BED (*sayana, mañca, pallaṅka*), rules regarding its use by the Buddhist monks. In keeping with the high degree of discipline expected of the Buddhist monks as regards the use of luxuries, various rules are laid down in the *Vinaya* regarding the use of beds by them. As there were various kinds of beds, couches, etc. used at the time, there naturally arose the necessity to lay down such rules for monks. A list of such prohibited items of furniture is often found in the Pali texts (e.g., *D.* I, 7 ; *Vin.* I, 192 ; II, 163 ; *A.* I, 181, etc.). The twenty odd luxurious pieces of furniture referred to in this list are to be avoided by the layman who takes the eight precepts and by all ordained monks. This list is interesting because it catalogues items of furniture used for sleeping during that time. They are commonly grouped together as *uccāsayana* (high beds) and *mahāsayana* (broad beds). The first in the list is *āsandī*, which seems to have been very popular because it invariably occurs as the first item in the list of forbidden beds. Further, there are numerous references in the *Apadāna* (39, 303, 377, etc.) that it was very often offered to the Saṅgha as a gift. At *D.* I, 7, where high and broad seats are enumerated one by one, *āsandī* is translated by Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha,* I, 11) as 'movable settee'. In *DA.* 1, 86 Buddhaghosa merely explains it by saying that it is a seat beyond the prescribed measurements (*pamāṇātikkantāsanaṃ*). This probably refers to the height laid down at *Vin.* IV, 168 as eight finger-breadths (*aṅgula*) according to the accepted finger-breadth (*sugataṅgula*). As this rule regarding height is applicable to any piece of furniture used for sitting or sleeping, there could be no doubt about the height of the *āsandī*, when it was used by monks. In the *Theragāthā* Commentary (*ThagA.* 1, 137), *āsandī* is defined as a "long-legged and four cornered or a long and four-cornered chair (*dīghapādakaṃ caturassaṃ āyataṃ caturassam'pi*) upon which it is possible to sit but not to lie." This indicates

that there were evidently two kinds of *āsandī*, one short and the other long. Although it is said that it was meant only for sitting and not for lying down, the long one was probably used also for lying down, like the modern settee or divan. It is interesting to note that *āsandī* is found in the list of beds (*sayana*) and not of chairs (*āsana*). At *J.* I, 108 the *āsandī* is used by the leader of a moving caravan to lie down and watch the stars. The term *āsandī* is sometimes used in the sense of a bier (*D.* I, 55; *M.* I, 515 and *S.* III, 207). The reason for the Buddha to forbid their use by monks was that they were generally too high for them. Accordingly, monks could use the *āsandī*, provided its legs were cut down, to bring them within the permitted height (*Vin.* II, 169 f.). The diminutive, *āsandikā*, is allowed without any restriction (ibid. 149). With short legs and square in form it was used only for sitting.

The second item in the list is *pallaṅka*, a piece of furniture very similar to the modern divan. In the case of the *pallaṅka* it was not its height that made it unfit for monks, but the comfort it provided, for it was made by stuffing hair (*vāla*) into it. It is described as being made of horse-hair (*assavāla* : *MA.* II, 45), and monks were permitted to use it if the stuffing was removed (*vāle bhinditvā* : *Vin.* II, 169–70). The monks are forbidden to use a complete *pallaṅka* even in a layman's house (ibid. 163).

The third is called *goṇaka*, which was a woollen coverlet with fleece of more than four inches long (*DA.* I, 86). Often a *pallaṅka* is referred to as being spread with counterpane (*A.* I, 137; III, 50). Because of its comfortable quality this, too, was considered a luxury. The fourth is called *cittakā*, which is a bedspread (*attharaṇa*) of many colours and designs. The fifth in the list is *paṭikā*, a white woollen cloth, used as a coverlet or a blanket (*DA.* I, 86). The sixth is *paṭalikā*, a woven cloth of wool, embroidered with flowers (*DA.* I, 87). The seventh in this list of *uccāsayana* and *mahāsayana* is called *tūlikā* which the commentary (*DA.* I, 87) explains as a mattress consisting of layers of grass or wool. The eighth is called *vikutikā*, which is a woollen coverlet embroidered with figures of animals. The ninth, *uddalomī*, a woollen coverlet with fur on both sides, and *ekantalomī*, the tenth, a similar rug with fur on one side, are used for sleeping on, spread either on the floor or on a bed. The eleventh, *katthissa*, is explained in the commentary (*DA.* I, 87) as a silken coverlet embroidered with gems, and so is *koseyya*, the twelfth, but without gem-set embroidery. The thirteenth article of bedding is called *kuttaka*, a woollen carpet generally used by dancing women. According to Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 12) it is a carpet large enough for sixteen dancers. The fourteenth, fifteenth and the sixteenth items are all rugs used for riding on elephants and horses and in chariots. It was probably the custom to use these, too, as bedding. The seventeenth is called *ajinappaveni*, which is a cloth of the size of a couch made from strips of antelope skin sewn together. The eighteenth is referred to as *kadalimigapavarapaccattharaṇa*, which is nothing more than the hide of *kadali* deer used as a rug or cover. Next in the list is called *sauttaracchada*, which presumably is a luxurious kind of carpet with an awning or a canopy above it. The twentieth and the final item is called *ubhatolohitakūpadhāna*, which was probably a comfortable and luxurious kind of sofa with two red pillows at either end.

Most of these forbidden items were evidently considered as luxuries because they were used by kings and rich people, and were, therefore, not suitable for monks whose lives had to be simple and austere. What is meant by the term *mahāsayana* is not so much their size as the fact that they were used by rich folk and as such they were 'great' (*mahā*) in contrast to the simple requirements of the Buddhist monk.

At *A.* I, 181, a brāhman praises the Buddha for his serene appearance and introduces this list of furniture as being easily available to the Buddha, the inference being that the Buddha's radiant appearance was due to his being able to sleep in luxury and comfort. In reply the Buddha says that not only do he and his followers, who are wanderers, rarely get such things, but also that even if they do obtain them, it would not be suitable for them to use them. The Buddha then goes on to say that instead of the high and luxurious beds of lay people, which are not suitable for monks, there are three other kinds of beds, both high and great, and easily obtainable in this very life itself. These, the Buddha explains, are the high and great couches of the devas, of the brahmās and of the ariyas. By these three terms he means the three psychologically advanced stages which are noble and sublime and as such high and great (*ucca* and *mahā*). They are comfortable since he who attains to these stages lives happily, in peace and comfort.

In explaining the first of these (*dibbaṃ uccāsayanamahāsayanaṃ*) the Buddha says that when living close to a village he goes for his alms during the forenoon and afterwards he goes to a quiet spot in the forest and sitting crosslegged he gradually enters on

the four *jhānas*, thereby achieving a state of perfect purity and calmness free from both pleasure and pain. In such a state all his postures, walking, standing, sitting and lying down, are divine (*dibba*). If he lies down when he is in that state that spiritual experience is to him the celestial high and great couch (*dibbaṃ uccāsayanamahāsayanaṃ*). Similarly, when the Buddha is in such a place and in such a state, instead of attaining to the *jhānas*, if he were to suffuse the whole world with thoughts of boundless and unlimited loving kindness, then, all his postures will be sublime (*brahmaṃ*) to him. In the same way, when he abandons passion (*rāga*), malice (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*), he attains to a similar condition where his lying down will be as though he were on the best of high and great couches (*ariyaṃ uccāsayanamahāsayanaṃ*). Thus, in this conversation the Buddha points out that while material beds provide only a delusion of comfort, for real and lasting comfort one has to develop one's mind and attain to those psychological states which provide genuine and lasting spiritual comfort.

How the monks first began to use beds for sleeping is described at *Vin*. II, 149. At first the monks slept on the ground and as a result their limbs and robes were soiled with dust, whereupon the Buddha allowed them a grass matting. When this was eaten by rats and white ants, they were allowed a solid bench. When by sleeping on them their limbs became painful they were permitted a couch of split bamboo (*bidalamañcaka*), which was a couch woven with bamboo strips. Next a long couch (*masāraka*), a couch with slats (*bundikābaddha*), one with curved legs (*kulīrapādaka*) and one with removable legs (*āhacchapādaka*), were received by the monks as gifts. All these were allowed for their use by the Buddha. These couches are referred to at *Vin*. IV, 40 also. The *āsandī*, which seems to have been used for both sitting and sleeping, was also allowed, provided it was not too high. Next, the monks received two beds, one short and one tall, with seven parts (*sattaṅga*) four legs, head support, foot support and a side support. Both these were permitted to be used. But when the group of six monks (*chabbaggiyā*) lay down to sleep on high beds, the Buddha remarked that it was an offence for monks to do so (*Vin*. II, 150). Being too scrupulous, a monk slept on a very low couch and consequently he was bitten by a snake, whereupon the Buddha allowed supports for the couches. Then the group of six used very tall supports for the couches and they used to rock to and fro on them. It was then that the Buddha laid down specifically that a support for a couch should be eight finger-breadths (*aṭṭhaṅgula*) at the most. When several monks sat down on a bed (*mañca*) together and broke it, the Buddha laid down that the number that could sit together on one couch or seat should not exceed three (*Vin*. II, 169). But once, when three monks sat on one, the bed broke down, whereupon the number was reduced to two. But two nuns are prohibited from sharing the same couch when lying down (*Vin*. IV, 289). At *Vin*. II, 270–1, nuns are prohibited from lying down on stuffed couches and this prohibition came when some menstruating nuns sat on such couches and chairs, thereby soiling them with blood. Monks were not affected by this prohibition as shown at *Vin*. II, 150. But at *Vin*. IV, 169, even the monks are prohibited from using them. *Vin*. III, 212, refers to the practice of covering the bed or chair with a clean cloth (*uttarattharaṇa*) out of respect for the person that uses it so as to prevent his clothes from being soiled. Similarly, it is said that a mattress, too, should be covered before using it on a couch. This cover is called ***bhisicchavi***. At *Vin*. IV, 202, there is a rule which says that the Dhamma should not be preached to anyone in bed, if he is not ill. At *Vin*. I, 192, monks were prohibited to use hides of animals as spreads for beds. When it became a custom among lay people to use hides for their beds and chairs the monks, visiting them, were permitted to sit on them, but not to lie down on them (*Vin*. I, 193). The life of the Buddhist monk had to be as simple as possible and luxurious beds were taboo for them. Thus, it is seen at *A*. I, 212, luxurious beds are abandoned and simple ones (*nīcaseyyaṃ*) adopted. At *A*. III, 50, a devoted follower of the Buddha wants the latter to accept a *pallaṅka* (couch) spread with fleecy covers, woollen clothes and deer skins with awnings over it and red cushions at either end. From the context it would appear that this was the most comfortable and luxurious type of bed used by the people at the time. When such gifts are given out of deep devotion, the Buddha accepts them out of compassion for the person who makes the offering, although he would not make use of such offerings.

According to *Vin*. II, 123, the group of six used to lie down on beds scattered over with flowers, which practice the Buddha prohibited forthwith. *Vin*. I, 57 says that a certain person entered the Order to eat good food and to sleep on beds sheltered from the wind (*nivātesu sayanesu*). At *J*. III, 20, there is a reference to a *sayana-kalaha* which in the context could be translated as 'curtain lecture'. It would be interesting to find out whether in those days, as

in the West not so long ago, curtains were drawn around the bed and not in the bedroom, before husband and wife retired to sleep.

A. G. S. K.

BEDADI, a small village on the Shiran river, some twelve miles by road to the north-north-west of Mānsehrā, the present fame of which exists in the find of an engraved copper ladle. The inscription marks the ladle as a 'gift of Saṅgharakṣita of the Urašā kingdom to the Order of the four quarters of the Kāśyapīya school'.

The ladle is 9 in. long and has a bowl of 1.9 in. diameter around which the dedicatory inscription runs, in Kharoṣṭhī characters, which seem to be earlier than Kaniṣka. It is at present in the museum of Peshāwar (*CII*. Vol. II, p. 89).

The Kāśyapīya (q. v.) school was one of the early offshoots after the breaking away of the Sarvāstivādins in the third century after the death of the Buddha.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BEḌSĀ. In the early group of Buddhist caves in the Deccan (India), the caves at Beḍsā occupy an important position. Also known as the Karunj-Beḍsā group, they derive their name from the two villages lying 5½ miles east of Bhājā and 4½ miles south to the station of Karkuḷā on the central railway. The chaitya-hall and other excavations are situated in a spur of the hill, continuing the Bhājā group, and overlook the Pavna river. The group consists of a chaitya-cave and vihāra with some wells, cells and stūpas. [1]

The entrance to the chaitya cave (*EncyBsm*. Vol. II, Pl. LXII) is reached by a passage, 12 to 13 yards in length, cut through the rock to obtain the necessary view of the façade, as the mass of the rock on both sides tends to hide the greater part of the frontage. A five feet passage has been cleared between the rocks and the two massive octagonal columns and two pilasters supporting the entablature at the height of about 25 feet. As remarked by Percy Brown, "it is the design and execution of the pillars and pilasters of the portico which make the façade such a remarkable production, as by means of an elaborately carved superstructure they act as supports to the main beam of the roof. All, however, is one solid piece, as the entire frontage is carved out of the natural rock."[2] The pillars, no doubt, based on Asokan monoliths, show wide departure from their original prototype. Their bases simulate the earthen pitcher from which rise slightly tapering shafts surmounted by a fluted bell-shaped capital and a fluted torus in a square frame supporting four square tiles, each projecting over the one below. Crowning these recessed tiles are crouching elephants, horses, bullocks and sphinxes carrying male and female riders, wearing light garments, but heavy ornaments, distinguished by their strength and firm modelling.

Above the crowning sculpture of the pillar appear the beams, binding joists and other wooden features of the portico, copied literally in the rock. The porch within the portico, nearly 12 feet wide and 32 feet 2 inches in length, has two benched cells. Above the base of the walls and above the lintels of the cell doors, the porch walls are covered with the rail pattern on flat and curved surfaces interspersed with chaitya windows.

The door-jambs slant slightly inward. The interior of the hall is 45 feet 4 inches long and 21 feet wide. The gallery of the great window extends into the cave which has twenty-four plain octagonal pillars separating the nave from the side aisles. On the pillars run a fillet and then the triforium. All the woodwork has disappeared. The interior is severely plain except that some of the pillars are decorated with rosettes, wheel, shield, trident and lotus.

The base and top of the cylinder of the stūpa are decorated with the rail ornament. The shorter drum above is decorated likewise. The *harmikā* (square enclosure) is small and is surmounted with a plain, recessed capital with a railing at the top holding the wooden shaft of the umbrella.

Not far from the chaitya is the vihāra with a vaulted roof and apse. Perhaps the front was closed by a structural wall with some sort of window in the arch. There is a benched cell on either side of the entrance 17 ft. 3 inches wide with a pilaster on either side. Inside, the hall is 18 feet 3 inches wide and 32 feet 5 inches deep and is provided with eleven benched cells. The cell-doors have plain architraves. Mock grated windows are carved in the walls. Originally the whole of the inside was plastered and painted.

There is little doubt that the exterior of the early group of caves Bhājā, Pītalkhorā, Koṇḍane and

1 Fergusson and Burgess, *Early Buddhist Cave Temples*, London, 1880 pp. 228–232; Burgess, *Buddhist Cave temples and their inscriptions*, *Archæological Survey of Western India*, London, 1883, Vol. IV, pp. 22–23.

2 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)* Bombay, p. 28.

Beḍsā simulate certain characteristic features of palace architecture, as *pāsāda* (in Pali) stood for palace, as well as temple and monastery. [3]

The *pāsāda* was built on a solid foundation or basement on which stood the pillars of the lower palace. The constructive elements are listed at some length in *DhsA.* 107 as follows, "Just as in a palace (*pāsāda*), a pillar (*thambha*) is a strong support to the rest of the construction, just as the joists (*tulā*), ties (*saṃghāta*), girths (*bhittipāda*), roof ridges (*kūṭa*) and rafters (*gopānasi*), the jambs (*pakkhapāsa*) and the brackets (*mukhavaṭṭi*), are bound to and supported by the pillar . . . . ."

The octagonal pillars, so characteristic of early Indian architecture, are mentioned in *J.* VI, 173 as "well cut octagonal columns" (*aṭṭhaṃsasukatā thambhā*). The *pāsāda* had more than one storey framed by *vedikā* as parapet and also with windows. As remarked by Coomaraswamy, the apartments on each floor in most cases were set back from the *vedikā* parapet so as to provide an exterior terrace, deck or balcony (*ālinda*). *Ālinda* has been defined as that part of any storey which is external to the *kūṭāgāra* or other chambers on that storey. A *pāsāda* had such *ālinda* supported by *hatthinakha* pillars. An *ālinda* was permitted in monastic buildings as well.[4]

The arched windows were common to chaityas and palaces. The windows on the upper storeys were of the *sīhapañjara* type (explained by Coomaraswamy as a balcony or bay window), perhaps a French window opening down to floor level, forming the projecting part or end of a *kūṭāgāra* on the top or other open floor. It will be observed in the reliefs that people looking out of such windows are only seen from the waist up, and this is because *vedikā* (railing all round the *tala*) hides the lower parts of the bodies.[5] These windows and bay windows were for light and ventilation, to look out on the road and to enter and emerge from or on to the *tala* external to the chamber. They were provided with shutters or grille or lattice.

The exterior of the *sela-chetiya-ghara* at Beḍsā, as pointed out by Coomaraswamy, [6] shows *ālinda* above and a *hatthinakhaka* pillar on the left has literary parallels. In the *Cullavagga* (VI, 14, 1), a *pāsāda* having a *hatthinakhaka ālinda* is a permitted monastic residence. The term is explained by Buddhaghosa as *hatthikumbha-patitthita*, "supported on elephant's frontal gloves"; but Coomaraswamy rightly explains "elephant-nail" as evidently derived from the projection of the elephant's feet beyond the abacus, making the nails conspicuous when seen from below. Other elements such as *sīhapañjara*, *kūṭa*, *vedikā*, *jāla* etc. also appear as architectural constituents in literature.

The date of Beḍsā is a matter of controversy among scholars. The earlier view was to place Beḍsā during the second or first decade of the second century B. C. Coomaraswamy, agreeing with this view, places the chaitya halls at Bhājā, Koṇḍane, Pītalkhorā, and Ajaṇṭā (Cave X) to about 175 B. C.[7] Marshall has, however, raised serious objections against this chronology. Giving his opinion on the date of Beḍsā, he observes, "the ponderous columns in front of the entrance and the modelling of the figures surmounting them, though manifestly earlier than that at Kārle, cannot be removed from it by a long time." [8] If the date of Kārle is accepted as the beginning of the first century A. C., the date of Beḍsā should fall somewhere in the first century B. C. It seems that Coomaraswamy in later years had also changed his earlier opinion about the second century B. C. date of Beḍsā, and scaled down its date to the end of the first century B. C.[9], which date in our opinion should be acceptable. The advocate of short chronology, M. Phillipe Stern, however, depending on certain stylistic features, places Beḍsā after the gateways of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī and before the advent of the Mathura school of sculpture. [10]

M. C.

BEGGING. See MENDICANCY.

BEGRAM, the ancient city known here from archaeological investigations, has been identified by Alfred Foucher (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI) and others as probably marking the site of Kāpiśī, the capital city of Kapiśa. It is situated in Afghanistan, about 45 miles north of Kābul, at the confluence of Ghorband and Panjshīr rivers. The elevation is about 5,000 feet. When Hsüan-tsang visited the region about 630 A.C., he described it as being about 4,000 *li* in circuit and the capital about 10 *li*. The king was a kṣatriya who was an energetic ruler and had brought under

3 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture, III, Place*, *Eastern Art*, Vol. III (1931), pp. 181 ff.

4 ibid. p. 195.

5 ibid. p. 196.

6 ibid. pp. 20 ff., 208.

7 Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 28.

8 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 637.

9 *Eastern Art*, Vol. III (1931), p. 209.

10 *Nouvelles Recherches archéologiques a Begram*, by J. Hackin and others, Paris, 1954, p. 44.

his control some ten of the neighbouring kingdoms. Evidently, it was a place of considerable importance on the ancient trade routes ; it had commanded the main passes of Hindu Kush and so controlled the movements between Bactria and India. The Chinese traveller indicated this fact when he noted : 'Here are also found objects of merchandise from all parts.' Besides the discovery of lacquered boxes from Han China, this evidence of its having been a mart has since been found principally from the explorations and researches by Charles Masson (*JASB.* Vol. V) and Joseph Hacking (*Indian Art and Letters*, XII, No. 1). They found a large number and variety of Greek, Indo-Scythian and other coins, glass and similar ware from the sites they investigated. Hsüan-tsang had mentioned that the people, in his day, used gold, silver and little copper coins which were different in appearance and stamp from those of other countries.

Foucher thought that the long-lived prosperity of the place was well documented, and that, as the city must have been close to Alexandria (in the Caucasus), its identity was probably implied in the name Kapasi in "Kalasi in the district of Alasanda" which, through a copyist's error, is named in Pali manuscripts as the home of king Milinda (q.v.) or Menander. According to Pliny it had once been destroyed by Cyrus in the earlier period of its history; Eucratides had coins of himself struck there and so proved his overlordship ; Pāṇini has mentioned it in connection with grapes, and vineyards are as yet the pride of modern Koh-Dānan (mountain's foot) in which it had been situated. Kaniṣka had lived here and kept his Chinese hostages.

Hackin found here the ancient city which was marked by a series of undulations and mounds which covered an extensive area of the northern extremity of the plain. The operations directed by him in the 1936–37 season drew rich material from the site (No. 2) which was found to mark the ruins of Kaniṣka's palace. Sten Konow mentioned (*Epigraphia Indica* XXII) that M. Barthou, one of the French archaeologists, found here a damaged bas-relief (14½ ins. high) being the first obtained in or close to the ancient city. It bore an inscription in Khāroṣṭhī characters at the bottom.

........*y (e) A (ṃ) tariye danaṃmuhe imeṇa kuśulamuleṇa pituno pujae (bhavatu).* Gift of Anatarī ; through this root of bliss (may it be) for the worship of (her) father.

The epigraphist accepted the opinion, previously expressed by another, that the inscription could be assigned towards the end of the Kuṣāna period, at least not earlier than that of Huviṣka. He also thought that the script was in common use in Kāpiśī and other towns along the ancient highroad to India by way of Nagarahāra (Jalālābād) and Puṣkarāvatī (Peshawar).

After these notices we have the itinerary of Hsüan-tsang. He gives the traditions of Kaniṣka here which have been indicated by the work of modern scholars in the last century and the present. He found the city a very flourishing one ; it was apparently the chief city of the entire north-west region from Bāmiyān (q.v.) to the Indus. The literature of the people he found similar to that of Tukhārā country ; but he noted that the customs, the common language and rules of behaviour were somewhat different. The king was a devout Buddhist who adored the Tri Ratna. Every year he used to make a silver image of the Buddha 18 ft. high and offer it for public veneration. The country was rather inclined towards the Mahāyāna which was the main course of study in some one hundred saṅghārāmas with their population of about six thousand bhikkhus ; about three or four *li* to the east of the capital city there was, at the foot of a mountain on the north, a large Theravāda (Hīnayāna) establishment, too, with about three hundred bhikkhus. The stūpas and saṅghārāmas were imposing structures which were prominently sited. Other religionists were also found in the city and its environs ; among these were worshippers of the Brahmanical gods, naked ascetics or Nigaṇṭhas.

But history seems to be silent thereafter. Foucher wondered whether Kāpiśī was destroyed by the first Muslims who invaded the country in general (653–64 A.C.). That this may not have been the case could be inferred from Bāmiyān, where, during these difficult times, a Buddhist vihāra survived for two centuries longer. His other suggestion is more plausible, that is to say, that the city was sited too inconveniently high and was removed to the south and, for reasons of defence, behind a second rampart of hills. He expressed himself as certain, on the other hand, that the Islamic invaders imprisoned the last Buddhist king in old Kābul (on the Logar between the townships of Shevaki and Kamari) and established the capital at the Kābul of today. The palace of Kaniṣka and some of his successors, which has been mentioned earlier, seems to have been buried in ruin when the city was destroyed by Shāhpur I of Iran in 241 A.C. The great royal residence had ten rooms of which nine were of considerable size with carefully built thick walls. The thin slate used in building

had been strengthened in parts by the insertion of carefully headed dressers. The tenth room had been constructed with greater care than the others. It became most important to archaeology because in the whole of its northern part there were found receptacles of blown glass, alabaster and bronze objects. The large quantity of glass articles was characteristic of the glass-making establishments of the Syrian coast (beginning in the first century B.C. and ending about the commencement of the fourth cent. A.C.). Some of the glass work had been painted in bright colours which were remarkably well preserved at the time of discovery by the Hackin expedition. Objects of alabaster, cut glass and similar material were also brought to light.

In the southern section of the same room were mostly found jewel boxes of thin wood covered and ornamented with plates and bands of ivory and bone. This is considered a distinct contribution to archaeological studies for the origin of the art could be traced to central India or the Mathurā region. It was the work of ivory-craftsmen there. Its kind had not been found in the original home on Indian soil itself. Hundreds of these strips were found in Begram. The work on some of these strongly resembles the ornamentation at Sāñcī, but it has been estimated as free interpretations in Begram and no servile copies of the Indian. The motif of winged monsters has been claimed as evidence of remote Mesopotamian influence with purely Indian ornamental details. Some of the female figures resemble those found at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period ; most of them show scenes of women occupied with their toilet. The origin of some composite reliefs (such as " grylles ", in which an associated human face is surmounted by heads of animals with bodies of winged creatures) has been assigned to places outside India in the domain of the Hellenistic art of Asia Minor.

Rowland, studying the technique and iconography at Begram, held that the treatment of the drapery in Buddha figures, which had been reduced to a net of string-like folds, was very reminiscent of the sculpture of Palmyra on the trade-route to the Mediterranean. He found that the ratio of five heads to total body height was exactly as in Late Roman and Early Christian sculpture, and that the mask-like character of Late Antique sculpture of Roman art in the third-fifth centuries A.C., was very marked.

The Buddhist sculptures at Begram and of some nearby sites could probably be dated to the third or fourth century of our era.

D. T. D.

BEHAVIOUR is a set way of action and reaction under certain conditioning circumstances. This has been attributed, e.g., by Samuel Butler, to memory in its widest possible sense of ancestral experience, what one usually would refer to as instinct, and which Bergson rightly dismisses as not true memory at all. The Behaviourists, a school of philosophy which had Dr. John B. Watson as its chief protagonist, however, never speak of memory which according to them has no place in an objective psychology, memory being the retention of a habit.

While reserving a discussion on memory for that term in its due place, it is possible to deal only with the settled tendencies and formed practices which constitute behaviour. In the Buddhist texts and commentaries conscious experiences are not accounted for by bodily movements. The mental process is not a mere by-product, an epiphenomenon, which accompanies the complex nervous and muscular processes, and which reduces a rational being to a mere automation (cp. Bertrand Russell, *Analysis of Mind*, pp. 157 ff.). Both in the *Visuddhimagga* (iii, § 80, p. 83) and in the *Vimuttimagga* (trsl. *The Path of Freedom*, pp. 57 ff.), the causes of behaviour are enumerated as deeds done in the past, i.e., they have their source in previous habit ; or as excessive proportion of some of the chief elements, and lack of others ; or as excess of some of the cardinal humours and the respective lack of the others. But it is asserted at the same time that, as not all of those who have had plenty of desirable tasks and gratifying work to do are of greedy temperament, and as there is no fixed law of prominence of element, or of humours, this cannot be held as a decisive definition (*aparicchinnavacana* : ibid. § 82).

Still, a person's temperament (*cariya*) may be known from his behaviour. And for purpose of self-diagnosis, various types of temperament are distinguished, essentially based on the presence of the three roots of evil : greed (*rāga*), hate (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) ; and on the three parallels thereof, when considered in a profitable way (*kusalapakkhe*), viz., devotion (*saddhā*), intelligence (*buddhi*) and a speculative temperament (*vitakka*). See further CARITA.

As the choice of a subject of meditation should be based on and agree with one's temperament and

character, it is of great importance to know one's temperament. And this may be recongnised from the way one walks or sits, etc., from the way one acts, or eats, from the occurrence of thoughts; in other words, from one's behaviour :

> *iriyāpathato kiccā bhojanā dassanādito*
> *dhammappavattito c'eva cariyāyo vibhāvaye ti*
> (*Vism.* iii, § 87, p. 85).

As regards the manner of walking, one who has passionate temperament, i.e., a character which is predominantly greedy, will walk carefully, evenly, gracefully, with springy movements and divided footprint (*asamphuṭṭamajjha : VismA.* 106). One who walks in hate, lifts up his feet jerkily and, aggressively, digs with his toes in the ground. He who walks in infatuation, i.e., with deluded temperament and bemuddled mind, will move with hesitation with a perplexed gaits, shuffling along (*Vism.* ibid. § 88 ; *Vimuttimagga,* trsl. p. 59).

In sitting and sleeping the same characteristics may be observed, for, one with greed will sit and lie down gracefully, composed, without hurry and with confidence. One with hateful temperament will hastily lie down, curling up his body and waking up with sudden movements. One with deluded character will not prepare his bed in an orderly manner, his limbs are stretched and spread out, lying down either flat on his back or with face down. He takes a long time to become fully awake.

In actions, such as sweeping the room or the garden, washing of clothes, dressing, etc., a greedy temperament will be clean and even in his actions gentle, careful, graceful. But a hateful character will act hurriedly, unevenly, noisily, tensely, stiffly. And one with a deluded mind will dress in a slovenly way and unevenly ; untidy and irregular, incomplete and tardy in his actions, he will betray indecision and lack of skill.

Similarly the preferences for certain types of food are joined with mental preferences conditioned by temperamental inclinations. A greedy temperament will like rich and sweet food ; such a one will partake of his food, savouring the various tastes and enjoying good food. A character steeped in hate will prefer hot spices and sour food, filling his mouth and swallowing big mouthfuls without tasting. A deluded mind has no settled choice as to taste ; he eats, scattering his food all round, his mind oblivious to what he is doing.

Also as regards the perception of visible objects, or sounds, or smells, a passionate or greedy temperament will attach itself to the slightest pleasure, discounting genuine faults, and lingering as long as possible. A hateful temperament will be fault-finding while overlooking genuine virtues, always anxious to abolish or change. A deluded mind is not interested either way, and prefers to follow the opinions of others, to copy others' actions, and does not feel inclined to form its own judgement.

However, there are few characters with temperaments unmixed and thus one's behaviour is not always an absolutely sure pointer towards a definite temperament. For, although a greedy temperament will frequently betray characteristics of personal vanity, pride, and even deceit and fraud, such trends may be found in others, too. Thus there will be general tendencies of domineering, envy and avarice in a hateful temperament ; and of worry, hesitation, sloth and torpor in a temperament of infatuation.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BEING (Pali : *satta* ; Sanskrit : *sattva*), always in the sense of living, sentient, rational being. In the suttas a ' being ' is explained as "that desire, lust, craving or lure which is concerned with the body, with feeling, with perception, with mental formations and with consciousness which (five aggregates) become thereby entangled" (*S.* III, 190). Hence, whatever is capable of becoming entangled (*satto, visatto*) by craving, is called a being (*satta*). It is, therefore, consciousness which differentiates being (*satta*) from non-being (*asatta*), for only consciousness enables a being to be held (*satta*) and gripped (*visatta*) by desire and greed for the aggregates (*Vism.* ix, § 53, p. 257).

' Being ' is also distinguished from mere ' existing ' by its faculty of breathing. Hence animals whose existence depends on the inhaling and exhaling of breath (*pāṇa*) are considered as beings. Plants do not come under this category.

Beings are also referred to as creatures (*bhūta*), which have animate nature as principle on account of their being generated (*abhinibbattatā*). A being has individuality (*puggala*), as opposed to a group ; he has individual characteristics and behaves accordingly with intention and volition (*cetanā*). And finally a being has personality (*attabhāva*), or individual nature (ibid. § 54).

All this, however, does not give any permanence to an individual being. With its capacity to act consciously, it also has the liability of reaction and responsibility. Thus, all beings are subject to the law of karma, to birth, sorrow, decay, death and rebirth in the various spheres of existence, in

the animal and other subhuman regions, in the human realm and in the spheres which constitute the materialisation of conscious states of graded perfection.

See also EXISTENCE.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BELAṬṬHA KACCĀNA, a sugar-dealer. While going along the main road from Rājagaha to Andhakavinda with five hundred cartloads of pots full of sugar (*guḷakumbha*), he saw the Buddha, accompanied by twelve hundred and fifty bhikkhus, seated at the foot of a tree.

Then Belaṭṭha Kaccāna approached the Buddha and informed him of his desire to offer the bhikkhus a pot of sugar each. The Buddha asked him to bring only one pot of sugar and offer it to the bhikkhus. He gave six rounds of sugar to the bhikkhus and found some sugar still remaining. The Buddha asked him to throw it in a place where there was little green grass or into water which was devoid of living creatures. Thereupon, he dropped the sugar into the water and the water crackled and sent forth steam and smoke. The Buddha preached to him a discourse, at the end of which Belaṭṭha Kaccāna became a follower of the Buddha. (*Vin.* I, 224 ff.).

I. K.

BELAṬṬHĀNIKA, a brāhman of Sāvatthi. One day, he listened to a discourse preached by the Buddha, and entered the Order. Having taken a topic of meditation and living in a forest in Kosala, he grew slothful and rough in speech. When the Buddha realised that the thera's insight was maturing, he appeared before him and admonished him in a verse. Thereupon, the thera was filled with agitation and soon after attained arahantship.

Thirty-one kappas ago, during the time of the Buddha Vessabhu, he was a learned brāhman and having renounced the world he became an ascetic. One day, when he was wandering about with his pupils, he saw the Buddha Vessabhu and offered him some flowers. As a consequence of that meritorious deed, he was born among gods and men during several births (*Thag. v.* 101; *ThagA.* I, pp. 217-218). Belaṭṭhānika is probably to be identified with Campakapupphiya thera of the *Apadāna*, who is said to have offered seven flowers to the Buddha Vessabhu twenty-nine kappas ago, and to have been born as a world ruler (*cakkavatti*) by the name of Vihatābhāsa (*Ap.* I, p. 167).

I. K.

BELAṬṬHASĪSA, an arahant thera, preceptor (*upajjhāya*) of Ānanda. He was one among the thousand jaṭilas, with Uruvela-Kassapa at their head, who were won over by the Buddha. Once he was afflicted with scurvy and his robes clung to him. The Buddha while visiting the dwelling places of the monks saw some of them pouring water on Belaṭṭhasīsa's robes in order to separate them from his body. Being told that the monk was afflicted with scurvy, the Buddha allowed the use of powder, as a therapeutic treatment, and bandage (*Vin.* I, 202, 295 f.).

Once he was living in the forest near Sāvatthi. In order to avoid the trouble of going his alms-round regularly he used to dry whatever rice was left after eating, and when there was need of food he would sprinkle water on the dried rice and eat it. In this way he did not enter the village for alms regularly. When asked by the other monks he explained the matter to them, and they reported it to the Buddha. The Buddha rebuked him and laid down a rule that it was an offence to hoard food or drink for consumption later (*Vin.* IV, 86). The commentary to the *Dhammapada* says that the thera was innocent of the charge since his conduct was motivated by his having few wants (*appicchatā*), and no rule had been laid down at the time the offence was committed (*DhpA.* II, 171).

During the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, he was born in a noble family, and having listened to a sermon of the Buddha, joined the Order, but could not progress very far on the path to perfection, though he gained much merit. Subsequently he was born among gods and men, and thirty-one kappas ago offered a mātuluṅga fruit to the Buddha Vessabhu. During this Buddha period he was born in a brāhman family, and before the Buddha attained enlightenment (*bodhi*), he renounced the world as an ascetic under Uruvela Kassapa (*ThagA.* I, 71).

Probably Belaṭṭhasīsa thera is identical with Mātuluṅgaphaladāyaka thera of the *Apadāna* (*Ap.* II, 446).

W. G. W.

BELAṬṬHIPUTTA, one of the six famous heretical teachers of the Buddha's day. See SAÑJAYA BELAṬṬHIPUTTA.

BELIEF (1), confidence in the Buddha and his teaching resulting in deep devotion to and affection for both, supported by reliance on

the experience of the Buddha, together with a personal understanding of his teaching. See SADDHĀ.

BELIEF (2), in the sense of view, dogma, theory etc. This is broadly classified as right veiws, (*sammā diṭṭhi*) and wrong views (*micchā diṭṭhi*). Any theory, religious, philosophical or otherwise that is in keeping with the Buddha's teaching is referred to as *sammā diṭṭhi* and any theory that is contrary to his teaching is called *micchā diṭṭhi*. See DIṬṬHI.

BELIGALA, the Sinhalese name for Billasela, a mountain in Ceylon. See BILLASELA.

BELL, HARRY CHARLES PURVIS (1831–1937), a British officer in the Ceylon Civil Service who served as the head of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon from 1890 to 1912. Archæological research in the Island has been largely in Buddhist remains, and most of it was centred on the antiquities in the ancient capital cities, Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. Bell, a member of the highest administrative service (which he joined in 1873), was serving as the District Judge of Kegalle when, in July, 1890, the Governor appointed him Archæological Commissioner. His education in Western Classics had given him a predilection for antiquities, and he had his first direct experience and training in writing on this subject by collaborating with Sir Albert Gray (once of the Ceylon Civil Service) who edited for the Hakluyt Society of London, the *Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval, to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil.* He also had two *Ceylon Sessional Papers* (XLIII of 1881, XV of 1921) published in his name, on the authority of the government on whose instructions he had visited the Maldive Islands. The second of these (monograph on history, archæology and epigraphy) is considered the most comprehensive account, up to the present day, of the Buddhist antiquities of these " Twelve Thousand Isles ". It is from this publication that information is available on the fact that Buddhism (with the Sinhalese language of Ceylon) was active in these isles until the close of the 12th cent. A.C., when Islam and Muslim culture superseded them.

Bell's first Ceylon archæological studies were in the Kegalle District where he was serving t the time of his appointment. These are known by the popularly current title *Kegalle Report* ; there is even today very little by which this work could be enlarged, so penetrating was tne industry he had brought to bear on this historic region of the Four Korales. But his major work, justifiably considered his life work, began with the assumption of full time duties (interrupted occasionally by the exigencies of the Judicial Service) at Anurādhapura. He moved there on July 7, 1890, and this is generally regarded as the commencing date of the department of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon. There had been two predecessors, the epigraphists P. Goldschmidt and E. Müller, but they held only the office and had no department under them.

The antiquities which Bell investigated, recorded, studied and interpreted, with an accuracy which the researches of later years have hardly affected, were monuments dating from the historical notices of Buddhism from the time of Mahinda when Asoka was ruling in India. Although the undisturbed evidence of such a venerable period was obtained almost solely in the form of cave inscriptions, such of the early cetiyas (e.g., Kaṇṭaka Cetiya of Mihintalē) as were not affected by later touches, retained features attributed to the first century B.C., at least. He investigated, for instance, the first cetiya on hi torical record (that of the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura), though its original form had been obscured by periodical restorations. This is the earliest Buddhist structure. included in his work ; it formed but one of a series of the class which ranged over a period of time extending over a millenium, down to the end of the dynasty of kings at Polonnaruva. His field covered every other class : cave dwellings of the most ancient Buddhist type, shrines, monastic residential complexes and hospitals incorporating appurtenant features (enclosing walls, food troughs, medicine-boats), architectural and sculptured details (moonstones, guardstones), moats, privies (uniquely treated in ancient Ceylon), wells, and innumerable objects from which aspects of the life of the ancient religious communities could be discerned.

Epigraphy has been invaluable in a study of the ancient Saṅgha of the country and Bell, during almost a quarter century of archaeological work, collected (and discussed) nearly a thousand inscriptions. It was also during his period of office and through his exertions that the studies of this branch of archæology were organized on a scientific basis and presented to the learned world in the form of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica.* (Though Bell laid down office in 1912, this journal has been continuing its course and has since run into Volume V, Pt. 1, which was published in 1955)

Bell wrote tirelessly and voluminously, even after he retired from service. He was consulted for expert opinion on intricate problems, some of them legal. The largest part of his writing was published under the authority of the government and appeared as *Sessional Papers* or *Administration Reports* which mostly presented the scientific material under his notice. Some of his research was also given in the *Orientalist*, the *Ceylon Antiquary*, the *Ceylon Literary Register* and the Journals of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

So deeply immersed in archæology in all its branches was Bell that it is impossible to judge in what he excelled, or, what his *magnum opus* was. He will be always remembered for his contributions which revealed aspects of Buddhist life and history through archæology. Indeed, to this day the average man gives the name " Bell party " to the Archæological Survey; and this is not likely to be displaced. More than the continuance of the Survey itself, that of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* should be regarded as the most fitting activity by which his name will be perpetuated. For, it was a dozen years after his severance with official archæology that the scientific *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon* came to be published, and none of the six volumes so far published is on Bell's own work.

One result of Bell's activities was the interest in ancient Buddhist shrines which the general Buddhist community was led to take. This sometimes brought the government archæologist into conflict with the religionist. Bell who was jealously possessive of his field had not, in this matter, that temperament from which would emanate expansiveness. When, for instance, he had to relinquish charge of the Eight Sacred Places (*Aṭamasthāna*) of Anurādhapura it was not willingly that he yielded. He was unrelenting in his attitude to such revered figures as Valisinha Harischandra, the Buddhist protagonist beloved of the people; to Bell he was an " agitator ". Such idiosyncracies excepted, Bell was a deeply understanding man who, through a pure devotion to archæology, succeeded in envisaging the motivating spirit of the ancient Buddhists of Ceylon.

He lived vigorously to a ripe old age exceeding ninety years, and died on September 21, 1937, in Kandy which he had made his home.

His writings appear in the following sessional papers: *Archæological Survey Reports* of Ceylon, 1890–1915; *JCBRAS*. 1883–1935; *Ceylon Antiquary*, 1915–24; *The Orientalist*, 1885–89; *The Maldivian Islands*, 1881, 1940 (Colombo): *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Lavel to the East Indies, the Maldive, the Moluccas and Brazil*, translated into English, Vol. I-II, London, 1887–90.

A complete list of these articles can be found in *Ceylon Today*, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, compiled by Lyn de Fonseka.

D T. D.

BELLS figure prominently in Buddhist temple rituals in countries like the Tibetan region of China, Burma and Ceylon. In the Tibetan region of China, the prayer bell called *drilbu* is part of a monk's equipment, and it is sounded as accompaniment to the repetition of chanting of prayers or to fill up the interval of worship. The purpose of ringing this bell while chanting prayers is to call the attention of the beings who are worshipped, or to keep off evil spirits. These prayer bells often have a handle of the shape of a half *dorje*, another equipment of a monk in Tibet, used to secure good fortune and ward off evil. This handle is usually ornamented with mystic symbols carved on it (Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, 323 f.).

In Burma, the use of prayer bells is not prevalent but bells of different sizes are found in almost all monasteries. Monier Williams (ibid. pp. 526 f.) observes that the real use of bells in Burmese temples is to draw the attention of the deities and the spirits to the act of worship and thus secure the registering of merits. The bell is usually sounded when a person finishes his prayer.

The dedication of bells to temples is considered by the Burmese an act of special merit. The purpose of dedication is often inscribed on the bell and usually it is for the gaining of merit and to obtain protection for the donors, their children and their property by the deities and other spirits. Several dozens of bells thus dedicated are hung outside the large pagodas, while one or two are found inside the central shrine (ibid. 527).

Of special significance among the bells in Burma is the Mingun Bell of Sagaing, dedicated to the Mingun Pagoda by king Bodawpaya in 1790 A.C. It is the second largest bell in the world, being one-third of the " Tsar Kolokol " of 1735 in Moscow and fourteen times as large as that of St. Paul's in London (*ASCAR*. 1907-8, p. 36, and Pl. X b).

Bells are in use in almost every modern monastery in Ceylon and are usually hung on towers. The purpose of these bells is somewhat similar to that of the bells in Burma, the bell being sounded by the worshipper after his prayers in the shrine.

On occasions of special offerings (*pūjā*) to the Buddha, the bell is rung to the accompaniment of the beating of drums and the blowing of flutes. The *Saddharmālaṅkāra*, a mediaeval Sinhalese religio-literary work, indicates that the bell was first used, in Ceylon, on important occasions for the purpose of summoning monks and others. Later, it came to be considered as a form of offering and became a part of the *śabda-pūjā*, i. e., offering of music, along with the beating of drums and the blowing of conches and the sound of flutes (cp. M. B. Ariyapala, *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, 246 f.).

Ancient bells of copper furnished with ring-shaped handles and iron "tongues" have been discovered among the excavations at Takkasilā (*ASIAR*. 1915-6, p. 15, and Pl. IX). Bells also figure prominently in Indian stone sculpture. Chains of bells are a common motif in Indian Buddhist sculpture and the Asokan pillars have lotiform bell capitals as an architectural pattern (*ASIAR*. 1902-3, p. 192 f.; B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, 39). Regarding the bell capitals of Asokan pillars, some scholars are of the opinion that they represent the attempt of foreign craftsmen, imbued with Hellenic ideas, to sculpt the Indian lotus symbol and that they really represent the overturned lotus (cp. *IHQ*. 1935, pp. 135 f.). These capitals are, however, reminiscent of the bell-shaped bases of the Achaemenid pillars (B. Rowland, loc. cit.). One of the shapes of domes of stūpas in Ceylon is described as the bell-shape (*ghaṇṭākāra*) and this is the most popular shape in Ceylon, Burma and Siam in modern times (S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 27).

Percy Brown (*Indian Architecture*, p. 11) presumes that there could be some symbolic significance in the bell, since it is used in temple ritual and its shape figures prominently in architecture and sculpture. J. C. Cirlot (*A Dictionary of Symbols*, London, 1962, p. 23) says that the sound of the bell is symbolic of creative power. The hanging position of the bell denotes the mystic significance of objects which are suspended between heaven and earth. It is related by its shape to the vault and, consequently, to the heavens.

H.R.P.

In India, people were informed of mass-meetings, etc. by means of wooden gongs; copper bells do not seem to have been used in early times.

In China, Korea and Japan copper bells were used from olden times. Two kinds of bells are used in temples, viz., *bonshō* (梵鐘) and *hanshō* (半鐘 in Japanese).

Bonshō is also called *tsurigane* (hanging bell), *kōshō* (big bell) and so on. The upper part of the *bonshō* is like a bowl and the lower is in the form of a cylinder. At the top, there is a hanger, called *ryūzu* (dragon's head). On the cylindrical part, a little above the edge, there are two circular surfaces on opposite sides which should be beaten with a piece of wood.

The size of a *bonshō* varies, but usually it is about four feet in height and two feet in diameter. Some are, however, much bigger. It is mentioned that the bell of the Hsi-ming-szū in China is made of ten thousand *ch'in* of copper (one ch'in equals 16 Chinese ounces or 1⅓ lb. avoirdupois). The bell at the *Hōkō-ji* in Japan is fifteen feet in height, nine feet in diameter and eighty-three thousand kilogrammes in weight.

The origin of bells in China is not clear, but bells were used mostly during and after the Chou dynasty (557--89 A.C.). The *Kuang-hung-ming-chi* 廣弘明集 *Taishō*, No. 2103) mentions the descriptions written on three bells, two of which were made in 570 A.C, and 665 A.C. respectively.

In Korea, too, bells have been made from ancient times. Among old bells, the bell at the Fêng-tê-szū is perhaps the best known and was cast in 771 A.C.

Among the bells to be found in Japan, the bells at the Myōshin-ji is probably the oldest to be made in Japan, and is believed to have been cast in 698 A.C. The Kōfuku-ji at Nara has a bell made in 727 A.C.

Hanshō, literally means half-sized bell, and is usually two feet in height and one foot in diameter. A *bonshō* is hung in a special bell tower, a *hanshō* is hung under a plate at the back of a temple or in a corridor. This half-sized bell is sometimes called *kanshō* (call-bell), because it is used to call people, and sometimes called *hanshō* (meal-bell), because it is used for informing the time of meals. And also, a bell in a hall of Buddhas is called *denshō* (hall-bell) and a bell in a meditation hall is called *sōdōshō* (meditation hall-bell).

During and after the Tokugawa Period (1603-1867 A.C.), *hanshōs* have been used as fire-alarms also.

K. TMR.

BELL-TOWER (*shōrō* 鐘樓 in Japanese), a special tower to hang a bell in. It was believed in China and Japan that a bell had been hung in a tower in the Anāthapiṇḍikārāma in Jetavana in the time of the Buddha, but this does not seem to be correct. The practice of hanging bells in special towers seems to have had its beginning in China, Korea and Japan.

The *Jitōki* (寺塔記 the description on temples and towers) says: According to the rules of the arrangement of halls of temples, a bell-tower should be in the eastern part in a temple site. This is the ancient rule. In China, there are many bell-towers which follow this rule. Among them, the bell-tower of the T'ien-ning-szu in the Chê-chiang province is very beautiful and is of peculiar construction. It is a two-storeyed tower but it appears to be four-storeyed, because every storey has a roof-like decoration. And every roof bends upward.

The bell tower of the Sung-kuang szu in Korea is a one-storeyed square building, being about two meters on every side. As the roof is shaped like a cross, it is called the Shih-tzu-ko or the cross-hall.

In Japan, too, bell-towers have been built since ancient times. The *Daianji-garan-engi* (大安寺伽藍縁起 the Daian-ji, its origin and its buildings) which was written in 747 A. C., states: "There are two towers altogether. The one is the sūtra-tower (library)........The other is the bell-tower." A similar description is found in the *Hōryūji-garanengi* (The Hōryū-ji, its origin and its buildings). These are bell-towers made in pairs with sūtra-towers (libraries). But bell-towers were sometimes constructed in conjunction with drum-towers. The *Kōfukuji-ranshōki* (興福寺濫觴記 The origin of the Kōfuku-ji) mentions, "The bell-tower and the drum-tower are between the golden hall and the lecture hall. The drum-tower is in the east and the bell-tower is in the west."

At present, many Japanese temples have bell-towers.

The style of bell-towers differs in many respects. There are one-storeyed towers and two-storeyed towers. Pillars of some one-storeyed towers stand vertically and those of others are slightly slanting. In a two-storeyed tower, a bell is hung in the first floor. Then, the ground floor is the gate of the temple or is covered with wooden planks.

K. TMR.

BEḶUVA, a village near Vesāli, situated to the south of that city (*SA*. III, 201; *MA*. III, 12).

The Buddha, having decided to spend his last rainy (*vassa*) season in Beḷuva, asked the bhikkhus to be in Vesāli (*S*. V, p. 152). According to the commentary, the Buddha suggested this because he felt that the bhikkhus would enjoy better comforts with regard to food and dwelling in Vesāli, rather than in a small village like Beḷuva (*SA*. III, p. 202).

When the Buddha was in Beḷuva he suffered from an attack of acute dysentry, and Sakka attended on him personally.

It was while living in Beḷuva, that Ānanda asked the Buddha as to who would lead the Order of bhikkhus, when he passed away. The Buddha's reply was that each disciple, while being a lamp unto himself, should work out his own salvation (*D*. II, 98–100; *S*. V, 152 ff.).

It is said that Ānanda lived in Beḷuva after the passing away of the Buddha. While he was there, a house-holder, named Dasama of Aṭṭhaka, visited him and asked him whether the Buddha had pointed out that if a bhikkhu is diligent, ardent and self-resolute, his mind although not yet freed, would be freed, whether his craving not yet destroyed would be destroyed and he would attain the freedom from bondage, which he had not yet attained. Ānanda, having confirmed that the Buddha had said so, explained to Dasama the eleven-fold way by which one could attain the state of deathlessness (*M*. I, 349 ff.; *A*. V, 342 ff.).

According to the *Theragāthā*, Anuruddha died in Veḷuvagāma in the Vajji country. It is possible that this name refers to Beḷuvagāma (*Thag*. p. 84. v. 919).

I. K.

BELUVAPAṆḌUVĪṆĀ, the lute (*vīṇā*) carried by Pañcasikha. See MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

BENARES, i.e., Bārāṇasī, the capital of Kāsi-janapada. See BĀRĀṆASĪ.

BENCHAMABOPITR WAT, a Buddhist shrine in Bangkok, Thailand. King Rama V of Thailand had a replica of the beautiful image of the Chinarat Buddha in Pitsanuloke made and enshrined here (K. E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism, Its Rites and Activities*, pp. 41 f.). Here was held the first national conference of the Council of Buddhist Associations, in 1953 (ibid. p. 258).

H. R. P.

BENCHŌ, (辨長), a Japanese priest of the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect. His surname was Furukawa and another name of his was Bonna. He was styled ' Shōkō–bō '.

He was born on May 6th of the second year of the Ōhō era (1162 A.C.), at Kusuhashi, Kazuki, Oka, Chikuzen (present Fukuoka prefecture). At seven years of age, he became a disciple of Myōhō of the Bodai-ji of the same prefecture. When he was nine years of age, he received the ordination, and at the age of fourteen, he received the higher ordination at the Kanzeon-ji in Tsukushi (present Fukuoka prefecture). He learned the Tendai doctrine under Yuishin of the Hakugan-ji for three years, then under Jōjaku of the Myōjō-ji for five years. To recite his prayers he climbed the Hiko-san (mountain) daily.

Though he understood the doctrine of the Tendai, he was afraid that learning in a place remote from the center of the Tendai sect would not suffice. So, he went to Mt. Hiei (Hiei-san) in the second year of the Juei era (1183 A.C.) and studied the Tendai doctrine under Kannei, the chief instructor of the southern valley of the Tōtō of Hiei-san and then under Hōchi-bō Shōshin of the eastern valley.

In 1190 A.C., on the completion of his study at Hiei-san, he returned to Chikuzen and stayed at the hermitage built on the site of his late mother's house. In the following year, he was appointed chief instructor of the Aburayama (See *EncyBsm.* I, p. 152). When his younger brother died, he was struck by the uncertainty of life.

He accepted nomination to the post in charge of the reconstruction of the three-storeyed tower of Myōjō-ji. After completing the reconstruction, he went to Kyoto in order to obtain a Buddha image to be installed in the tower. When he was staying at the house of Kōkei, a celebrated Buddhist sculptor, he remembered that his teacher Shōshin had admired Genkū. So, one day he visited Genkū. When he listened to Genkū's sermon on the three grades of the *Nembutsu* (chanting the name of Amitābha), Benchō realized that the ordinary men's way to attain enlightenment was the way of the *Nembutsu* only. He became the disciple of Genkū immediately and thenceforth he visited Genkū daily till his return to Chikuzo. His conversion was at the age of thirty-six. In July of the same year, as the Buddha-image was completed, he brought it to the Myōjō-ji and performed the ceremony of installing the image in the tower. In August of the following year, at the request of Genkū, he went to Iyo (present Ehime prefecture) to promulgate the *Nembutsu*. He went to Kyoto again in 1199 (or 1198 or 1200 A.C.), and then Genkū transmitted the most profound doctrine of the Pure Land to him. In 1204, he returned to his native place, where he promulgated the *Nembutsu* with the result that more than two thousand persons, both priests and laymen, became the devotees of the Pure Land sect.

In 1212 A.C., in accordance with a dream of his, he placed the image of Shan-tao (Zendō in Japanese) at Hakata and preached the doctrine of the Pure Land for one hundred days. The Zendō-ji now stands at this place.

Shichiro Norimune, the lord of a castle, became a supporter of his and made the house of Norimune's mother a temple, which was called Tanjōsan Kichijō-ji. From there, Benchō went to the Kuriya-dera (present Annyō-ji) in Chikugo and performed special *Nembutsu* practice for one thousand days. He founded a temple called Zendō-ji in the same province.

Then, Yōa Kusano's respect for Benchō became so great that Yōa donated paddy fields for the use of the monasteries. In 1228 A.C., Benchō performed special *Nembutsu* practice with twenty people for forty eight nights at the Ōjō-in, Shirakawa, Higo (Kumamoto prefecture). There, he compiled the *Matsudai-Nembutsu-Jushin* (末代念佛授手印) by which he showed the tradition of the *Nembutsu* doctrine. In December of the same year, he performed special *Nembutsu* practice at the Saikō-in in the same prefecture. In 1230, he copied the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* in Chinese, bowing his head thrice every time he wrote a character. He hoped to keep this copy with him at his death. In the following year, he wrote the *Nembutsu-myōgi-shū* (念佛名義集) in three fascicles. In 1233, Benchō sent Sōen, his disciple, to China for learning Shan-tao's doctrine of Amitābha. Benchō founded the Jōnen-ji in Chikugo in 1235. It was in September of the following year that Ryōchū, his most eminent disciple, met him for the first time at the Tenpuku-ji. At the same temple, in 1237, Benchō lectured on the doctrine of the Pure Land, which was copied by Ruōchū and complied in six fascicles, entitled the *Jōdo-shūyō-shū* (浄土宗要集). In the same year, Benchō wrote the *Testu-Senchaku-hongan-Nembutsu-shū* (徹選擇本願念佛集) in two fascicles. In October of the same year he fell ill. In January of the following year (1238 A.C.), he gave the bodhisattva precepts to his disciples. On the last day of February, the same year, he died while chanting the name of Amitābha Buddha.

His body was cremated and the ashes were buried at the Zendō-ji. Some of his ashes were buried at the Nison-in at Saga, according to his wish on his death bed.

He is honoured as the second patriarch of the Jōdo sect.

After the passing away of Genkū, the founder of the Jōdo sect in Japan, his disciples had slightly varying interpretations of the doctrine of the Pure Land Buddhism. And thus, four sub-schools were formed. Benchō's school was called 'Chinzei-ha' which is the Jōdo sect itself at present. He is therefore respected as the second patron of the Jōdo sect.

He recited the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* in Chinese and the *Ojōraisan* six times daily and chanted the *Nembutsu* sixty thousand times daily. He travelled in many prefectures and is said to have founded forty-eight temples. He wrote the *Jōdoshū-myōmoku-mondō* (浄土宗名目問答) in three fascicles, the *Nembutsu-sanjinyōshū* (念佛三心要集) the *Shikichi-jōdo-ron* (識知浄土論) and the *Nembutsu-ōjō-shugyō mon* (念佛往生修行門) apart from the texts mentioned above.

K. TMR.

BENDALL, CECIL (1856–1906), known amongst Orientalists for his Sanskrit studies, with special reference to the Mahāyāna. He paid two visits to Nepal and parts of India and, in the former country, he discovered the text of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. This work, edited by him, was published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series (1902). He was engaged in a translation of it, with the scholar W. H. D. Rouse, but death intervened before his task was completed. In 1903 he annotated the text of *Subhāṣita-saṅgraha*, and two years later, with the collaboration of L. de la Vallée Poussin, he submitted the first part of a summary of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* to the Oriental Congress which met in Algiers.

Bendall's first studies were of Western Classics from which he moved on to the Indian languages, securing the Tripos at both. Among his early compilations were Catalogues of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library of Cambridge (1883), of Sanskrit and Pali MSS. in the British Museum (1893) and of Sanskrit MSS. in the same institution (1902). From 1885–1903 he was Professor of Sanskrit in the London University College, and in the last year at Cambridge University, having been the curator of the Oriental Library in the latter institution in the year preceding his major appointment. He had also been the senior assistant in the British Museum's department of Oriental MSS. and printed books (1882–98).

Bendall's two journeys to India were very fruitful, for he brought home nearly 600 Sanskrit MSS. and several inscriptions. Accounts of these appeared in *JRAS.* (New Series) for the years 1886, 1888 and 1900. His acquisitions helped in the study of the early chronology of Nepal and to determine the Gupta era.

D. T. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. J. Rapson in *JRAS.* (New Series) for 1906; *Dictionary of National Bibliography* for 1910-11, which also cites obituary notices by H.T. Francis, *Cambridge Review* of April 26, 1909.

BENEFIT is of various types. Purely religious benefits (*hita*) are those which are beneficial to oneself (*attahita*) or to others (*parahita*), while assistance is a benefit in the meaning of service (*upakāra*).

In Mahāyāna this division is stressed in view of the bodhisattva-ideal, considered superior to the arahant-ideal of the Theravāda.

Another division on the same basis distinguishes *svārtha* (Pali : *attattha*) and *parārtha* (Pali : *parattha*) in the ethical sense. See HITA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BENEVOLENCE (*mettā*), commonly referred to as loving-kindness and the first of the four kinds of *brahmavihāra* (q. v.). This is the practice of always wishing the welfare of others and it is recommended as a form of *bhāvanā* in Buddhism. In practising it, it is said that one should first spread the thoughts of *mettā* to oneself, next to one's friends, thirdly to those who are neither friends nor enemies and fourthly to one's enemies. This method is recommended to facilitate its correct practice. Thus, a good Buddhist is expected to embrace every living being, whether friend or foe, human or non-human, by his thoughts of loving-kindness. See METTĀ.

A. G. S. K.

BENKENMITSUNIKYŌRON (*Taishō*, No. 2427, Vol. 77, pp. 374c-381b), a Chinese comparative study of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism, in 2 fascicles written by Kūkai (774-835) who was the founder of Japanese esoteric Buddhism. Basing on esoteric Buddhism, Kūkai compares in this work merits and demerits between exoteric and esoteric

Buddhism and stresses the superiority of the latter in 4 points such as the preaching of Buddha-body, the preaching of the Buddha's doctrine, the progress in enlightenment and the merit of the doctrine.

That is to say, as regards the first point, he emphasises that what the Buddhas of *Sambhoga-kāya* and *Nirmāṇa-kāya* preached as an expediency (*upāya*) in order to lead people, was exoteric Buddhism and what the Buddha of *Dharma-kāya* preached as his self-enlightenment itself was esoteric Buddhism. On the second point, he explained that what is taught in esoteric Buddhism is superior to what is taught in exoteric Buddhism, such as the *Kegon*, the *Tendai*, the *Hossō* and the *Sanron*. Regarding the third point, Kūkai said that esoteric Buddhism preaches the attainment to Buddhahood in this body, while exoteric Buddhism teaches the attainment to it after three *kalpas*. Of the fourth point, he described that even one who is so sinful that he cannot be saved in exoteric Buddhism, can be saved in esoteric Buddhism, if only he believes in it.

This work together with his *Jyūjyūshinron* is important as an expression of Kūkai's philosophy

S. Mo.

BENKENMITSUNIKYŌRON-KENYŌSHŌ (*Taishō*, No. 2434, Vol. 77, pp. 421c–476c), a Chinese commentary on the *Benkenmitsunikyōron* of Kūkai, the founder of the Shingon sect (Japanese esoteric Buddhism). This work is in 6 fascicles and is written by Saisen (1025–1115) who belonged to a school of the Shingon sect, called Hirosawa-ryū, and who was famous for his learning in those days.

This is one of many works by Saisen and also one of many commentaries by various authors on the *Benkenmitsunikyōron*.

S.Mo.

BENNEI (辨榮), a Japanese priest of the Jōdo sect, born in 1859 in Shimofusa (present Chiba prefecture). At the age of twenty-one, he became a disciple of Tokue of the Io-ji. Later, he studied Buddhism under Jōyo Daikō of the Tōzen-ji at Kogane. When Manzan Jitsuben lectured on the *Kegon* (*Avataṃsaka*) doctrine at the Kichijō-ji in Edo (present Tokyo), he too, attended the lectures. During 1882, he stayed at Mt. Tsukuba in order to practise Nembutsu-sanmai, i.e., the recitation of the name of Amitābha.

When the construction of the Jōdo-shugaku-honkō (the central school for learning the doctrine of the Jōdo sect) was planned, he helped by collecting contributions for it. In 1894, he founded a temple at Takagi-mura, as desired by his deceased teacher Daikō. The temple was called Zenkō-ji.

In the same year, he went to India on a pilgrimage to visit places sacred to the Buddhists and returned to Japan in the following year.

In 1916, he lectured on the doctrine of Hōnen on the occasion of *Ango* (*Vārṣika*) at the Chion-in, the head temple of the Jōdo sect. His lecture was published under the title of *Shūso-no-hizui* (宗祖の皮髄). In 1918, too, he was a lecturer at *Vārṣika*. When he went for preaching at the Gokuraku-Ji at Kashiwazaki Nigata, he fell ill and died on December 4, 1920.

He was able to write the name of Amitābha in Chinese characters on a grain of rice. So, he was called 'Kometsubu-shōuin' or the 'rice-grain saint'. He drew pictures of Amitābha on countless sheets of paper. He drew representations of Śākyamuni leaving a mountain and of Avalokiteśvara on several thousand sheets of paper and wrote the holy name of Amitābha on countless grains of rice. All these were given to many people in order to rouse their interest in Buddhism. He was satisfied with shabby clothes and humble fare, and never quarrelled with others. He always chanted the name of Amitābha and believed that through *Nembutsu* it was possible to acquire enough merit to be in the light of Amitābha in this very life. And he himself had earned this merit, for which he was admired by many people.

After his passing away, his followers formed an association named Kōmyō-kai. Mokusha Tanaka arranged Bennei's manuscripts and published them, viz., *Ojihi-no-tayori* (お慈悲のたより); *Jinsei-no-kishu* (人生の歸趣); *Kōmyō-no-seikatsu* (光明の生活); *Muhenkō* (*Wu-p'ien-kuang* 無邊光); *Muryōkōju* (*Wu-liang-kuang-shou* 無量光壽); *Fudankō* with *Buppōmonogatari* (不斷光附佛法物語); *Dōei-shu* (道詠集) and *Mioya-no-hikari* (ミオヤの光).

K. Tmr.

BENNEN (辨圓 or 辨圓: 1202–80 A.C.), a Japanese priest of the Rinzai (Zen) sect. His family name was Taira and his other name was Enni.

He was so clever that he learned the *A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-lun* (阿毘達磨倶舍論 *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra*) at the age of five years under Gyōben

at Kunō-zan, Suruga (present Shizuoka prefecture). At the age of twelve years, he studied the *Fa-hua-hsüan-i* (法華玄義). When he was fifteen years old, he attended lectures on the *Mo-ho-chih-kuan* (摩訶止觀). In the following year, he completed his learning of the three main texts of the Tendai sect, viz., the *Fa-hua-wên-chü* (法華文句), the *Fa-hua-hsüan-i* and the *Mo-ho-chih-kuan*.

At the age of eighteen he received ordination at the Onjō-ji. He received his higher ordination at the Tōdai-ji.

He learned Confucianism at Kyoto and the doctrine of the Zen sect at the Chōraku-ji, Kōzuke (present Gunma prefecture), where he accepted the precepts of the Zen sect and the *abhiṣeka* (consecrating ceremony by sprinkling water).

In 1233 he went to Hirato in Kyūshū with Eison in order to go to China.

During his stay at Hirato, the king of Korea, hearing of his reputation, sent him a letter enquiring about his religious teaching. He divulged his teaching which included the doctrine of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism.

In 1235, Bennen with Eison and Tanne left Hirato by boat and arrived at Ming-chou in China. Bennen stayed at Ching-fu-yüan to listen to the lectures of Yüeh-tsung-chu on the Vinaya. Then he went to the T'ien-t'ung-shan to meet Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung; to the T'ien-chu-szu to study the doctrine of the T'ien-tai sect under Po-t'ing Shan-yüeh ; to Hsiao-wêng Miao-k'an at the Tsing-tz'u szu ; and to Shih-t'ien Fa-hsün at the Ling-yin-szu successively. At last, he stayed at Ching-shan for six years to practise meditation under the guidance of Wu-chun Shih-fan, who gave Bennen the certificate of the transmission of the Dharma and Shih-fan's portrait with the legend written by Shih-fan himself.

Taking more than one thousand texts, most of which are on Buddhism, a drawing of the lineage of the Zen sect patriarchs etc., Bennen returned to Japan in 1241. Eison and Tanne, who went to China with Bennen, had returned to Japan earlier. Eison constructed the Manju-ji and Tanne built the Sōfuku-ji, both temples were inaugurated by Bennen. Suketomo Fujiwara and Sha Kokumyō, a Chinese merchant, who saw to all the expenses of Bennen when he went to China, constructed the Shōten-ji for Bennen.

As the Zen sect flourished in Kyūshū, Gigaku, a priest of the Tendai sect, claimed from the imperial government permission to destroy the Shōten-ji and the Shōfuku-ji, but, on the contrary, the government made them national temples.

In 1242, Bennen went to Kyoto at the request of the regent Michiie Fujiwara to preach the doctrine of Zen. Having heard the doctrine, Michiie was so pleased that he wanted to appoint Bennen as a *Sōjō* (bishop), which Bennen declined. So, Michiie wrote the four characters of Shōichi-Oshō (聖一和尚) and presented these to him as his title. In the following year, Bennen went to the Chōraku-ji, where he had learned Zen Buddhism. Then he visited his mother at Suruga, the present Shizuoka prefecture.

In 1245, he was invited to the imperial palace, where he preached on the *Sugyō-roku* (*Tsung-ching-lu* 宗鏡錄) to the emperor. In 1253, Bennen went to Kamakura and gave the precepts of the Zen sect to Tokiyori Hōjō, the shogunate.

Michiie had the intention of constructing a new temple and making Bennen the first abbot of the temple. But, as the temple was not completed by 1246, Michiie constructed the Fumon-ji in order to have him stay there. When Michiie died in 1252, Sanetsune Ichijō, a son of Michiie, continued the construction of the temple. The inauguration of the new temple, called the Tōfuku-ji, was celebrated in 1255. The Tōfukuji is the main temple of the Tōfuku-ji-ha, a sub-school of the Rinzai sect. So, Bennen is revered as the founder of the Tōfukuji-ha.

The connection of the imperial household with priests of the Zen sects began with Bennen. As mentioned above, Bennen preached on the *Sugyō-roku* to the emperor Gosaga in 1245. In 1256, Kōhō Kennichi, a son of the ex-emperor Gosaga, renounced the world and became a disciple of Bennen. In the following year, Bennen went to the Kameyama imperial villa to give the bodhisattva precepts to the ex-emperor Gosaga and to preach Zen Buddhism to him. At this time, Gosaga presented Bennen with a golden fan. Bennen was given the imperial mandate appointing him the secretary of the Tōdai-ji, but Bennen excused himself. When Gosaga was dying, Bennen gave his last teaching to him. In 1273, the emperor Kameyama received the bodhisattva-precepts from Bennen and in 1275 he had Bennen preach to him on the doctrines of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. In the following year, the then ex-emperor Kameyama asked Bennen to teach him the main points of practising meditation. In the same year, the ex-emperor Gofukakusa also received the bodhisattva-precepts from Bennen.

Bennen had close association with warriors, too. Bennen went to Kamakura, the seat of the feudal government, in 1254 and stayed at the Jufuku-ji. Tokiyori Hōjō, the governor, received the bodhisattva precepts from Bennen. At the request of Tokiyori, Bennen stayed at the Kennin-ji in Kyoto. Prior to his visit there, many halls of the temple had been burnt down. Bennen restored them as they were before the fire.

In 1265, Bennen constructed the big hall of the Hōjō-ji, then, became the secretary of the Tennō-ji, of the Sonshō-ji, and of the Tōdai-ji, successively.

Bennen died on October 17, 1280. In 1311, he was given the posthumous title 'Shōichi Kokushi' according to the order of the ex-emperor. The title of *kokushi* (national teacher) was conferred for the first time on him.

He had over six hundred disciples, among whom twenty-one priests founded new sub-schools.

His works are: the *Dainichikyo-kenmon* (大日經見聞) in ten fascicles; the *Sangyō-tenseki-mokuroku* (三教典籍目錄); the *Tōfukuji-kitō-nikkan* (東福寺祈禱日鑑); the *Shōichikokushi-goroku* (聖一國師語錄) composed by Koken Shiren; the *Jisshūyōdō-ki* (十宗要道記) and the *Hōgo* (法語).

K. TMR.

BENNETT, ALLAN, the lay name by which Buddhists best know the British thera Ānanda Metteyya (q.v.).

BESNAGAR, the modern name for the Vidisā (Vedisa) of ancient time, best known in Buddhist history as the home town of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā. See VIDISĀ.

BESSON-ZAKKI (別尊雜記), a Japanese work in fifty fascicles or in fifty-seven fascicles by Shinkaku (1180 or 1182) of the (esoteric) Shingon sect.

This is sometimes called *Yoson-zakki* (要尊雜記) *Besson-ruiju-shō* (別尊類聚鈔) or *Gojikkan-sho* (五十卷書). This work deals with 119 rituals, including those of many venerable ones and of many sūtras, and has pictures of many venerable ones and their maṇḍalas. Shinkaku collected the rituals and the pictures from many texts such as *Jōren-shō*, *Zuzō-shō*, *Genpi-shō*, *Yakushi-hō*, *Zaitō-ki* and *Sōgo-shū* and from images in many temples.

As to the date of the compilation of the text, it is said on the inner side of a paper in the fourteenth fascicle: "This was written by Shinkaku on June 18th, the third year of the Jōan era" (1193 A.C.).

The text in Shinkaku's hand-writing in forty-six fascicles is preserved at the Ninna-ji, Kyoto, interspersed with eleven fascicles written by someone else.

K.TMR.

BETSUGYŌ or Betsugyōshō (*Taishō*, No. 2476, Vol. 78, pp. 125a–186c), a Chinese work on esoteric Buddhism. This is in 7 fascicles written by Kanjyo (1057–1125), a Japanese esoteric priest who successively held the post of the chief priest (*Bettō*) of the following temples *Ninnaji*, the *Henshōji*, the *Enkyōji*, the *Enshūji*, the *Kōryūji*, the *Hōshōji*, the *Todaiji* and the *Saishōji* and who was also famous for his esoteric miracle.

S. Mo.

BETTŌ (別當), a Japanese word, literally meaning 'special undertaking', which is used to denote the post of the administrators of big temples. It was in the fourth year of the Tenpyō-shōhō era (752 A.C.) that Rōben was appointed as *bettō* of the Tōdai-ji. This is the first appointment of a *bettō* to the Tōdai-ji. Thus, the term *bettō* was used during and after the Nara Period (710–84 A.C.). The *Engi-shiki* (延喜式 governmental regulations completed in 927 A.C.) says, "At big temples, *bettō* should be the chief........ Even a priest of Sōgō (the committee in charge of the Buddhist clergy and big temples) cannot be appointed as *bettō* easily. If it is necessary, the appointment should be done with a special imperial mandate."

The period of a *bettō* is four years. But the term can be extended in the case of a person who leads a pure life so strictly that he is admired by many, or someone who is appointed by a special imperial mandate. When a post of *bettō* is vacant in a temple, five administrative priests of the temple, with other priests, recommend a priest leading a pure life to the post of *bettō*.

After examining this recommendation, Sōgō sends an application to the government for the appointment of that priest.

Priests only were appointed as *bettō* at first; but later laymen were also appointed as *bettō* and they were called *zoku-bettō* or lay-*bettō*. The first

person to be so appointed was Ōtomo-no-kunimichi who became the *zoku-bettō* of Enryaku-ji in 823 A.C. Later, Tō-ji, Tōdai-ji, Jingo-ji, Kongōbu-ji and other temples, too, had similar administrators.

The term *bettō* was used for posts of government also in later times.

K. TMR.

BEZEKLIK, also written as Bazaklik (S.E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, p. 135; A. de Silva-Vigier, *The Life of The Buddha*, p. 193), the largest of the Buddhist sites in the Turfān oasis of Chinese Turkestan. The shrines of Bezeklik are in a series of caves lying in a gorge about twenty miles due east of Turfān town. The murals discovered here, generally dated to about the 8th–10th century, are executed on a surface of plaster, composed of loam and chopped straw.

The art of Bezeklik is a strange amalgam of an array of different art-techniques. Lying in the northern caravan-route that runs through the vast central Asian desert, connecting China with Persia, and thus being on the trail along which the earliest Buddhist pilgrims travelled from China to India, Bezeklik, like Mīrān, Kucha, Balawaste and other settlements in the area, was from very early times the meeting place of a wide range of ethnic types. This, together with the impact of its changing rulers, turned the entire region into a melting pot of different artistic styles. Hence, in the Bezeklik murals predominantly Chinese characteristics are modified by Tibetan, Uighur, Persian, Turkish, Indian and other techniques. As observed by F. H. Andrews and Aurel Stein, the factor common to all Bezeklik compositions, although variously expressed, is the Buddhist legend, but Hindu and Tantric importations, too, seem to have stimulated the imagination of the Chinese and Tibetan artists (*Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, p. 51).

A favourite theme of the artists of Bezeklik appears to have been the portrayal of the bodhisattva in former incarnations (*jātaka*) paying obeisance to the Buddhas of yore. Notably significant are the elaborate coiffures and head-dresses of the figures. Their facial proportions, with narrow eyes, long nose and round chin, are obviously the effect of Chinese artistry. Another peculiar characteristic is that the Buddha in the Bezeklik paintings is always portrayed as wearing sandals. Where the Buddha is depicted as standing, often the figures are not well proportioned. It is interesting that in Gandhāra, too, there are Buddha images which give a somewhat stunted appearance. But it is difficult to determine whether this common feature is due to an interchange of art-techniques or merely coincidental (see F. H. Andrews & Aurel Stein, op. cit., pp. xxvi-xxvii).

The art of Bezeklik may best be described as rigid in composition, being devoid of the grace and sensitiveness which characterises Buddhist art in general.

The first explorations of the Bezeklik shrines were conducted by Grünwedel and Van Lecoq. The latter, it is reported, removed a considerable proportion of the murals to Berlin. Stein visited the site in 1914, and noting the deteriorating conditions of the remaining paintings, removed selected portions to North India. Here, at the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, Delhi, the specimens were reassembled by F. H. Andrews. The portions which were removed to Germany by Van Lecoq were earlier housed in the now destroyed Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, and are today at the Ethnological Museum of Berlin.

For illustrations see F. H. Andrews & A. Stein, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Stories in Central Asia* (volume of plates).

G. K. W.

BGEGS BSKRAD-PAḤI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See VIGHNĀNTAKA-SĀDHANA.

BGEGS BZLOG CIN GZIR-BAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See VIGHNA-NIVĀRAKA-PRAMATHANO-PĀYA.

BGEGS-KYI RGYAL-POḤI SGRUBS-THABS (1), a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See VIGHNA-RĀJA SĀDHANA.

BGEGS-KYI RGYAL-POḤI SGRUB-THABS (2), a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See VINĀYAKARĀJA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA.

BGEGS MTHAR-BYED-KYI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See VIGHNĀNTAKA-SĀDHANA.

BGEGS SEL-BAḤI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See VIGHNAVI-NĀYAKA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ.

BGRES-MOS-SHUS-PA BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI-MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAHĀLALIKĀ-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BHA, one of the 50 (or 42) Siddhaṃ letters (a kind of Indian script transmitted from India to China and Japan; see further SIDDHAM). Some special meaning is given to this letter mainly in Mahāyāna sūtras. According to the *Yü–ch'ieh–chin-kang-ting-ching–shih-zu-mi-p'in* (*Taishō*, No. 880, Vol. 18, p. 339a), chanting the syllable *bha*, one can be released from all worldly existence. In this case '*bha*' is said to have been derived from Sanskrit *bhava*, the meaning of which is 'existence' or 'becoming'. The same meaning is granted to it in such sūtras as the *Fang–kuang–ta–chuang–yen–ching* (a classical Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara: Taishō*, No. 187, Vol. 3, p. 560a), the *Fu–pên–hsing-chi–ching* (the classical Chinese translation of the *Buddha(–pūrva)–carita–saṅgraha–sūtra* : *Taishō*, No. 190, Vol. 3. p. 704 b) and the *Ta–p'i–lu–chê–na–ch'êng–fu–shên–pien–chia–ch'ih–ching* (the classical Chinese translation of the *Mahā–vairocana–abhisambodhi–vikurvita–adhiṣṭhāna–vaipulya–sūtrendra-rāja–dharma–paryāya : Taishō*, No. 848, Vol. 18, p. 10 b). This is regarded as the most appropriate meaning of *bha*. Besides, *bha* is also connected in various sūtras with some other meanings, originating from different Sanskrit words. For example, in the *Mo–ho–po–jo–lo–mi–ching* (a classical Chinese translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā: Taishō*, No.223, Vol. 8, p. 256 ab), it is related to the meaning of 'destruction ' originating from *bhaṅga* ; in the *Ta-fang-kuang-fu-hua-yen-ching* (a classical Chinese translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-nāma--mahāvaipulya-sūtra : Taishō*, No. 279, Vol. 10 p. 418 b), the meaning of 'palace' from *bhavana* ; in the *T'a-p'i-lu-chê-na-ch'êng-fu-shên-pien-chin-ch ih-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 848, Vol. 18, p. 41c see above) and in the *Shou-hu-huo-chieh-chu-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (*Taishō*,No.887,Vol.19, p. 535a), the meaning of 'meditaion' from *bhāvanā* ; and in the *Ta-po-nieh-p'an-ching* (a classical Chinese translation of the *Mahāparnirvāṇa-sūtra : Taishō*, No.375 Vol. 12, p. 654c), the meaning of 'burden' from *bhāra*.

S.Mo.

BHĀBRU–BAIRĀṬ EDICT. See BAIRĀṬ.

BHADDA (1), one of the two cheif disciples of Koṇḍañña Buddha (*J.* I, 30 ; *Buv.* III, 30).

BHADDA (2), an arahant thera, the only child of a banker of Sāvatthi. His parents had been childless for a long time and had prayed to many gods in vain. Once, they visited the Buddha and told him that if they had a child they would give him to the Buddha to serve him. When Bhadda was seven years old, his parents, fulfilling their promise, gave him to the Buddha. The Buddha asked Ānanda to ordain him. Thus, Bhadda was ordained by Ānanda and received instruction from him. Bhadda reached arahantship before the following morning. The Buddha knowing he had become an arahant called him with the words " Come, Bhadda " and that was his higher ordination.

In the time of Buddha Padumuttara, he had offered to the Buddha and the Saṅgha several thousands of robes and other requisites. Thereafter he had enjoyed birth among devas and men until his last birth as Bhadda (*Thag.* vv. 473–9 ; *ThagA*. II, 199 f.).

Bhadda thera mentioned in the *Saṃyutta* is probably to be identified with this thera. He is said to have been staying at the Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputta, in the company of Ānanda with whom he discussed the doctrine. On one occasion he asks Ānanda for an explanation of the righteous life and the unrighteous life (*S.V*, 15 ff.) and on another occasion poses various questions centering on the four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna* : ibid. 170 ff.).

L.R.G.

BHADDA (3), a lay disciple of Nādikā who, the Buddha declared, had destroyed the five bonds that bind people to the lower worlds of lust (*orambhāgiyasaṃyojana*) and had been born in the highest deva world, there to pass away entirely, thence never to return (*D.* II, 92).

BHADDA (4), general (*senāpati*) of king Sena I (833–53 A.C.). He constructed the monastery called the Bhaddasenāpati-pariveṇa and endowed it with slaves and revenue (*Mhv.* 1, 82).

BHADDĀ (1), one of the two chief women disciples of Buddha Revata (*J.* 1, 35 ; *Buv.* vi, 22 ; *ApA.* p. 38).

BHADDĀ (2), one of the two chief women patrons of Buddha Kassapa (*Buv.* xxv, 41).

BHADDĀ (3), a queen, wife of king Muṇḍa. At her death Muṇḍa could not overcome his sorrow, and day and night he clung to her body in grief. He later had her body placed in an iron vessel of oil and covered it with another iron vessel so that the body might be preserved longer. He spent his time in mourning, until his friend Piyaka took him to Nārada thera at the Kukkuṭārāma. The latter was able to convince Muṇḍa of the futility of mourning. On his return he had the remains of queen Bhaddā cremated and a tomb erected for her (*A*. III, 57 ff.).

L.R.G.

BHADDĀ (4), a lay follower of the Buddha. She and her husband, Rohaka, both hailed from the city of Kimbilā. They led a virtuous life engaged in works of merit. Bhaddā became famous in the city for her perfect conduct and earned the name of 'Good Woman' (*Bhadditthī*). She even won the admiration of the gods. On one occasion, when the two chief disciples of the Buddha visited Kimbilā with five hundred bhikkhus, Rohaka invited them for a meal and along with Bhaddā attended to their needs and listened to them preach the doctrine.

Once Rohaka went to Takkasilā on business leaving his wife behind. On a day of festivity she desired her husband's company and with the aid of the household deity she was united with her husband in Takkasilā. Subsequently, when she was known to be with child, she was suspected by her mother-in-law and others of adultery. But, the same deity came to her rescue and created a great flood of the Ganges which appeared to be submerging Kimbilā. By an act of truth, that she had been faithful to her husband, Bhaddā was able to arrest the flood and thereby dispel the doubts of the people. She convinced her husband, too, by producing a signet ring which he had given her at Takkasilā. Thereafter, she won even greater respect.

After death she was born in Tāvatiṃsa. When the Buddha visited Tavatiṃsa to preach the Abhidhamma to the devas, he met Bhaddā, who at his request related the story of her past birth (*Vvu.* 19 f.; *VvuA.* 108 ff.).

L.R.G.

BHADDAJI, the only son of a rich merchant in Bhaddiya city. He had a fortune of eight hundred millions and lived in great luxury in three mansions during the three seasons in great pomp and people flocked to see his magnificence.

Once, the Buddha, having spent three months in the city of Bhaddiya, was making ready to leave that city. Since all the people were attending upon the Buddha, there was no crowd as usual to see Bhaddaji's magnificence. Hearing that the people had gone to see the Buddha, Bhaddaji, too, went to him and listened to the doctrine, whereupon he attained arahantship.

Foreseeing the early death of Bhaddaji if he remained a householder, the Buddha told Bhaddaji's father that his son was now an arahant and that he would pass away in a short time, if he did not enter the Order. Bhaddaji's father did not wish his son to die so young and requested the Buddha to ordain him and afterwards invited the Buddha, with his ordained son, for alms at his residence. For one week Bhaddaji's parents entertained the Buddha and their son and the other monks. Afterwards the Buddha went to Koṭigāma with Bhaddaji and the rest of the monks where, too, they were entertained by the inhabitants. After the meal Bhaddaji sat down near the road on the bank of the river Ganges and entered into meditation, having made a resolve to rise up only at the approach of the Buddha. Because he failed to rise at the sight of older monks, the monks who had not entered yet upon the Path of holiness (i.e., *puthujjana*) were dissatisfied with his behaviour.

At this time, the inhabitants of Koṭigāma prepared rafts for the Buddha and the monks to cross the river. The Buddha, wishing to reveal the powers of Bhaddaji and thereby dispel the wrong notions about him, called Bhaddaji to his raft. When the raft reached the middle of the river the Buddha asked "Bhaddaji, where is the golden palace in which you lived when you were king Mahāpanāda?" "It is sunk here", was Bhaddaji's reply. When asked to clear the doubts of his companions, Bhaddaji instantly worshipped the Buddha and dived into the river. With the help of his psychic powers he took the palace with his toe and rose fifty leagues (*yojana*) above the water. When he thus lifted the palace, his relations in his birth as Mahāpanāda, who had been born as fish or water-snakes or tortoises or frogs in that very same palace, because of their attachment, wriggled out and fell into the river. Seeing them falling, the Buddha said: "Your relations are in trouble." Then Bhaddaji sent the palace back into the river. It sank

and rested itself in its former site. After crossing the river the monks asked the Buddha when it was that Bhaddaji had occupied that palace. On that occasion the Buddha related the *Mahā-panāda Jātaka* (No. 264 : *J.* II, 331 ff.) and the *Surūci Jātaka* (No. 489 : *J.* IV, 314 ff.).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* account (xxxi. 7 ff.) says that, before raising Mahāpanāda's palace, Bhaddaji rose into the air to the height of seven palmyra trees and took the Dussa-thūpa in the Brahma-world upon his outstretched hands, brought it hither, showed it to the people and put it back in its place. The brāhman Nanduttara (q.v.) who had witnessed these miraculous acts of Bhaddaji wished himself to be endowed with such powers so that he might be able to procure relics that others held in their possession. It was he who was born in Ceylon as Soṇuttara in the time of King Duṭṭhagāmiṇī and brought relics of the Buddha from the Nāga world to be enshrined in the Mahāthūpa (*MhvA.* II, 560 f.).

It was as a result of making a hut with canes and branches of the fig tree for a pacceka-buddha with his son in one of his former births that Bhaddaji obtained a palace when he was born as Mahāpanāda (*Thag. v.* 163 f. ; *ThagA.* II, 38 ff.).

During the time of Padumuttara Buddha, Bhaddaji was a brāhman ascetic. One day he saw the Buddha travelling through the air and worshipped him with clasped hands. Knowing the ascetic's intention, the Buddha descended in front of him. The ascetic offered him honey, lotus-stalks (*bhisamuḷāla*), ghee and milk. As a result of this act, he was born in the Tusita deva world. During the time of Vipassi Buddha, he was born as a millionaire, fed sixty-eight thousand monks and gave each of them the three robes. As a result, he was born again in the deva world. In another birth, Bhaddaji gave the fourfold requisites to five-hundred pacceka-buddhas. In a later birth, when he was born as a king, his son became a pacceka-buddha, whom he attended upon. When the son died he built a cetiya over his remains (*ThagA.* II, 38 ff.). The *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka* (No. 544, *J.* VI, 220 ff.) says that in another of his former births Bhaddaji was a minister of king Aṅgāti of Videha and was named Sunāma. The *Atthasālinī* (*DhsA.* 32) mentions Bhaddaji among those who handed down the Abhidhamma to the Third Council. He is probably identical with Bhisadāyaka thera of the *Apadāna* (*Ap.* II, 420 f.). See also BHADDAJI SUTTA.

H.R.P.

BHADDAJI SUTTA of the *Aghāta-vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 202 f.) is in the form of a discussion between Ānanda and Bhaddaji at Ghositārāma in Kosambi. In it Bhaddaji answers five questions of Ānanda, namely, what is the best of sights, the best of sounds, the best of joys, the best of conscious states and the best of becomings. Bhaddaji's answers are that the sight of Brahmā is the best of sights, the joyous cry of the devas the best of sounds, the joy of devas the best of joys, the consciousness of the devas in the sphere of nothingness the best of conscious states and existence of the devas in the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception is the best existence. Ānanda replies that Bhaddaji's opinions are held only by the *puthujjanas* and gives his own views thus : the sight of the destruction of cankers (*āsava*) is the best of sights, hearing of the destruction of cankers the best of sounds, rejoicing over the destruction of cankers the best of joys, consciousness of the destruction of cankers the best of conscious states and existence while the cankers are destroyed is the best existence.

H.R.P.

BHADDAKA, a name for Acala, the assistant to the master-builder of the Mahāthūpa in Ceylon. See ACALA (5).

BHADDA-KACCĀNĀ, also called Kaccānā, Subhaddakaccānā, only daughter and youngest of the children of Paṇḍu, the Sakyan who was a paternal cousin of Gotama Buddha (*Mhv.* ii, 20 ff. ; viii, 18 ff.). She had seven brothers and was very beautiful. Seven kings sent precious gifts to Paṇḍu to woo her, but Paṇḍu, who had been told by the soothsayers that she would have an auspicious journey and also because he was unable to decide among her suitors, put the daughter in a ship together with thirty-two other maidens and launched the ship upon the Ganges. On the second day they reached Goṇagāmaka in Ceylon (probably at the mouth of the Mahākandara river (*Mhv.* trsl. p.63, n. 1). There they landed, robed like nuns, and, in due course arrived at the capital, Upatissagāma. A minister of king Paṇḍuvāsudeva recognised them and brought them to the king who consecrated Bhaddakaccānā as his own queen. The other thirty-two maidens were given to the thirty-two men who had earlier come with Paṇḍuvāsudeva to Ceylon (*Mhv.* viii, 18 ff. ; *MhvE.* viii, 21 ff.).

Bhaddakaccānā had ten sons and one daughter. The eldest of the sons was Abhaya and the daughter,

youngest in the family, was Ummādacittā (*Mhv.* ix, 1 ff.). Her seven brothers were Rāma, Uruvela, Anurādha, Vijita, Dīghāyu, Rohaṇa and Gāminī. Of them all except Gāminī came to Ceylon when they heard of the arrival of their sister (*Mhv.* ix, 6 ff.). She is called Kaccānā in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (x, 1).

H. R. P.

BHADDĀ-KAPILĀNĪ (var. kāpilānī), a therī who was the daughter of a Kosiyagotta brāhman of Sāgala in the Bhadda country (*ApA.* p. 260). But, according to the *Apadāna*, her parents were Kapila and Sucimatī of Sāgala in the Madda country (*Ap.* II, p. 583). The title Kapilānī was added to her name, because she was either the daughter or the daughter-in-law of Kapila. At that time Pipphali-māṇava (Mahā-Kassapa) was born as a son of the brāhman Kapila of the Magadha country (*ApA.* p.260). But according to the *Apadāna* he was the son of a Kosiyagotta brāhman and Sumanādevī of Mahātittha (*Ap.* II, p.583). His parents had an image made of gold and sent it along with eight brāhmans to find for their son a bride resembling the image. The brāhmans carried the image to the Madda country and placed it near a bathing spot, while they stood on a side. Bhaddā-Kapilānī's nurse, who had gone there for a bath, mistaking the image for her mistress, approached it from behind and struck the image. The brāhmans, who saw this, questioned her and having learnt that Bhaddā-Kapilānī was even more beautiful than the image, they approached Bhaddā-Kapilānī's parents and informed them about their mission. They agreed to their proposal and accepted the presents which had been sent by Pipphali-māṇava's parents (The same theme is found in the *Kusa Jātaka: J.* V, pp. 278–312).

The brāhmans sent a message to Kapila informing him about their success in finding a bride for his son. When he heard the news, Pipphali-māṇava, who was under the impression that they would never be able to find the kind of bride he wanted, wrote a letter to Bhaddā-Kapilānī secretly, stating that his intention was not to get married, but to renounce the world. Bhaddā-Kapilānī also sent a letter to him stating the very same idea. The parents, having intercepted the letters destroyed them and arranged the marriage without the knowledge of the young couple, and, although they lived together, the marriage was not consummated.

It is said that Bhaddā-Kapilānī had brought with her on the day of her marriage fifty thousand cart-loads of wealth. When Pipphali-māṇava desired to leave the world, making his wealth over to her, she expressed her wish to do likewise. Together they left home as recluses, unknown to anyone. When they were passing the village the inhabitants there recognised them by their behaviour (*ākappakuttavasena*) and fell at their feet, lamenting. But they proceeded on their journey. Pipphali went ahead of Bhaddā and arrived at a junction where two roads met. Then, they agreed to go in two directions, Pipphali along the right and Bhaddā along the left. Before she separated herself from her husband, she circumambulated him and worshipped him three times (*ApA.* pp. 260-3). Bhaddā went to the Titthiyārāma (near Jetavana) and lived there for five years, since women were not allowed admission to the Buddha's Order at that time. Later, she joined Pajāpatī Gotamī and, having received ordination, attained arahantship before long (*ThīgA.* pp. 68–9). The Buddha declared her the foremost of the bhikkhunīs who could recall former lives (*ThīgA.* p. 74).

During the time of Padumuttara Buddha, Bhaddā was the wife of a wealthy man of Haṃsavatī, whose name was Videha. One day, she heard the Buddha proclaiming a bhikkhunī first among those who could recall her former lives and made a wish that she also should obtain that same rank. Her husband (Mahā-Kassapa in this life) wished to be the chief among the disciples who practise austere vows (*dhutavādānaṃ*). Having made this determination (*patthanā*) both of them performed meritorious deeds and were born in heaven (*Ap.* II, pp. 578–80).

During the time of Vipassī Buddha, she was the wife of the brāhman Ekasāṭaka, who made an offering to Vipassī Buddha of the only garment which he and his wife had in common (*SA.* II, p. 182). In her next birth, she became the chief queen of the king of Bārāṇasī (*Ap.* II, p. 580).

During the period between the appearance of the two Buddhas, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa, Bhaddā's husband was born in a clansman's family in Bārāṇasī. One day, when Bhaddā was quarrelling with her sister-in-law, a pacceka-buddha came round for alms. The latter offered alms to the pacceka-buddha, and made a wish. Bhaddā, who saw this, became jealous of her and, thinking that her wish would be fulfilled, took the bowl from the hands of the pacceka-buddha, threw away what had been offered by the sister-in-law, filled it with mud (*kalala*) and gave it back to him. When she was blamed for her evil deed, she took back the bowl and having thrown away the mud

scrubbed it with scented powder, filled it with the fourfold sweet foods, sprinkled the top with ghee which was of the colour of lotus-clay, placed it in the hands of the pacceka-buddha and made a wish that her body should shine like the bowl.

In her next birth Bhaddā was born as a daughter to a wealthy brāhman in Bārāṇasī. She was given in marriage to the son of a very wealthy family. As a result of the evil committed in her former birth, there emanated an evil odour from her body and the husband who discovered this, sent her back to her parents. In this manner she was rejected by seven husbands. When she became very unhappy as a result, she had a gold ingot made out of her ornaments and placed it on the shrine of Kassapa Buddha, which was then being built. She worshipped it with eight handfuls of lotuses and made a wish to the effect that the smell of sandal wood should emanate from her body and the smell of lotuses from her mouth. Immediately afterwards her wish was fulfilled and she was married again to her first husband (*SA.* II, 185–7).

According to the *Apadāna* she was the wife of Sumitta in her next life and gave a thick blanket to a pacceka-buddha. Then she was born in the country of Kāsi among the Koliyans and attended on one hundred pacceka-buddhas (*Ap.* II, p. 582). In her next life, she was born as the eldest daughter of the king of Bārāṇasī and her husband was the son of a minister. On the death of the king, the ministers got the princess to marry him and consecrated him king of Bārāṇasī under the name of Nanda. According to the *Apadāna*, Brahmadatta was her husband in this particular life and king Nanda was her husband in another life (*Ap.* II, 582–3). In this life, along with her husband, she gave alms and attended on the five-hundred pacceka-buddhas who were the sons of Padumāvatī. When all the five hundred pacceka-buddhas passed away at the same time, she felt greatly bereaved. Then, she performed all the funeral rites with the help of the citizens and enshrined their relics in a stūpa. When the king himself, sorrow-stricken at the passing away of the pacceka-buddhas, gave over his kingship to his eldest son and renounced the world, she too, entered the Order. She lived in a grove, developed the bliss of mental absorption (*jhāna*) and after death was born in the Brahma world (*SA.* II, pp. 187–91; *ThīgA.* p. 73; *Ap.* II, p. 583; *Thīg.* vv. 63–6).

The name of Bhaddā-Kapilānī occurs in several places in the Vinaya rules in connection with her pupils who were found guilty of transgressing them (*Vin.* IV, pp. 227, 268, 269, 275). The bhikkhunī Thullanandā, who was learned and skilled in the preaching of the Dhamma, made the life of Bhaddā-Kapilānī uncomfortable, since she felt jealous when the latter became very popular among lay-followers. It is said that people developed a great liking towards Bhaddā-Kapilānī since she was more learned than Thullanandā and was very skilled in preaching the Dhamma (*Vin.* IV, p. 290). On one occassion Bhaddā-Kapilānī, having spent the rainy-season in Sāketa, went back to Sāvatthi and received lodging from Thullanandā. After sometime, Thullanandā felt jealous of Bhaddā-Kapilānī and sent her out of her lodging (*Vin.* IV, p. 292).

Bhaddā-Kapilānī is identified with the brāhman woman in the *Hatthipāla Jātaka* (*J.* IV, p. 491), and with Sāma's mother in the *Sāma Jātaka* (*J.* VI, p. 95).

I. K.

BHADDA-KAPPA, also called *Mahābhaddakappa*, an age (aeon) during which five Bhuddas appear in the world. The present one is a *bhaddakappa*; of its five Buddhas four have already appeared, viz., Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama, and the fifth, Metteyya, has yet to appear (*BuvA.* 191). In the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, thousands of Buddhas are said to appear in a *bhadrakalpa* (*Gvyū.* 300, 358; *Avś.* 104, 111; *Mhvu.* III, 330; *Divy.* 344, 346, 464; *BB.* XIII, 102). This is illustrated in a wall-painting in the 117th cave in the Thousand Buddhas Cave, at Tun-huang, China. See KAPPA.

U. K.

BHADDAKA SUTTA, the fourteenth sutta of the *Sāraṇīya-vagga* of the *Chakka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* III, 292–4). Sāriputta preaches to the bhikkhus on the course that would lead a bhikkhu to an unlucky death and an unlucky fate and the opposite course that would lead him to a lucky death and a lucky fate.

The bhikkhu,who takes delight in worldly activity and is fond of talk, sleep, company, companionship and vain fancies, fashions his life for an unlucky death and an unlucky fate, while the bhikkhu who is not attracted by any of these, fashions his life for a lucky death and a lucky fate. Such a one is fond of Nibbāna and succeeds in putting an end to suffering.

L. R. G.

BHADDĀ-KUṆḌALAKESĪ, a therī. See KUṆḌALAKESĪ.

BHADDĀLI, an arahant. It is said that when the Buddha praised the advantages of eating a single meal a day, saying that such a practice conduces to good health, freedom from illness, lightness of body, strength and ease of living, and invited the monks to adopt that practice, Bhaddāli spoke out saying that he would not adopt such a practice as it would make him a prey to scruples and misgivings. Then the Buddha said that if he could not adopt that practice, he should, when he was invited to a meal, at least try to eat a portion of the food at that very spot, take away the remainder and eat it elsewhere. Bhaddāli was too obstinate and did not want to try even that. So when the Buddha laid down this rule, Bhaddāli ignored it and kept on avoiding the Buddha. Later, when the Buddha was about to set out on a journey after the three-month retreat at Jetavana, Bhaddāli went to the Buddha and apologised to him for his ignoble conduct, confessing his fault. The Buddha praised that action and preached to him the *Bhaddāli Sutta* (*M.* I, 437).

The commentary to this sutta (*MA.* III, 148) says that Bhaddāli was a crow in a previous birth, and hence even in this birth he was always hungry like a crow and his colleagues called him the 'great eater' (*mahāchātaka*).

During the time of the Buddha Sumedha, Bhaddāli lived in the Himalayan region, and when that Buddha, one day, visited that region Bhaddāli cleared the ground and erected a shelter for him. Then having collected sāla flowers he spread them over it, and saluted the Buddha with an elated heart. As a consequence of this good act he enjoyed much wealth and happiness during a period of thirty kappas till he entered the Order of Gotama Buddha and attained arahantship (*Ap.* II, 365–7).

W. G. W.

BHADDĀLIN, a disciple of the Buddha. While wandering about with a host of bhikkhus, the Buddha saw a certain spot which was uneven, and asked the monks whether they desired to see the massive sacrificial post made of gold and decorated with precious stones which was set afloat by King Mahāpraṇāda after performing a great religious ceremony. When the monks showed their anxiety to see it, the Buddha made it visible to them by his spiritual powers and all began gazing at it with amazement, except Bhaddālin. He sat all alone in a corner, sewing the rags he had collected to make a robe. The Buddha asked the monks to observe the sacrificial post closely saying that it would disappear before long. When it disappeared, they began discussing the peculiar behaviour of Bhaddālin, and wondered whether it was due to Bhaddālin having put an end to attachment completely or to his having been too familiar with it in a previous existence. The Buddha, dispelling their doubts, said that it was due to both, and related a story in which Bhaddālin in a previous existence had been closely associated with this sacrificial post.

Once there was a king by name Mahāpraṇāda, son of Praṇāda. Before he was born as a human being Mahāpraṇāda was in the world of the devas, and it was on the plea of Sakka himself that he agreed to be born as son to Praṇāda, who was worried as he had no son to succeed him. Sakka undertook to remind Mahāpraṇāda of his duties as a virtuous king if ever he happened to take the wrong path. For a time Mahāpraṇāda ruled the country to the satisfaction of all, but, later he became neglectful of his duties and the people were becoming uneasy. Sakka interfered and once again took Mahāpraṇāda on the correct path. On the request of Mahāpraṇāda, Sakka ordered Viśvakarma to create a sacrificial post, finished with gold and precious stones, so that it would always remind him to tread the path of duty. Aśoka, an uncle of Mahāpraṇāda, was appointed to attend to the duties connected with the sacrificial post. When the news of this post spread in the country, people congregated to see it, and they were so amazed that they kept on looking at it for days and days till ultimately all the work of the state came to a standstill. Mahāpraṇāda in order to check further deterioration of the condition of the country set the sacrificial post afloat in the Ganges.

At the end of the story the Buddha identified Aśoka in the story with Bhaddālin thera (*Divy.* 55–60).

W. G. W.

BHADDĀLI SUTTA, preached at the Jetavana monastery by the Buddha to Bhaddāli (q.v.) thera, who disregarded the rules of discipline and kept on avoiding the Buddha. Later he came to the Buddha and asked for forgiveness. The Buddha then spoke to him this sutta where the Buddha emphasises the importance of observing strict rules of discipline for the attainment of the final goal and illustrates what he says with the parable of the Ājāniya horse. A horse well-trained by

an expert trainer and put through the various stages of training, becomes endowed with ten qualities, and is fit to be regarded as a treasure by a king. In the course of the discourse the Buddha reveals the reasons that led to the laying down of Vinaya rules.

Bhaddāli asks the Buddha why, in the past, though the Vinaya rules were scanty, there were many who realised true knowledge, and why only a few attain spiritual liberation in the present, even though the rules are in abundance. In reply the Buddha says that, when the people degenerate and when the noble norm disappears, more and more rules are made, and only a few realise the truth. "Further," says the Buddha, "the Tathāgata does not lay down rules of discipline unless some sign of degeneration becomes manifest in the Order, and when such signs become manifest, the Teacher lays down rules to check such degeneration."

Next the Buddha gives some causes that lead to degeneration in the Order. They are : the Order becoming unwieldy due to its increasing numbers (*mahattaṃ*) ; the Order increasing in its gains ; the monks becoming learned and interpreting the dhamma to suit their purposes and the monks, due to their seniority in the Order, taking the law into their hands (*rattaññu : M.* I, 437–47).

W. G. W.

BHAḌDASĀLA (1), one of the two chief disciples of Nārada Buddha (*Buv.* x, 23 ; *J.* I, 37). He was a brāhman of Thullakoṭṭhita city and was seeking emancipation along with his friend Jitamitta. In his quest he met the Buddha Nārada and, seeing the thirty-two characteristics of a Great Being (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*) in him and coming to the conclusion that he was an all-enlightened One, Bhaddasāla received ordination with all his followers under him. When he had become an arahant, it was to the multitude headed by him that the Buddha Nārada preached the *Pātimokkha* for the first time (*BuvA.* 186).

H. R. P.

BHAḌDASĀLA (2), one of the four arahant theras who accompanied Mahinda to establish Buddhism in Ceylon. He had been a co-resident of Moggaliputta in India. He arrived in Ceylon in the time of king Devānampiyatissa and passed away in the time of his successor, king Uttiya (*Mhv.* xii, 7 ; xx, 54 ff. ; *Dpv.* xii, 12, 38 ; *VinA.* I, 62, 70. See also *Mhbv.* p. 116 ; *Thūpv.* p. 43). King Sirimeghavaṇṇa made an image of him and placed it in a shrine near the royal palace (*Mhv.* xxxvii, 87). His name is also found as Bhaddanāma, Bhaṇḍusāla (see *VinA.* I, 62 ; *MhvE.* xiii, 27).

L. R. G.

BHAḌDASĀLA (3), a thera in Ceylon. King Mahāsiva (197–187 B.C.) was greatly devoted to him and built for him a beautiful monastery, called Nagaraṅgaṇa, in the eastern quarter of Anurādhapura (*Mhv.* xxi, 2).

It is difficult to say whether this thera was the same as Bhaddasāla (2). Since the latter is said to have died in the time of Mahāsiva's predecessor, Uttiya, they were probably two different theras.

L. R. G.

BHAḌDASĀLA JĀTAKA (No. 465). Brahmadatta, king of Bārāṇasī wished to build a palace supported on one column so that it would be superior to all the other kings' palaces which were built in the usual style, supported on several columns. His carpenters were sent to the forest in search of a suitable tree for this purpose. They came across many large trees in the forest but gave up the idea of felling them because of the difficulty of transport. They were then instructed to look for a tree in the king's park. They discovered a lordly sāla tree and made preparations to cut it down. The tree god (Bhaddasāla), who was the bodhisatta, greatly distressed at the impending danger to his kinsmen who lived round him on smaller sāla trees, appeared before the king in the night and entreated him not to destroy the sāla tree which had stood in the king's park for hundreds of years. The king replied that there was no other tree suitable for his purpose and invited him to live in the palace which he proposed to build on one column.

Bhaddasāla then urged the king who was bent on his purpose, to cut the tree in pieces so that in its fall the tree would not kill his kindred living around him. The king was touched by Bhaddasāla's concern for his kinsmen's welfare and abandoned the idea of cutting the tree.

The king was a previous incarnation of Ānanda. This story was related in reference to the Buddha's efforts to stop Viḍūḍabha from attacking the Sakyas. On this occasion was also narrated the *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka* (No. 7).

The introduction to this Jātaka is unusally long—longer than the Jātaka itself. A good portion of it is repeated in the *Dhammapada* commentary (I, 345 ff.). It is rich in material for the study of contemporary political and social conditions. The political events recorded are marked by intrigue, revenge and murder (*J.* IV, 153–7).

A Burmese terra-cotta tile, about 1 ft. square, moulded in high relief, with greenish glaze and inscription in Pali and Burmese : "Bhaddasāla Jātaka (the bodhisatta is) a tree-sprite, 465" is at present in the Ross collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.

It shows the tree-sprite (bodhisatta) interviewing the king. A reproduction is shown by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in his *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1923, Plate LXXXV, No. 17.1009.

L. R. G.

BHADDASENA, son of king Ekarāja of Pupphavatī and brother of Candakumāra (*J.* VI, 134 ; *CpA*.58). He is identified with Mahāmoggallāna (*J.* VI, 157). See CANDAKUMĀRA and KHAṆḌAHĀLA JĀTAKA.

BHADDASENĀPATI PARIVEṆA, a monastic building, endowed with slaves and revenue. It was erected by Bhadda, a general of Sena I, of Ceylon (833–53 A.C., *Mhv.* I, 82). The location of the building is not mentioned.

BHADDĀ-SURIYAVACCASĀ, daughter of Timbaru. See SURIYAVACCASĀ.

BHADDAVAGGIYĀ, a group of thirty monks also known as Pāveyyakā and Pāṭheyyakā (*VinA.* p. 1105; *DhpA.* II, 32 ; *S.* II, 187). They were young princes of high repute referred to in the *Vinaya* commentary (*VinA.* p. 971) as being associated in a group 'by their bodies and minds', probably because they were closely attached to one another. At another place in the *Vinaya* commentary (ibid. p. 1106) they are said to be brothers by one father, the king of Kosala. The term Pāveyyakā denotes that they were from Pāvā while the name Pāṭheyyakā meant that they were from a country by that name, said to be located to the west of Kosala (ibid. p. 1106). Malalasekera (*DPPN.* II, 195) takes Pāṭheyyakā to be a variant reading of Pāveyyakā.

It was at the Kappāsika grove near Uruvela that the Buddha first met them as laymen. That day they had gone there with their wives to amuse themselves, not long after the enlightenment of the Buddha. Since one of the friends had no wife he had come with a courtezan, but she awaited the opportunity and ran away with some of their goods. When the friends were looking for her, they saw the Buddha seated at the foot of a tree and inquired from him whether he had seen a woman. But he answered, should they not rather seek the 'self' than a woman. They all agreed thereto, and he preached to them. At the conclusion of the sermon they realized the truth and obtained *ehi-bhikkhu* ordination (*Vin.* I, 23 f.). But, according to a reference in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 187 f.) which calls them monks of Pāvā, they were not yet fetter-free. The *Vinaya* commentary (p. 1106) says that the eldest of them became an *anāgāmin*, while the youngest became a *sotāpanna*. None of them had attained arahantship, nor was there any one who was a *puthujjana*. It was after hearing a discourse on the incalculability of the beginning of this faring-on (*anamatagga-dhammadesanaṃ* : *S.* II, 187 f.) that they attained arahantship (*DhpA.* II, 32 ; *VinA.* p. 1106). All of them practised the thirteen austere practices (*terasa dhutaṅgāni* : loc. cit.).

These monks were once going to Sāvatthi to see the Buddha when the rainy season was approaching. Being unable to reach Sāvatthi in time they entered upon their retreat on the way, at Sāketa. After three months, they went to the Buddha and their robes were wet. It was on this occasion that the Buddha for the first time allowed the use of *kaṭhina* robes by monks who have completed the rainy retreat (*Vin.* I, 253).

In past births, in the time of previous Buddhas, the Bhaddavaggiya monks are said to have performed works of merit. Before Gotama Buddha appeared in the world they were born as thirty evil doers, but hearing the admonition addressed to Tuṇḍila, they kept the five precepts for sixty thousand years (*DhpA.* I, 100).

Two sculptures, one now in the Madras Government Museum (*Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, IV, Pl. 29/4) and the other from Takht-i-Bahai (*L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, I, fig. 222) probably depict their conversion. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxx, 79) mentions the conversion of the Bhaddavaggiya monks as one of the subjects sculptured in the relic chamber of the Mahā Thūpa at Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

H. R. P.

BHADDAVATĪ (1), a city where lived the banker Bhaddavatiya, father of Sāmāvatī. There had been trade relations between this city and Kosambi (*DhpA.* I, 187). It is probably identical with Bhaddavatikā.

BHADDAVATĪ (2), also referred to as Bhaddavatikā, a female elephant which formerly belonged to king Caṇḍapajjota but was later taken by king Udena. She could travel fifty leagues in one day and it was with her help that Udena eloped with Caṇḍapajjota's daughter, Vāsuladattā (*DhpA.* I, 196, 198).

In the possession of Udena, Bhaddavatikā enjoyed great honours from him. He loved her, saying that his life, kingdom and queen were all due to her. She was adorned with all kinds of ornaments. Her stable was smeared with perfumed earth. In the stable were kept a lamp lit with perfumed oil and a dish of incense. The floor was laid with a beautiful, coloured carpet. She was given royal food of choice flavours.

But when she was old and could not work, all these honours vanished, and Bhaddavatikā was neglected. Unprotected and destitute, she roamed about and ate wild fruits in the forest. One day she saw the Buddha in the city, surrounded by a multitude of monks, and is said to have gone there and complained to him of her grievances, falling at his feet. The Buddha went to the palace of the king and telling him of the plight of the elephant admonished him that one should not neglect one's servants in their old age but should be grateful to them. The king, thereupon, restored the former honour to the elephant.

This incident became the subject-matter of a discussion among the monks which led to the preaching of the *Daḷhadhamma Jātaka* by the Buddha. According to this story, Bhaddavatikā in a previous birth, had been a female elephant belonging to king Daḷhadhamma of Bārāṇasī. She served the king as his messenger, going one hundred leagues in a day with a letter on her neck, and also had fought in battle with weapons bound to her breast. During that time the elephant received all comforts, but when she was old and unserviceable she was left neglected. The king gave her over to a potter to be yoked to a cart. One day the elephant met the bodhisatta, who was a minister of that king, and falling at his feet told him of her grievances. The bodhisatta spoke to the king on her behalf and succeeded in restoring to her the former honours paid to her (*J.* III, 384 ff.).

H. R. P.

BHADDAVATIKĀ, a market town near Kosambi. The Buddha once went there on an alms round and stayed in a grove near the town. There was also a demesne of naked ascetics at Bhaddavatikā and a fierce nāga-king dwelt in Ambatittha in that demesne. Cowherds and others pleaded with the Buddha not to go to Ambatittha for the nāga was very wicked, but Sāgata thera, hearing this, went there and subdued the nāga (*Vin.* IV, 108 f.; *J.* I., 360 f.). The town was in the Cetiya country (*Vin.* IV, 108) and is probably identical with Bhaddavatī. As the Vinaya commentary (*VinA.* IV, 859) seems to indicate, the town may have derived its name either from a fence that surrounded it or from the ideal choice of its location.

H.R.P.

BHADDAVATIYA, a banker of Bhaddavatī. Sāmāvatī was his daughter. He cultivated a close friendship with Ghositaseṭṭhi of Kosambi, through the medium of traders, though neither had seen the other. Later, Bhaddavatiya's family was attacked by a plague; he fled with his wife and daughter, intending to seek his friend Ghosita, but he died of starvation on the way. His wife, too, died on the following day and their daughter Sāmāvatī later became one of king Udena's queens (*DhpA.* I, 187 f.).

H.R.P.

BHADDAYĀNIKA, an adherent of the school better known under its Sanskrit name. See BHADRAYĀNĪYA.

BHADDEKARATTA SUTTA preached by the Buddha at the Jetavana monastery (*M.* III, 187 ff.).

The very title of the sutta presents a puzzle. The commentary explains the term *bhaddekarattassa* as " of one who is happy for one night because he is possessed of intentness of insight, " (*MA.* V, 1), whereas the verses that form the crux of the sutta say that a person to be called *bhaddekaratta* should abide ardently and unweariedly day and night (*ahoratta*), thus implying that it is a period of time longer than one night.

The kernel of the sutta consists of four verses and the rest is an elaboration of the teachings found in them. The verses portray the true saint who should not hanker after the past and should not long for the future (*nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ*), but should have an insight into the present states of consciousness which enable him,

after an unceasing struggle, to win the eternal state, which is immovable and unshakable, by overpowering the great hosts of Māra.

The rest of the sutta, as mentioned earlier, comments on the main doctrines set forth in the verses. The past is explained as the five aggregates possessed formerly, and the future as the five aggregates one longs to have in the future. Insight into the present is really the knowledge of the nature of these five aggregates. The insubstantiality of the five *khandhas* is emphasised in the characteristic way of the earlier texts.

A true saint is one who cultivates a right attitude towards these five aggregates of the present, not looking at them from an egoistic point of view.

Extracts from the *Bhaddekaratta Sutta* are uttered by speakers in the *Hatthipāla Jātaka* (IV, 481) and the *Mahākapi Jātaka* (V, 67 ff.).

D.J.K.

BHADDIYA (1), one of the first five disciples of the Buddha. See PAÑCAVAGGIYA.

BHADDIYA (2), born in a wealthy family of Sāvatthi, came to be known as Lakuṇṭaka Bhaddiya because of his very short stature. According to the *Apadāna* commentary, he was handsome like a golden statue in spite of his shortness (*ApA.* 519). After listening to the Buddha, he developed faith in him and entered the Order. Thereupon he became very learned and eloquent, preaching the doctrine to others in a sweet voice (*madhurasara*). One festival day, a courtesan, while driving in a chariot with a brāhman, saw Bhaddiya thera and laughed, thus showing her teeth to him. Thereupon the thera having taken teeth as an object for contemplation developed mental absorption and attained the state of a non returner (*anāgāmin: ThagA.* II, 196). Later, he listened to the doctrine preached by Sāriputta, regarding the body, and having developed mindfulness, attained arahantship (*ThagA.* II, 196 ; *UdA.* 361 ; *Ud.* 74). Bhaddiya is also classified among the eighty great disciples of the Buddha Gotama (*ThagA.* III, 206).

During the time of Padumuttara Buddha, Lakuṇṭaka Bhaddiya was born in Haṃsavatī as a wealthy householder. One day, he heard the Buddha describe one of his followers as having he sweetest voice among them all. Thereupon offered alms to the bhikkhus headed by the Buddha, for seven days, and wished for a similar honour for himself under a future Buddha. In the time of Phussa Buddha he was born as a *cittapattakokila* (bright-winged cuckoo) in a forest named Nanda. (According to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary, the name of this park was Khemā : *AA.* I, 195). One day, when the bird was carrying a ripe mango fruit from the royal park (according to *AA.* I, 195, Himālayās) he saw the Buddha and offered it to him. It is said, that the offering of the sweet mango was the cause of his obtaining a sweet voice. During the time of Kassapa Buddha he was the chief architect entrusted with the building of the thūpa enshrining the relics of Kassapa Buddha (*ThagA.* II, 195–6 ; *Ap.* II, 489–90 ; *AA.* I, 194–6 ; *ApA.* 519–20). According to the *Apadāna*, he was the general of king Kiki of Kāsi (*Ap.* II, 490. *v.* 23). It is said that when a dispute arose over the size of the thūpa, he was in favour of a small one and as a result of that he came to be possessed of a small stature (*Ap.* II, 490. *v.* 28).

The reason given in the *Kelisīla Jātaka*, however, is that during his birth as king Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī, he was unable to endure the sight of anything old or decrepit, and therefore he chased old men, women and animals from the city and destroyed old objects such as carts (*J.* II, 142 ff.).

In the assembly of bhikkhus the Buddha ranked Bhaddiya as the foremost among the sweet voiced bhikkhus (*A.* I, 23).

There are several stories in the texts about thera Bhaddiya. In the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, it is said that thirty forest-dwelling monks who went to see the Buddha mistook him to be a novice, because of his shortness and youthful appearance (*DhpA.* III, 387). In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and in the *Udāna* it is stated that when the Buddha realised that Bhaddiya had been despised by the other bhikkhus because of his appearance, he proclaimed to the bhikkhus that Bhaddiya, although small and ugly, was endowed with great power (*S.* II, 279 ; *Ud.* 76). The account given in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and in the *Jātaka* says that even when thirty monks from the country, who had come to see the Buddha, began to pull his hair and tweak his ears and nose saying, " Uncle, you tire not of religion? You take delight in it ? ", he did not take offence (*DhpA.* II, 148 ; *J.* II, 142).

Two famous " riddle stanzas " in the *Dhammapada* (*vv.* 294–5) are attributed to the Buddha where he describes how Lakuṇṭaka Bhaddiya, having killed his mother, father and two kings and after destroying a kingdom, yet goes scatheless. Here, by " mother " is meant craving, for it is the source of the three-fold existence. By " father "

is meant pride. The doctrines of eternalism (*sassata-vāda*) and nihilism (*uccheda-vāda*) are compared to " two warrior kings, " for they include all heretical views. In this metaphor, the twelve spheres of sense (*āyatana*) represent the " kingdom " with its inhabitants, and thus the " brāhman " who is free from craving, pride and heretical beliefs, and who has not given in to the twelve *āyatana* stands without any defilement (*DhpA*. III, 454).

Bhaddiya is credited with having uttered several stanzas while enjoying the bliss of arahantship in the Ambāṭaka-vana (*Thag. vv.* 466–72).

I.K.

BHADDIYA (3), a non-returner (*anāgāmin*). He was one of the seven persons who attained arahantship, as soon as they were born in the twelfth Brahmā-world, named Avihā. The other six persons were Upaka, Phalaganḍa, Pukkusa, Khaṇḍadeva, Bāhuraggi and Piṅgiya (*S*. I, 35, 60). The list found in the commentary on the *Therīgāthā* gives Salakaṇtha and Bahunandi instead of Phalagaṇḍa and Bāhuraggi, respectively, (*ThīgA*. 222).

I.K.

BHADDIYA (4), a thera generally referred to as Kāḷigodhāputta. See KĀḶIGODHĀPUTTA.

BHADDIYA (5), a wealthy merchant of the city of Bhaddiya. He had only one son, Bhaddaji. When the Buddha declared to him that his son would die soon, if he did not enter the Order of bhikkhus, Bhaddiya requested him to admit his son into the Order, to which the Buddha agreed. Then, for a week, Bhaddiya showed great hospitality to the bhikkhus headed by the Buddha (*J*. II, 331 f.).

I.K.

BHADDIYA (6), one of the four chief merchants of Ekarāja of Pupphavatī (Bārāṇasī). The other three were, Puṇṇamukha, Siṅgāla and Vaddha. These merchants were ordered to be killed by the king, who was advised by a brāhman, named Khaṇḍahāla, to make a great sacrifice in order to enter the world of the thirty-three (*Tāvatiṃsa*) gods. When the sacrifice was about to take place, Sakka appeared on the scene and released all the innocent victims, including these four merchants (*J*. VI, 135 ff.).

I.K.

BHADDIYA (7), a Licchavi, who visited the Buddha at the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana of Vesāli. He asked the Buddha whether what he had heard was true, namely, that the Buddha was a magician who by a glamorous trick enticed away the followers of others. The Buddha replied " Bhaddiya, do not be misled merely by report, or tradition or hearsay, or by the authority of religious texts, nor by logic or inference, nor by considering appearances, nor after reflection on and approval of some theory nor by seeming possibilities, nor by the consideration that the exponent is your teacher. But when, Bhaddiya, you know for yourself that certain things are unwholesome, wrong, censured by the wise and when performed or undertaken conduce to loss and suffering, then, indeed, do ye reject them."

And then, by means of question and answer, the Buddha convinced Bhaddiya that a person profits not by greed, malice and delusion, and the violence which accompanies these evils, but by their opposites. Further, he told Bhaddiya that his teachings were truly formed on fact, and if accepted and practised, they would benefit not only human beings but even the big *sāla* trees. Having listened to the Buddha, Bhaddiya was fully convinced, and he requested the Buddha to accept him as his follower (*A*. II, 190 ff.).

According to the commentary, Bhaddiya became a sotāpanna at the conclusion of the discourse (*AA*. III, p. 173).

I.K.

BHADDIYA (8), name of a city in the Aṅga kingdom (*DhpA*. I, 384 ; III, 363). The Buddha paid several visits to Bhaddiya and stayed sometimes at Jātiyāvana. Once, Uggaha, Meṇḍaka's grandson, paid him a visit and invited him to a meal (*A*. III, 36–7). Meṇḍaka, an inhabitant of Bhaddiya, (which according to *Divy*. 123 is Bhadraṅkara) is also said to have visited the Buddha in the Jātiyāvana (*DhpA*. III, 363). On another occasion, when the Buddha was residing in Jātiyāvana, he heard that the bhikkhus of that place were in the habit of wearing ornamental shoes (*pādukamaṇḍana*). Thereupon, the Buddha laid down the rule forbidding the bhikkhus to wear sandals (*DhpA*. III, 451 f. ; *Vin*. I, 190). Bhaddiya was also the birth-place of Bhaddaji thera (*J*. II, 331) and of Visākhā (*DhpA*. I, 385).

I.K.

BHADDIYA-KĀḶIGODHĀPUTTA, a thera. See KĀḶIGODHĀPUTTA.

BHADDIYA SUTTA (1), the third sutta of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 190 ff.). The Buddha, while staying in the Mahāvana at the Kūṭāgārasālā near Vesāli preached this sutta to Bhaddiya, the Licchavi, who had paid him a visit. For details see BHADDIYA (7).

BHADDIYA SUTTA (2), the sixth sutta of the *Bhikkhu-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 279). The Buddha, while residing in Jetavana at Sāvatthi, preached this discourse to the bhikkhus in reference to Lakuṇṭaka Bhaddiya.

When the Buddha saw Lakuṇṭaka Bhaddiya coming at a distance, he addressed the bhikkhus and said that the latter, although ugly was of great power and full of splendour, having achieved his goal. Further, the Buddha said that even a child, if wise, is truly great and is feared by men, like the lion by other animals.

I. K.

BHADDIYA SUTTA (3), the eighth sutta of the *Sagāthapuññābhisanda-vagga* of the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V, 403).

The Buddha while residing in Kapilavatthu preached this sutta to Bhaddiya thera. In this sutta, he proclaims that the noble disciple, who has entered the stream of sainthood (*sotāpanna*), is endowed with four qualities, namely, unwavering loyalty to the Buddha, to the Dhamma, to the Saṅgha and virtues that are dear to the noble ones.

I. K.

BHADIKRIYA, a resident of Sanghila whose gift of a railing pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I is recorded on that pillar in a third century B.C. inscription. It could also be interpreted that Sanghila is the name of the donor and Bhadikriya is the place of his residence (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 257, 271).

H.R.P.

BHADRA (1), which is seemingly different from Samantabhadra, is the name of a bodhisattva of the Mahāyāna pantheon, referred to in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (93.19 ; *BHS.* s.v.).

BHADRA (2), one of the sixteen arhats, according to the *Nandimitrāvadāna*, as translated into Chinese by Hsüan-tsang. In this work, compiled about 800 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa by Nandimitra, an arhat from Siṃhala (Ceylon), Bhadra is the sixth arhat who with his retinue of 900 arhats lived mostly in the Tāmara continent.

According to the *Ratnamegha Sūtra* (fasc. vii), as mentioned in the Notes on the Analytical study of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtrā*, Bhadra and the other fifteen arhats were ordered by the Buddha to sustain Buddhism and not to enter Nirvāṇa until the coming of the next Buddha. They took an oath to this effect in the presence of the Buddha.

The veneration of these sixteen arhats became widely prevalent in China after the translation of the *Nandimitrāvadāna* during the T'ang dynasty, and many pictures are recorded to have been made by Lu Lêng-ch'ieh of the Ch'ien-yüan period (758 A.C.).

It is obvious that the concept of "arhatship" in respect of these sixteen disciples of Śākyamuni is not in total accord with the Theravāda doctrine. Neither is it possible to identify the arhat Bhadra with any of the Buddha's disciples as known from Pali literature.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHADRA (3), name of a nāga king, mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, 247. 11 (*BHS.* s.v.).

BHADRA (4), name of a yakṣa, referred to in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, 25 (*BHS.* s.v.).

BHADRA (5), a banker (*seṭṭhi*) of Kundura, whose gift of a railing pillar to the Sāñcī Stūpa I is recorded on that pillar in a third century B.C. inscription (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 249, 271).

BHADRĀ (1), name of a therī, mentioned in the *Therīgāthā* (9). She belonged to a clan of the Sakyans and left the worldly life with Pajāpatī Gotamī. While she was meditating, the Buddha sent her a ray of glory and she attained arahantship (*ThīgA.* 13).

BHADRĀ (2), one of the five hundred female lay-disciples who, together with their leader, Mahāprajñā, visited Mañjuśrī (*Gvyū.* 51).

BHADRĀ (3), one of the five hundred girl attendants of Subhadrā, the daughter of the householder Mahāprājña, who visited Mañjuśrī (*Gvyū.* 52).

BHADRĀ (4), courtesan of Bārāṇasī who lost her life because of her double-dealing. A man called Mṛṇāla sent garments and ornaments to Bhadrā as her fee for a night. After accepting it, she accepted also an offer of five hundred pieces of gold (*kārṣāpaṇa*) from another man for the same night. When the latter came to her, she sent a message to Mṛṇāla, through a servant girl, asking him to mention a place for them to meet, thinking that she could exploit both of them. Mṛṇāla came to know, through the servant girl, that Bhadrā was living with another man, but gave her a place to meet him. When she came, he asked her if it was correct on her part to wear his garments and ornaments and live with another man. She admitted her fault and asked him to forgive her. But Mṛṇāla, fuming with rage, cut off her head with his sword (*Mūlasarvāstivādavinayavastu*, *GM*. III, i, 213 ff.).

U. K.

BHADRĀ (5), a yakṣinī connected with the propitation of the deity called Jambhala. She belongs to the group of eight yakṣinīs, forming the retinue of Vasudhārā, and occupies one of the eight petals of the lotus which bears the moon on which Jambhala sits (*Sādh*. pp. 562 and 566 ; Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Esotericism*, p 143).

S. K. N.

BHADRĀ (6), name of a *lokadhātu* where the future Buddha Raśmiśatasahaśraparipūrṇadhvaja will appear (*Sdmp*. 231).

BHADRACARYĀ - CATUṢṬĪKĀ - PIṆḌĀRTHĀ - BHISMARAṆA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text a Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Bzaṅ-spyod-kyi ḥgrel-pa bshiḥi don bsdus-nas brjed-byaṅ-du byas-pa*, occurs in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is named as Ye-śes-sde (Jñānasena), but the translator is unknown (*TM*. No. 4359 ; *TT*. Vol. 145, No. 5846).

The name of the work suggests that it is a recollection of a synopsis of a text called '*Bhadracaryā-catuṣṭikā*'. This work begins with a salutation to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The author mentions that this wonderful document dealing with the noble practice of meditation is taught by the wise (Buddhas). He also suggests that this work is a treasure for human beings, in which not only the benefit of the practice of meditation is mentioned, but also the doctrine of the Buddha and how the latter should be saluted, etc.

The author emphasises repeatedly the great advantages of the practice of meditation. He says, it brings about eternal happiness to all beings, and it paves for them the way to cross over the ocean of birth and death (*saṃsāra*). It also makes it possible for one to put an end to all desires and to attain Enlightenment after rising from the slumber of ignorance (*avidyā*). Therefore, the author says that it would be beneficial and necessary for one to discipline one's own mind and be free from sensual desires. This same systematic meditational practice is said to have brought happiness to the Tathāgata who through his sheer brilliance (Tib. *zil*) had the power to bring under his control the evil one (Skt. *māra*, Tib. *bdud*), the heretics (Skt. *tīrthaka*, Tib. *mu-stegs-pa*), the foreign foe (Tib. *phyīr-rgol*), gods (Tib. *lha*) and all the human beings.

I. K.

BHADRACARYĀPRAṆIDHĀNA (*Taishō*, No. 293), in one fascicle, translated by Prajñā in the T'ang dynasty. Its full name in Chinese is *Ta-fang-kuang-fo-hua-yen-ching-p'u-hsien-hsing-yüan-p'in* (大方廣佛華嚴經普賢行願品 the chapter on the Practical Vows of Samantabhadra, in the *Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-Sūtra*), or *Ta-fang-kuang-fo-hua-yen-ching-ju-pu-szu-i-chiai-t'o-ching-chiai-p'u-hsien-hsing-yüan-p'in* (大方廣佛華嚴經入不思議解脫境界普賢行願品 the chapter on the Practical Vows of Samantabhadra, in the part on the Acintyaviṣaya of the *Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*). It was originally the title given by Prajñā to his version of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in 40 fascicles. But the *Separate Commentary on the Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* (*Pu-hsien-hsing-yüan-p'in-pieh-hsing-shu-ch'ao* 普賢行願品別行疏鈔) regards it as the title of a chapter, denoting particularly the last fascicle of the work. Both the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the chapter (Sanskrit : *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna* or *Bhadracarīpraṇidhānarāja* ; and Tibetan : *Kun-du- bzaṅ-poḥi spyod-paḥi smon-lam* or *Bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*) contain only the portion of ślokas. In the T'ang dynasty a large number of Sanskrit texts were introduced into Japan. The catalogues of Buddhist books brought into that country, such as those of Kūkai, Ennin, Eun, Enchin etc. invariably record the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhānarāja* in Sanskrit. In the catalogues of Engyō and Ennin, the Sanskrit text and its Chinese transliteration are placed side by side. In 1767, a Japanese eminent monk, Jiun, collated it with an old manuscript. In 1902 the Japanese scholar, K. Watanabe, had

another version published as the result of his labours in comparing it with Jiun's manuscript, the Nepalese manuscript and the Tibetan printed text.

There are a number of varied translations for the *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*. The *San-man-t'o-pa-t'o-lo-p'u-sa-ching* (*Bodhisattva-Samantabhadra-Sūtra* 三曼陀跋陀羅菩薩經) by Nieh Tao-chen of the Western Tsin dynasty, seems to be one of this kind, as it gives an abridged account of its contents. But, in the imperfect translation only the brief prose sections are included and thus it appears in its literary form not identical with this sūtra.

The first formally recognised varied translation of the sūtra was the *Wen-shu-shih-li-fa-yüan-ching* (the *Sūtra of the Vows taken by Mañjuśrī* 文殊師利發願經) made by Buddhabhadra of the Eastern Tsin dynasty. Its Sanskrit text was brought from Khotan by Chi Fa-ling and was translated by Buddhabhadra at the Tao-ch'ang Monastery in the second year of Yüan-shi (420 A.C., see *A Collection of the Records of the Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, fasc. 2).

The second and third varied translations are the *P'u-hsien-p'u-sa-hsing-yüan-wang-ching* (the *Sūtra of Samantabhadra's Majestic Practical Vows* 普賢菩薩行願王經) and the *Ta-fang-kuang-fu-hua-yen-ching-p'u-sa-hsing-yüan- wang-p'in* (*the Chapter on the Bodhisattva's Majestic, Practical Vows in the Buddhāvatamsaka-mahāvaipulya Sūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經菩薩行願王品) discovered at Tun-huang. With regard to the former, there are six manuscript copies kept in the Peking Library; the one which is entered as Chieh (芥) No. 56 containing 103 lines written on four sheets of paper is the best in entirety. According to Ch'en Yüan's *Records of Remnants of the Catastrophe of Tun-huang* (*Tun-huang-chieh-yü-lu* 敦煌劫餘錄) it is a T'ang translation. Compared with two other T'ang translations (made by Prajñā and Amoghavajra), these two versions are both short of the 61st and 62nd ślokas. When checked with the Tibetan translations of the five commentaries on the same sūtra, the only text that contains these two ślokas is the one employed by Śākyamitra in composing his commentary while the earlier commentaries by Nāgārjuna, etc. are without them. These facts naturally lead to the surmise that the original Sanskrit text of the two Tun-huang versions might have been brought to China at an earlier date. Judging from the immature rendering of the language, it may safely be concluded that these two translations were made before the middle of the T'ang dynasty.

Next comes the *P'u-hsien-p'u-sa-hsing-yüan-tsan* (*Hymn of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra's Practical Vows* 普賢菩薩行願讚) translated by Amoghavajra in the T'ang dynasty. The Sanskrit text was brought to China by Amoghavajra himself from Siṃhala (Ceylon) in the fifth year of T'ien pao (747 A.C.) and the translation was made in the twelfth year of the same period (754 A.C.), when he was living in the K'ai-yüan Monastery of Wu-wei. The commentary says that *P'u-hsien-p'u-sa-hsing-yüan-tan* and the *Wen-shu-shih-li-fa-yüan-ching* were both regarded by earlier writers as compositions of the bodhisattva Bhadraśrī. But the commentary, basing its arguments on the translation made in the Chen-yüan period, affirmed them to be sūtras 'spoken by the Buddha'.

The last translation was this *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* which forms the final fascicle of the forty-fascicled version of *Hua-yen-ching*, the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. According to the postscript to the translation, the Sanskrit text of the sūtra was presented by the king of Uḍra (now Orissa of India) in the eleventh year of Chen-yüan (795 A.C.). In the official letter presenting the sūtra he says: "The auspicious, resistless, pure-hearted lion-king of the kingdom of Uḍra in India, firm believer in the supreme Dharma of the Sugata and pious practiser of the supreme doctrine of Mahāyāna, hereby presents to the great, auspicious emperor of the great T'ang of Mahācīna—a copy in his own handwriting of the *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* which is taken out of the 100,000 ślokas of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya Sūtra* and in which is described how Sudhana, as a result of his discipleship to well-informed masters, as numerous as the atoms of the Buddha's land, particularly to the fifty-five saints, entered the inconceivable worlds . . . ." In view of this it is perfectly clear that the *Hua-yen-ching* in 40 fascicles is a part of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in 100,000 ślokas, while the *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* is only a fraction of the part, being the last chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* which constitutes the ninth assembly in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.

The translator of this sūtra, Prajñā (734–?) surnamed Gautama, was a native of Kāpiśa in North India (now Kāfiristān). He studied in the Nālandā monastery, became intimate with many paṇḍits and learned a large number of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna śāstras. Later, he went to the monastery of the king of Uḍra in India and learned from Dharmayaśas the five kinds of esoteric teachings. As he admired Wu-tai-shan which was said to be the place patronized by the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, he brought with him Sanskrit

texts and went by boat to Kuang-chou in the second year of Chien-chung (781 A.C.), when Teh Tsung of the T'ang dynasty was emperor, and in the next year he arrived at Ch'ang-an. Beginning from the second year of Chen-yüan (786 A.C.) he translated the *Mahāyāna-naya-ṣaṭ-pāramitā-sūtra*, etc. In the sixth year of the same period (790 A.C.) he was conferred by royal decree the title of Master of Tripiṭaka. In the eleventh year (795 A.C.) the king of Uḍra presented the Sanskrit text of *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and in the sixth month of the succeeding year Prajñā received the royal order to make the translation in the Ch'ung-fu monastery in Ch'ang-an. The Indian master of Tripiṭaka himself read out the Sanskrit text, Kuang-chi did the oral translation Yüan-chao wrote down the words, Chih-jou and Chih-t'ung arranged their order, Tao-hung and Chian-shu polished the composition, Tao-chang checked and ascertained the meaning, Ta-tung ascertained the theory of *dhyāna*, Ch'ang-kuan and Shu-hsüeh carefully made the final decisions. Yu-chieh-kung-teh-shih, Ho Hsien-ming, Tso-chieh-kung-teh-shin and Tou Wen-ch'ang, who were officials in charge of the affairs concerning monasteries and monks, were special officials in charge of the affairs in connection with the translation. The emperor Teh Tsung personally came to the institute of translation every day ; if occasionally he was unable to come, he would ask to be excused. The translation was finished in the fourteenth year of Chen-yüan (798 A.C.) and presented to the emperor. In the fifth month, Ch'êng-kuan was ordered to make the commentary which he did in ten fascicles. Again he wrote another commentary on *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* in one fascicle. Henceforward this chapter was published as a separate work.

With regard to the commentaries of this sūtra there are five Tibetan translations of the writings of Indian paṇḍits : (1) *Bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po chen-poḥi bśad-sbyar*, written by Nāgārjuna, translated by Thig-ie bum-pa and Blo-ldan śes-rab, 19 pages ; (2) *Kun-du bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi don kun-bsdus*, written by Dignāga, but translator's name unknown, 20 pages ; (3) *Bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi-smon-lam-gyi rgyal-poḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pa*, written by Śākyamitra ; translated by Śākyasiṃha and Dpal brtsegs, 33 pages ; (4) another work with the same title, written by Rgyan-bzaṅ-po, translated by Jñānagarbha and Dpal brtsegs, 18 pages ; (5) *Bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi ḥgrel-pa*, written by Vasubandhu, translated by Ānanda and Bhadrapāla, 16 pages. (The above five works are contained in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, Sde-dge edition, mdo tome Ñi, pp. 163b-269a)

As to the commentaries written in the Chinese language, there are : (1) *A Separate Commentary on the Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* (*Hua-yen-ching-p'u-hsien-hsing-yüan-p'in-pieh-hsing-shu-chioo'* 華嚴經普賢行願品別行疏鈔) in 6 fascicles, with comments by Ch'êng-kuan and annotations by Tsung-mi of the T'ang dynasty ; (2) *An Analysis of the Separate Commentary on the Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* in one fascicle, written by Tsung-mi and rectified by Tsun-shih of the Sung dynasty ; (3) the latter half of the tenth fascicle of the *Commentary on the Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* which denotes the *Hua-yen-ching* in 40 fascicles, written by Ch'eng-kuan ; (4) *The Ways of Cultivation and Realization of Samantabhadra's Practical Vows in Hua-yen-ching* in one fascicle, compiled by Ching-yüan of the Sung dynasty.

Broadly speaking, the contents of the sūtra are identical with those of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. The *Separate Commentary* says : "According to the tradition of the Western Regions, the *Hymns on Samantabhadra's Practical Vows* is the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in its abridged form, while the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra* is the *Hymns of Samantabhadra's Practical Vows* in its enlarged form." Again, it says : the tenet of the sūtra is "the conditional origination of entering the Dharmadhātu and Samantabhadra's Practical Vows." 'Entering' denotes the process of apprehending, understanding, realising and attaining ; 'conditional origination of the Dharmadhātu' is the cosmological outlook conveyed in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*; 'Samantabhadra's Practical Vows' in the broad sense represent the causative deeds and vows common to all Buddhas of the past, present and future times, and the ten great vows enumerated in this sūtra are the essentials. The chief content of the sūtra is to explain that only by cultivating the ten great deeds in accordance with the vows can one realise the conditional origination of the Dharmadhātu and enter it.

The text of the sūtra contains two parts : the prose and the verses. The prose portion begins with a reference to Samantabhadra's verses praising the Buddha's merits which appear in the 39th chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. Sudhana, having asked for elucidation from 53 well-info med teachers, finally paid his visit to the bodhisattva

Samantabhadra, who described for him the wonders of a drop of the sea of the Buddha's merits. After this and at the beginning of this sūtra, the bodhisattva Samantabhadra told Sudhana and many other bodhisattvas that in order to achieve the Buddha's merits one should carry out the ten great vows : (1) to pay homage to all Buddhas, (2) to praise the Tathāgata, (3) to make broad offerings, (4) to confess one's sins so as to eliminate karmic hindrances, (5) to express delight in the merits of others, (6) to request Buddhas to turn the Wheel of the Law, (7) to request the Buddha to stay in the world, (8) always to learn from the Buddha, (9) always to comply with the desires of sentient beings, (10) to have all merits turned toward the goal of supreme enlightenment. The prose portion consists of ten long passages, each explaining the contents of one of the ten vows. It is emphatically urged that the deeds of realising every vow should, in accordance with the Dharmadhātu outlook of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, be extended to the ten directions and the three periods and should be incessant and endless ; and the world of space, the world of sentient beings, the karmas of sentient beings and the torments of sentient beings are cited as examples to show the infinity of the deeds of every vow. In the end the supreme merits of upholding this sūtra are enumerated.

The verse portion of the sūtra is entitled 'the Pure verses expressing Samantabhadra's Majestic Vows'. It consists of 62 stanzas, each stanza consisting of four septa-syllabic lines, thus making a total number of 1,736 syllables. In this connection, different translations vary: the Tsin translation contains only 44 stanzas with 880 characters ; the two versions unearthed in Tun-huang both contain 60 stanzas with 1,680 characters; the translation made by Amoghavajra, in addition to the 62 stanzas corresponding to those of Prajñā's version, contains ten more stanzas uttered by eight great Bodhisattvas (each stanza consisting of four pentasyllabic lines, thus making the total number of 200 syllables and a dhāraṇī for facilitating the fulfilment of Samantabhadra's vows.

The nine stanzas counted from the one that begins with the line 'Even if the Spatial World might come to an end' are not to be found in the Tsin translation ; whereas in the other three varied translations these nine stanzas are put in front of the line 'Mañjuśrī is brave and wise'. This seems to be of the same order as the text of the sūtra on which the five commentaries translated into the Tibetan are based. Therefore their analytic division of the stanzas is different from that of Ch'êng-kuan given in his commentary.

To sum up, this sūtra considers the ten great vows, as those to be explained, realising and entering the Avataṃsaka Dharmadhātu as its chief tenet, the great rapture of benefiting sentient beings as its way of approach, and to be born in the Pure Land as its expedient. The chapter on 'Entering the Dharmadhātu' the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, forms the acme of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* as it summarizes the causes and effects of entering the inconceivable world, while this sūtra is in turn the acme of the chapter on 'Entering the Dharmadhātu'. In Fa-tsang's *Outline of the Meanings of Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-ching-wen-i-kang-mu* 華嚴經文義綱目) he says: "In the past the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* lacked the part for propagation because the text was not brought in its entirety." Now, since this sūtra has its part for propagation, and so far as the drift of the ideas are concerned, it forms a direct continuation of the Chapter on Entering the Dharmadhātu. Therefore, later people put it after the 80th fascicle as the very last fascicle of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.

Before its introduction into China, the sūtra was already widely prevalent in the Western Regions. A note in the third fascicle of the *Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books Compiled in the K'ai-yüan Period* says : "The postscript to the sūtra says that when the four classes of devotees of foreign countries pay salutation to the Buddha they used to recite this sūtra as an expression of their resolution to seek the Dharma." The tenth fascicle of the *Commentary on the Chapter on Samantabhadra's Practical Vows* says that the ten great vows are always made use of in rituals and confessions, but different sūtras and śāstras enumerate them in different ways of grouping. For example, the *Sūtra on the Method of the Worship of the Buddha as asked by the Boddhisattva Vimalajñā*, mentions 8 items, namely, offerings, praising the Buddha's merits, paying homage to the Buddha, confessing one's sins, putting requests to the Buddha, expressing delight in the merits of others, having all merits turned toward the goal of enlightenment and taking vows. Other works either combine paying homage to and praising the Buddha into one and so mention seven items, or cut down offerings so as to make six, or combine taking vows and turning all merits toward enlightenment into one so as to make five (as the *Daśabhūmivibhāṣā-śāstra*), or take off paying-homage-and-praising so as to make four, or again eliminate turning all merits

toward enlightenment so as to make three (as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*), or only retain the two items of confessing sins and turning all merits toward bodhi (as the Earlier Sung Translation of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*).

This sūtra is intimately related to the Tantric school, and nearly all tantric rituals are based on the ten great vows. All the rituals of the Tibetan Tantric school are organized according to the seven items enumerated by Samantabhadra. The nine expedients used in the great Vidhi of Matrix Realm, viz., to make salutations, to confess sins, to take refuge, to give up the body (i.e., to offering), to direct one's mind to enlightenment, i.e., *bodhicitta* (including the ceaseless learning from the Buddha and the ceaseless complying with the desire of sentient beings), to express delight in the merits of others (including praising the Buddha), to request the Buddha to turn the Wheel of the Law, to request the Buddha to stay in the world, to have all merits turned towards enlightenment, these nine include all the ten great vows (*Sanmitsushōryōkan* 三密抄料簡 fasc. 1). The five ways of repentence used in the great Vidhi of Diamond Realm, viz., to pay homage, to confess sin, to express delight in the merits of others, to put request to the Buddha and to turn all merits towards enlightenment, these five are expressive of the same thing. In view of these facts we might safely conclude that the influence of this sūtra on the Tantric school of Buddhism is quite far and wide.

Finally, the idea of turning all merits toward acquiring rebirth in the Pure Land of Amitābha, as expressed in this sūtra, forms a link between the Hua-yen school and the Pure Land school. The five ways of meditating enumerated in the *Treatise of Rebirth in the Pure Land* (*Sukhāvatīvyūhōpadeśa*), viz., paying homage, praising, taking vows, contemplating, and turning towards supreme enlightenment, also include the ten great vows. I-ho (義和), a śramaṇa of the Sung dynasty, inspired by the idea that " Samantabhadra's deeds and vows are the sole ways and means to be reborn to the Land of Amitābha ", in the first year of Ch'ien-tao, 1165 A.C.), collected those passages concerning the method of meditating on the Amitābha Buddha from the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and its different commentaries into a compilation entitled *The Inextinguishable Lamp of the Principles of Meditating on the Amitābha Buddha in the Hua-yen-ching* (*Hua-yen-nien-fu-san-mei-wu-chin-têng* 華嚴念佛三昧無盡燈 see *Classified Essays on the Happy Land*, fasc. 2, *Lo-pang-wen-lei* 樂邦文類). The *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* became in later times an essential work of the Pure Land school and together with the *Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra*, the *Amitāyur-buddha-bhāvanā-sūtra* and the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* formed the four sūtras of the Pure Land school. Besides, all rituals of confession written in Chinese invariably make use of Samantabhadra's ten vows.

The recitation of and the abiding in these vows are now still the daily lesson of all Chinese Buddhist monasteries. The *Separate Commentary* says this sūtra " is the key to the *Hua-yen-ching*, the motive force of cultivation, its text being brief while its meanings are rich : its merits are high and its benefit is wide ; it seems to be simple and easy to understand but its meanings are far-reaching and profound. " This may serve to explain the popularity of this sūtra among Buddhists.

L. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : Ch'êng-kuan, *A Commentary on the Ten Practical Vows of Hua-yen-ching* ; Ch'êng-kuan, *A Separate Commentary on Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna (of Hua-yen-ching)* ; Yüan-chao, *A Continuation of the Catalogue of the Buddhist Sacred Books of the K'ai-yüan Period Compiled in the Chen-yüan Period of the Great T'ang Dynasty*; Yüan-chao, *A Revised Catalogue of the Buddhist Sacred Books Collected in the Chen-yüan Period.*

BHADRACARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-MAHĀRĀJA-NIBANDHANA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Ḥphags-pa bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po chen-poḥi bśad-sbyar*, occurs in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is named as Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), and the translators are, Thig-le bum-pa and Blo-ldan śes-rab (*TM.* No. 4011 ; *TT.* Vol. 105, No. 5512).

The name of the text apparently suggests that it is a discourse written on the noble practice of the great (Tib. *chen-po*) and excellent (Tib. *rgyal-po*) meditation (Tib. *smon-lam*). The work begins with a salutation to the Buddha Samantabhadra (Tib-*Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po*). It consists of ten chapters dealing with a salutation to all the Tathāgatas, paying of homage to them, the explanation of evil (Skt. *pāpa*, Tib. *sdig-pa*), taking delight in doing meritorious and virtuous (Skt. *kuśala*, Tib. *bsod-nams*) deeds, admonitions according to the wheel of the doctrine, entreaty to the Tathāgatas of the past, the cause of happiness, a complete classification of the root of happiness, the good and bad qualities and its comfort and blessing (Tib. *phan-yon*).

The author of this text, before going into the details of the ten chapters, admits that the strength and the ability he obtained in the compilation of

this text, was due to his veneration with body, speech and mind of all the past Buddhas who lived in the four directions (of this world).

I. K.

BHADRACARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-RĀJA, reconstructed title of a text, a translation of which is entitled *Ḥphags-pa bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi-rgyal-po*, occurs in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the Kangyur and in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TM*. Nos. 1095, 4377 ; *TT*. Nos. 716, 5924). Both these texts have their Chinese translations also catalogued in *Nanjio* (Nos. 1142, 1336). The author and the translator are unknown.

The text begins with a salutation to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta, a manifestation of Mañjuśrī who is regarded as the deputy of the third Dhyāni-buddha, Dzin-sten Jung-do. Then it mentions that a person could put an end to all his lust (Skt. *kāma*, Tib. *ḥdod-chags*) and attain the bliss of emancipation by putting into practice the noble deed of meditation. In order to attain that happy goal, the meditator is asked to have implicit faith in the past Buddhas and offer them the best of flowers, sweet smelling, delicious eatables and ghee. He is also instructed to strike the cymbals and burn incense in their honour. The Buddhas are described as those who have gone through several lives and have attained Buddhahood by practising meditation. It says that a person who practises meditation would never be born in an inferior existence.

After praising the virtues of the Buddhas over and over again and giving the advantages of the practice of meditation, the text mentions that one should always try to follow and live according to the doctrine preached by the Buddhas, in order to do away with their defilements and thereby attain the bliss of emancipation. Buddhas are said to have declared that those who do not act according to the doctrine taught by them would never be released from Kroṣamāra (Tib. *ñon-moṅs-bdud*), the demon ruling over sufferings and diseases. Further, it is mentioned that the Buddhas have even tamed the Māras (the evil ones) by the power of their doctrine and made it possible for the nāgas (Tib. *klu*), yakṣas (Tib. *gton-sbyin*) and kumbhaṇḍakas (Tib. *gul-bum*) to cross the ocean of becoming.

I. K.

BHADRACARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-RĀJA-ṬIKĀ, the reconstructed title of two Sanskrit texts, the Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Ḥphags-pa bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi rgyal-paḥi rgyal-cher ḥgrel-pa*, occurs in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The authors are named as Śākyaḥi bśes-gñen (Śākyamitra) and Rgyan bzaṅ-po, and the translators as Śākyasiṃha and Dpal brtsegs, Jñānagarbha and Dpal brtsegs rakṣita, respectively (*TM*. Nos. 4013, 4014 ; *TT*. Vol. 105, Nos. 5514, 5515). Although the latter text bears the same name as the former, it completely differs in its contents. Apparently it is a repetition of the text *Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna mahārāja-nibandhana* (*TT*. No. 5512).

The text begins with a salutation to Mañjuśrīkumāra-bhūta, a manifestation of the third dhyāni-bodhisattva. Thereupon the author describes Mañjuśrī as one incomparable with anyone in the world in body, speech and knowledge, and makes his second salutation to him. The author emphasises that this work, written in verse form, based on the noble practice of meditation and taught by all the Buddhas, should be learnt by all the people.

In the second chapter, the author explains the opportunities on this earth for this sort of meditation-practice and its merit and blessings. Twelve verses are devoted to explain the blessings and the enjoyment of spiritual enlightenment. The first three verses thereof speak of the past Buddhas well known in the ten directions (of the world), and their purification of mind in the attainment of perfect enlightenment. The next three verses teach how to honour those who practise meditation, in order to attain perfect enlightenment. The other six verses are devoted to explain how one could be free from the miseries of Māra, the evil one, the usefulness of the complete eradication of misery, the practices (of meditation) of the bodhisattvas, the consequences of taking delight in sensual pleasures, how to grasp the noble doctrine of the Buddhas and about transmigratory existence (Tib. *Srid-pa*). Among the rest of the contents of this work occur fifteen verses explaining the way of the bodhisattvas, excellent thought and its results, the blessings of meditation and its reactions in the present life (Skt. *drṣṭha-dharma*, Tib. *mthoṅ-waḥi chos*), eight verses dealing with discourses and the spread of the teaching, one verse showing how to honour Mañjuśrī, one verse including the blessings of all the Tathāgatas, three verses explaining how to put an end to the wandering in saṃsāra, etc.

On the whole, the greater part of this work contains a copious explanation of the noble practice of

meditation. The author affirms at the end of the text that this work was compiled in accordance with the teaching of the Śākyan Buddha.

I. K.

BHADRACARYĀPRAṆIDHĀNA-ṬĪKĀ, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Ḥphags-pa bzaṅ-po spyod-paḥi smon-lam-gyi ḥgrel-pa*, occurs in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is unknown. But the translators are named as Ananta (Ānanda) and Bhadrapāla (*TM.* No. 4015 ; *TT.* Vol. 105, No. 5516).

The name of this text suggests that it is a commentary on the work called *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*, which deals with the noble practice of meditation. The author begins the text by saluting all the Tathāgatas. Next he salutes the noble goddess Tārā (Tib. *ḥphags-ma sgrol-ma*), who is said to be saving people from transmigratory existence. The text deals in detail with the ten precise meanings (Skt. *samāsārtha* ; Tib. *bsdus-don*) of the noble practice of meditation, which include homage and offerings to the Buddha, delighting in meritorious deeds, causing the promulgation of the doctrine, aspiration for the release from suffering and development of happiness.

At the end of the work, the author states that he was able to compile this work successfully, as a result of the veneration he made to the Buddhas of the past, present and future, with his body, speech and mind.

I. K.

BHADRAGAKA, the headman of Uruvelakappa, a border town of the Mallas. When the Buddha visited the place, Bhadragaka asked him for a discourse on the origin and cessation of sorrow. The Buddha put to him a number of questions, answering which he was made to realise that attachment is the root of sorrow. Bhadragaka had a son by the name of Ciravāsī (*S.* IV, 327–30 ; var. Bhadraka, Gandhagata, Gandhabhāva). See also BHADRA SUTTA.

L. R. G.

BHADRAGHAṬA JĀTAKA (No. 291: *J.* II, pp. 431–2), related by the Buddha, at Jetavana concerning a nephew of Anāthapiṇḍika, who, having squandered an inheritance of forty crores sought the aid of his uncle. Anāthapiṇḍika helped him several times with various sums of money. Finally Anāthapiṇḍika turned him out of his house. He fell down by a side-wall and died there. Thereupon, Anāthapiṇḍika went to the monastery and related the whole incident to the Buddha. Then the Buddha related this story of the past:

Once, the bodhisatta was born as a son of a very rich merchant and inherited four hundred million pieces of gold which were buried in that house. He performed many meritorious deeds and was born as Sakka. His only son erected a hall across the street and started to drink and make merry with a large number of his friends. In a short period of time, he squandered all his wealth and went about in rags. Sakka, who saw his son's poverty, gave him a wish-conferring vase (*bhadra-ghaṭa*) and asked him to take care of it so that he would have wealth whenever he wanted it. But the youth started to drink again, and one day, when under the influence of liquor, he threw the vase into the air, and it was broken into pieces. Then, he became poor again and, in the end he died by the side of a wall.

The nephew of Anāthapiṇḍika was the one who broke the wish-conferring vase, and the Buddha himself was Sakka at that time.

I. K.

BHADRAGUPTA (1), name of a former Buddha mentioned in a list (*Mhvu.* I, 137) of former Buddhas, under whom Śākyamuni as a bodhisattva acquired merit, while preparing himself for Buddhahood in the eighth bhūmi.

BHADRAGUPTA (2), name of a former Buddha, appearing in a list (*Mhvu.* I, 139) of former Buddhas. As a bodhisattva preparing himself for Buddhahood, Śākyamuni acquired under him much merit in the ninth stage (bhūmi) of preparation.

BHADRAKA, a resident of Ketakareya whose gift of a railing-pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I is recorded on that pillar in a third century B.C. inscription (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 250, 271).

BHADRA-KALPA, a kalpa (aeon), such as the present, in which five Buddhas are to appear in the world. See BHADDA-KAPPA.

BHADRAKALPĀVADĀNA, a sanskrit work belonging to the avadāna type, entirely in verse. Thirty-four avadānas or stories about the past

births of the Buddha are included in this work. The introductory stanzas of the work give an idea of its contents. The career of the Buddha from the time of his renunciation up to the conversion of his first sixty one followers is described. Details are given of his meeting with the Pañcavargīya monks, the events that took place in Kapilavastu after the Buddha left the city, the grief of Yaśodharā, Śuddhodana and others over his departure, the meeting of the Buddha with important individuals and their acceptance of his teaching and their entry into his Order of monks, the meeting of Śuddhodana and the Buddha a few years later, and the Buddha preaching to his father the Dharma, to console him.

In this respect the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* resembles the introductory chapter of the Pali *Mahāvagga*, where details are given of how the Buddha attained enlightenment and then started his mission of preaching to the world at large, going from place to place and gradually adding new members to his Order of monks. It is interesting to note, however, that the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* includes details of some incidents connected with the Buddha's life, which are absent in the Pali *Mahāvagga* and other works dealing with the subject. One such case is the story of Yaśodharā and Devadatta. Devadatta tries his utmost to win over the forsaken wife of the Buddha, and when he fails, he vows vengeance on her. He makes several attempts to take her life, but unsuccessfully. Then he induces his uncle, Śuddhodana, to abdicate in his favour for 21 days promising that during this time he would bring back the Buddha to him. During these twenty-one days, too, he makes a desperate attempt to kill her. At the end of the twenty-one days Devadatta is arrested and imprisoned for failing to fulfil his promise, but he is released through Yaśodharā's intervention. At the end of six years Yaśodharā gives birth to an ugly looking child who is named Virūpa. Devadatta taunts Virūpa saying "Virūpa, do you know your father's name ? The Buddha is gone these twelve years and you are at the age of six." Yaśodharā consoles her son by saying, "Your father is gone in search of a desire-fulfilling elixir. He will soon return and change your ugliness into beauty. Do not believe in what envious Devadatta says to you." Another instance of such varying detail is the story of Rāhula. In this episode, Rāhula, before his conversion, is induced by Śuddhodana to marry. He accordingly marries and has a son, Sakalānanda.

The work is completed in twenty-eight *adhyāyas* (chapters) and contains thirty-four stories or avadānas which are introduced in the course of the narrative to illustrate various points. These stories are met with in earlier collections of avadānas as well as in the Pali jātakas. The author of the work is not known, but at the commencement it is said that these stories were related by Jayaśrī in reply to Jinaśrī who wished to know some of the anecdotes related by the elder Upagupta to king Aśoka. The scene of the second narration is the Bodhimaṇḍa of Buddhagayā.

The text is so far unpublished. The number of ślokas in the extant manuscript, which is in Newārī character, is 7110 (*Bendall*, pp. 88–91 ; Rajendralāl Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1881, pp. 42–9).

W. G. W.

BHADRAKALPIKA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-bh°*), a reconstructed title of an original Sanskrit work, which is found in its Tibetan translation in the Mdo-sde (sūtra) section of the Kangyur (*TM.* No. 94), under the title *Ḥphags-pa bskal-ba bzaṅ-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*TT.* Vol. 27, No. 762). The translation was effected by Vidyākarasiṃha and Dpal-gyi dhyaṅs, and later revised by Ska-ba Dpal-brtsegs.

H. G. A v. Z.

BHADRAKALPIKA SŪTRA, a sūtra found in the *Sūtra-Piṭaka* of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, known in Chinese as 賢劫經 *Hsien-chieh-ching.* It was translated in 300 A. C. by Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the Western Tsin dynasty, 265–317 A. C. (*Nanjio*, No. 403).

BHADRAKĀNTA, name of a nāga king mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (p. 246, line 24 : *BHS.* s.v.).

BHADRAKANYĀ, mother of Maudgalyāyana, the second of the two chief disciples of the Buddha. She is referred to by this name in the *Divyāvadāna*, whereas in Pali literature she is always named Moggalī or Moggallānī. According to the *Divyāvadāna* story, when the Buddha extols the value of children being grateful to their parents, Maudgalyāyana is immediately reminded of his mother whom he discovers to be reborn in a world region (*lokadhātu*) called Marīci. He also saw, with his divine eye, that the Buddha himself had to train her. Hence he requested the Buddha to have compassion on her and to visit her and preach to her along with him. Accordingly, they went there and the Buddha preached to her, whereupon she became

a śrotāpanna. Then, she invited them for the noon-meal and they accepted the invitation. After the meal, too, the Buddha preached to her and thereafter they returned to Jetavana (*Divy.* 52–3).

A. G. S. K.

BHADRA-KAPILĀ, a woman disciple of the Śākyamuni (*DCBT*, p. 392a).

BHADRAKĀRA, son of Vidhura and the eldest brother of Sañjaya and Sambhava (bodhisatta). He is identified with Moggallāna (*J.* V, p. 67).

Once, Dhanañjaya Koravya, the king in the city of Indapatta in the Kuru kingdom, prepared a question on the performance of a spiritual sacrifice (*dhammayāga*), and asked his counsellor Sucīrata, the brāhman, to explain it. He confessed his incompetence to provide the king with an answer, and said that Vidhura would be able to answer him. When with the king's permission Sucīrata went up to Vidhura, he directed him to his eldest son Bhadrakāra and told him that he was more competent than he to answer that question. When Sucīrata went to Bhadrakāra and told him of the purpose of his visit, Bhadrakāra said that he was unable to fulfil his request, since his mind was ill at ease at that moment, because he was intent on an affair with the wife of another man, and he directed Sucīrata to his brother Sañjaya (*J.* V, pp. 57–67).

I. K.

BHADRAKARĀTRĪ, the reconstructed title of two Sanskrit texts, the Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Ḥphags-pa mtshan-mo bzań-po shes-bya-baḥi mdo*, occurs in the *Rgyud* (tantra) and *sna-tshogs* (miscellaneous works) sections of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is unknown. But the translators are known as Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde (*TT*. Vol. 11, No. 599, Vol. 39, No. 979). According to Sde-dge edition, there are three texts by this name (*TM*. Nos. 313, 617, 974). A Chinese translation of the Tibetan text is also available under the title (*Fu-shuo*) *Shan-yeh-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 1362 ; *Nanjio*, No. 500).

The name of the text suggests that it is a sūtra on 'the noble night' which seems to have originated from an incantation. The work begins with a salutation to the Tathāgata and to all the bodhisattvas.

Once, when the Buddha was residing near Rājagṛha in the Bamboo grove, at the Squirrels' feeding ground, there lived on the bank of the river Chu-ta-la-po-ta in Rājagṛha, a certain bhikṣu. One evening, a certain god of fine complexion visited this bhikṣu and, illuminating that whole area with the radiance of his body, asked him whether he knew a sūtra called '*Bhadrakarātrī*'. The bhikṣu admitted his ignorance of that sūtra and directed him to the Buddha. The god failed to go to the Buddha immediately. But the bhikṣu went to him and informed him about the god's visit and his question. Thereupon the Buddha asked the bhikṣu to listen to him attentively and declared that those who follow the doctrine taught in the *Bhadrakarātrī Sūtra* would be devoid of misery and sin and would always be alert and vigilant.

The Buddha after explaining the sūtra on the noble night, which guards human beings against evil or evil spirits that cause accidents, said that it should always be recited (by the people). Then, he recited the mysterious incantation from which this sūtra was originated. At the end of the Buddha's discourse, all the bhikṣus, the gods, the men, the asuras (Tib. *Iha-ma-yin*), the garuṇḍas (Tib. *nam-mkhaḥi-ldin*), the kiṃnaras (Tib. *miḥam-ci*), the mahoragas (the huge gods of the soil of the serpent kind : Tib. to-ḥphye-chen-po), the yakṣas (the deities or demons who haunt the mountains and mountain passes : Tib. *gnod-sbyin*), the blood-thirsty demons (Tib. *Srin-po*) with red necks and eyes who subsist on dead bodies and the pretas (or set of spiritual beings who are condemned to suffer torments of hunger and thirst in the ghost world : Tib. *yi-dwags*), greatly rejoiced.

I. K.

BHADRAKARṆA, name of a yakṣa, mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, 47 (*BHS*. s.v.).

BHADRAKĀ SŪTRA, (var. *Bhadrakā-rātrī*), incorporated in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, *Fu-shuo-shan-yeh-ching* (佛說善夜經 sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the good night), was translated in 701 A. C. by I-tsin of the T'ang dynasty, 618–907 A. C.

Once, a god called Chandana awakened the monks and made them question the Buddha. The Buddha preached this sūtra, together with three spells (*mantras*), in reply to the question put to him (*Nanjio*, No. 500).

S. K. N.

BHADRAMĀYĀKĀRA PARIPṚCCHĀ, (var. *Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṇa*), a sūtra, occurring in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, known as *Shou-huan-shih-po-t'o-lo-chi-hui* (授幻師跋陀羅記會 That spoken at an assembly on giving the prophecy to the magician Bhadra), was translated by Bodhiruci of the T'ang dynasty, 618–907 A. C.

There is an earlier translation of this sūtra, by Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the Western Tsin dynasty, 265–317 A. C. which is known by the same name, or as the *Huan-shih-jên-hsien-ching* (幻士仁賢經 sūtra spoken at the request of the magician Bhadra, *Nanjio*, No. 23 (21), 35).

S. K. N.

BHADRAMĀYĀKĀRA-VYĀKARAṆA, title of a Mahāyāna sūtra. The original Indian text of this sūtra has not yet been found. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka and in the Kangyur the sūtra is classified as No. 21 of the *Ratnakūṭa* section.

There exist two Chinese translations of the *Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṇa* (*Taishō*, No. 324, *Huan-shih-jên-hsien-ching* (幻士仁賢經), ascribed to Dharmarakṣa, Chu-fa-hu, from the time of the Western Chin dynasty (3–4th cent. A.C.) and *Taishō*, No. 310 (21), *Shou-huan-shih-po-t'o-lo-chi-hui* (授幻師跋陀羅記會) made by Bodhiruci of the T'ang dynasty, between 693 and 712. The Tibetan translation has been made by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarma and Ye-śes-sde, in the 9th cent. A.C. All three translations being practically identical, one may assume that the text had its definite form achieved already in the 3rd cent. A.C.

The anecdotal contents of this sūtra are constituted by the story of a juggler, Bhadra, who tried to deceive the Buddha with magical tricks in order to prove that the claim of the Tathāgata to omniscience was false. He created a magical feast in a rubbish hole and invited the Buddha with his disciples. The Buddha saw through this stratagem, but performed such magic that Bhadra could not revoke his charms, was obliged to acknowledge the superiority of the Buddha and was converted.

In Buddhist writings this legend reappears in two other, probably independent, versions. Fragments of a versified paraphrase of the legend of the juggler Bhadra, composed in the *kāvya* style in the Khotanese language have been found in Turfan. In this version Bhadra appears as a member of a plot of heretical leaders among which Pārāśara, Maskarin, Sañjaya and Nirgrantha are named. A rather divergent version is found in Pali, in the commentary to the *Dhammapada* (Norman's Ed. I, 2, pp. 435–45). As in the Khotanese legend the plot is there hatched by the Jains, but in this story there is no trace either of Bhadra or of magical tricks. The Buddha frustrated the stratagem of the Jains who, greatly impressed by this miracle, became *sotāpannas*. The entire story is treated in a commentary to the *Dhammapada* (*vv.* 58, 59).

The *Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṇa* is the only text where the legend of the defeated sorcerer is a canvas on which doctrinal developments are interwoven, especially the doctrine of the *māyā*. Just as the juggler Bhadra has created magically this feast, so illusory is the entire reality," it is said in one of the gāthās. The *māyā* is a phantasmagoria deliberately produced by the Buddha. Thus the Buddha, too, is a magician, but whilst the magical power of Bhadra applies but to a slight part of reality, is *ekadeśa*, and has fraudulent intentions, the magic of the Buddha is universal and has a salutary purpose as it leads beings to salvation. Among other themes developed in the *gāthās* of the *Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṇa* the doctrines of *śūnyavāda*, of *sarvadharmasamatā* and of the *dāna* consisting in the realisation that the phenomenal world is unreal, are particularly underlined. The sūtra contains also a long enumeration of the *dharmas* characterising a bodhisattva. These dharmas are classified in fourfold groups reminding one of similar enumerations in the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, etc.

C. R.

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BHADRAPĀLA (1), a bodhisattva mentioned in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* as heading five hundred bodhisattvas, all of them inflexible in supreme, perfect enlightenment. Earlier he was one of the monks who became irritated and angry, when the bodhisattva Sadāparibhūta declared that he did not feel contempt for anyone. " Why does he declare so, unasked ", they said. " Just by doing so, he shows contempt for us. He renders himself contemptible by predicting our future destiny."

They continued to show their displeasure, to abuse and to insult him. But after hearing his *dharmaparyāya* of the *Saddharmapauṇḍarīka*, they all became his followers and were roused by him to enlightenment (*Sdmp.*319–23). Other references are made in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, 11) and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (311).

U. K.

BHADRA(-PĀLA) (2), the sixth of the sixteen arhats (See *EncyBsm.* II, pp. 48–54).

Bhadra, with his nine hundred attendant arhats, staying mainly in the state, the Chinese name of which is Tan-mo-luo, protects the right doctrine of the Buddha and is of benefit to all beings.

According to *Mochizuki*, the following sentence of the *A-lo-han-chū-tê-ching* (阿羅漢具德經 *Taishō*, Vol. 2,p. 831) indicates this arhat : There is another śrāvaka. Renouncing his high secular position, he wanted to be a monk. The monk Bhadra is this.

His figure differs according to the painters. The picture by Kuan-hsiu (832–912 A.C.)shows Bhadra's figure as sitting on a rock, with his right hand hidden in his robe and his left hand placed on his knee, holding a thread of beads. The picture on the wall of the seventy sixth cave of Tung-huang shows him as sitting cross-legged on a rock, with his right hand raised and his left hand on his knee.

K. Tmr.

BHADRAPĀLA (3), name of a disciple who kept faithfully to his devotions at home during the time of the Buddha (*DCBT.* 444).

BHADRAPĀLA (4), name of the first of the sixteen virtuous men who constituted a very minute fraction of the great congregation assembled at Gṛdhrakūṭa in Rājagṛha to listen to the Śākyamuni preaching the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (*Sdmp.* 2 ; *Rpp.* 2).

BHADRAPĀLA-ŚREṢṬHI-PARIPṚCCHĀ, a sūtra incorporated in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, known by the name 賢護長者會 *Hsien-hu-chang-chê-hui* (That spoken at an assembly on the request of the śreṣṭhin Bhadrapāla), and translated by Jñānagupta of the Sui dynasty, 589–618 A.C.

There is a later translation of this sūtra by Divākara and others of the T'ang dynasty 618–907 A. C. which is known by the same name or as 大乘顯識經 *Ta-ch'êng-hsien-shih-ching* (Sūtra of the Mahāyāna on the explanation of the intellectual knowledge). In this version there is a preface by the empress Wu-tsö-t'ien, 668–705 A.C. of the T'ang dynasty, (*Nanjio*, Nos. 23 (39), 53).

S. K. N.

BHADRAPĀLA SŪTRA (var. *Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva sūtra*), known in Chinese as 拔陂菩薩經 *Pa-p'o p'u-sa-ching* (Sūtra spoken at the request of the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla), occurs in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This was translated by Chih-leu-chia-chan (Lokarakṣa) of the Eastern Han dynasty, 25–220 A.C. and is said to consist of the last four chapters of the sūtra called the *Prayutpanna-buddhasammukhāvasthita-samādhi*, or the *Sūtra on the samādhi called Pratyutpanna*, etc., 般舟三昧經 *Po-chou-san-mei-ching.*

There is an almost similar translation of this sūtra by the name *Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-bhadrapāla-sūtra*, 大方等大集賢護經 *Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-hsien-hu-ching*, which was translated by Jñānagupta, Dharmagupta and others of the Sui dynasty, 586–618 A.C. (*Nanjio*, Nos. 76, 75 and 73).

S. K. N.

BHADRARUCI, a monk of west India, of great subtlety and reasoning. He opposed an arrogant brāhman, who, being defeated, sank alive into hell (*DCBT.* 391b).

BHADRĀSANA, a posture of sitting in which the two legs are represented either as being pendant (*pralamba-pāda*) or with the feet placed on the ground side by side. Though the seated figures of Maitreya are often depicted in this posture, it does not seem to be common in Buddhist iconography. Occasionally, even the Buddha is represented as being seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture (See *Ency-Bsm.* II, Pl. VIII).

As the word *bhadrāsana* already appears in an early Upaniṣad, the practice is considered to have been introduced into Buddhism from ancient Brahmanism (*Sāṇḍilya Upaniṣad*, 1, iii, 8).

According to the *Ching-kang-ting-yu-chia-chung-lüeh-ch'u-nien-sung-ching* (金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 Jap.*Kon-go-cho-yu-ga-chu-ryaku-shutsu-nen-ju-kyō*, *Taishō*, No. 866), in this mode of sitting one faces the west and crouches with the knees touching

each other, without allowing the hip to touch the earth : one sits so in order to practise the *abhicāraka.*

But in the *Chin-kang-ting-yü-chia-hu-mo-i-kuei-* (金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌 Jap. *Kongo-cho-yu-ga-go-ma-gi-ki : Taishō*, Nos. 908 and 909), it is explained that in order to practise *vaśīkaraṇa* one should sit in the *bhadrāsana* posture with the necessary things such as the main object of worship, the fire altar, the robe, the offerings and the incense, all in red colour ; it is the method of sitting on some raised object with the legs hanging down.

Moreover, in the *Ch'i-chu-ti-fu-mu-so-sh'o-chun-t'i-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (七俱胝佛母所說准提陀羅尼經 Jap. *Shichi-gu-tei-butsu-mo-sho-setsu-jun-tei-da-ra-ni-kyo : Taishō*, No. 1076), it is said that in the *bhadrāsana* posture one faces the west and sits with the knees up and the legs touching each other with the red articles mentioned above. See ĀSANA.

S.Mo.

BHADRASENA, a general of Māra who speaks of the immense powers of the Buddha and the definite defeat of Māra in the latter's struggle against the former (*Lal.* 230).

BHADRAŚRĪ (1), a Buddha who belongs to the group of 'Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession' (*Śikṣ.* p. 169). See AMOGHADARŚIN (1).

BHADRAŚRĪ (2), name of two lay disciples, one a male and the other a female. When Mañjuśrī visited the town of Dhanyākara, two groups of lay disciples—one of males led by the Upāsaka Mahāprajña and the other of females led by the Upāsikā Mahāprajñā—went to see him, and two prominent people in these two groups had the identical name, Bhadraśrī (*Gvyu.* 51. 11 ; 51. 16).

W. G. W.

BHADRAŚRĪMERUTEJA(S), a Tathāgata, propitiated by the night-goddess Sarvanagararakṣāsambhavatejaḥśrī (*Gvyū.* 311).

BHADRA SUTTA (var. Bhagandha ; Haṭṭhaha). The Buddha was once staying at Uruvelakappa, a border town of the Mallas, when he was visited by Bhadragaka, the headman, who requested the Buddha to preach to him on the origin and cessation of sorrow. The Buddha proceeded to explain this in the most practical manner. The past and the future he avoided, for the reason that Bhadragaka would not readily understand it. He began with the present, taking an example from everyday life. To a series of questions put by the Buddha, Bhadragaka replied that he would be grieved by the death and suffering that came to people whom he knew in Uruvelakappa, but would not be affected if such fate befell people unknown to him. The answer comes from the headman himself that it is because of the attachment he has for the people known to him that sorrow arises in him at their misfortunes. The headman further admits that he often suffers from anxiety about the safety of his son Ciravāsī who lives away from him. Before marriage and before he had met his wife he would not have been grieved by any harm that befell her, but now he would be greatly disturbed. He thus realises that the root of sorrow is in desire and longing. The Buddha concludes his discourse that this would apply also to whatever sorrow has arisen in the past and whatever sorrow will arise in the future. Desire is the root of all sorrow (*S.* IV, 327–30). The commentary sums up this sutta as discussing the sorrows of *saṃsāra* (*vaṭṭadukkha* : *SA.* III, 103).

L. R. G.

BHADRĀSVA, name of a country close to Mathurā in north India, which the Buddha visited along with Ānanda. After going there, the Buddha explained to Ānanda that that locality was called Bhadrāsva because the king Mahāsammata obtained his most valuable (*bhadra*) horse (*aśvaratna*) from that region (*GM.* III, i, p. 3).

A. G. S. K.

BHADRATA NĀGILA, name of a donor appearing in an inscription on the eastern gateway of the Sāñcī stūpa I (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 263).

BHADRATA VĀÑJUKA, a donor of a colonnade to the Sāñcī stūpa I, mentioned on that colonnade in a third century B.C. inscription (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 253, 271).

BHADRATEJA(S), a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 139), while preparing himself for Buddhahood.

BHADRAVANASAṆḌA, a grove near the bodhi-tree, where the Buddha attained enlightenment. On his way to the bodhi-tree, the Buddha spent the

afternoon in this grove, after partaking of the meal of milk-rice offered to him by Sujātā (*SnA.* II, p. 391).

BHADRAVARGIYA, the group-name of the five first disciples of the Buddha. See PAÑCA-VAGGIYA.

BHADRĀVUDHA, a brāhman ascetic who later became an arahant thera. He was one of the sixteen disciples of Bāvarī who at his request visited the Buddha at Pāsāṇaka Cetiya in Rājagaha (*Pārāyana Vagga, Sn. vv.* 976 ff.). The question asked by Bhadrāvudha and the Buddha's reply are given in the *Bhadrāvudhamāṇavapucchā* (*Sn. vv.* 1101–1104). After hearing the Buddha preach, Bhadrāvudha and his following of a thousand attained arahantship. They received ordination forthwith (*Sn.* 604 ; *AA.* I, 337).

In the time of Kassapa Buddha, Bhadrāvudha had been a carpenter—one of the sixteen assistants of Bāvarī who was then the chief carpenter. Later, when their chief became king under the name of Kaṭṭhavāhana, Bhadrāvudha was made one of his sixteen ministers. Although he was unable to see Buddha Kassapa, for the Buddha had passed away before he arrived in Bārāṇasī, he entered the Saṅgha with his following of a thousand. After death he was reborn in the kāmāvacaradeva world as a companion of Kaṭṭhavāhana who was himself reborn there and there they remained until the time of Buddha Gotama (*SnA.* 575 ff.).

See N. A. Jayawickrama, 'The Sutta Nipāta : Pucchās of the Pārāyana Vagga' in *UCR.* IX, 1 (Jan. '51), pp. 61 f. where the author doubts whether Bhadrāvudha was a brāhman and further states that Bhadrāvudha is a Ksatriya name. (var. Bhadrāvuddha, Bhadrāvuta, Bhadrāyudha).

L. R. G.

BHADRĀVUDHAMĀṆAVA-PUCCHĀ, the twelfth *pucchā* (question) in the *Pārāyana-vagga* (*Sn. vv.* 1101–1104). It contains Bhadrāvudha's question to the Buddha and the Buddha's answer. Bhadrāvudha asks the Buddha to preach to him on the doctrine. The Buddha speaks on the dangers of craving : Māra follows the man who hankers after things. Therefore, should a bhikkhu cling to nothing at all in this world. This *pucchā* is commented on at *SnA.* II, 598 f. *Nd.* II, 36 f; *NdA.* II, 47 f.

The commentary tells us that after hearing the Buddha's words Bhadrāvudha with his following of a thousand pupils attained arahantship (*SnA.* 604 ; *AA.* I, 337 ; *NdA.* II, 48).

In the commentarial literature this *pucchā* is also referred to as *Bhadrāvudhapañha* (*Nd.* II, intro. p. xxi) and as *Bhadrāvudhasutta* (*SnA.* II, 598 f. ; *NdA.* II, 47 f.). var. *Bhadrāvuda-māṇavaka-pucchā.* See also PĀRĀYANA VAGGA.

L. R. G.

BHADRAYĀNĪYA, the second school which branched off from the Vātsīputriyas (Vajjiputtakas) after the Dharmottarīyas (Dhammuttariyas). According to the tradition of north-west India, this school made its apperance towards the middle of the third century after the Buddha's Parinibbāna. Bhavya explains their name as those whose journey (*yāna*) is auspicious (*bhadra*) ; but according to K'uei-chi, Bhadra would have been the name of the teacher of that school, while *yāna* would signify his following. This latter interpretation is based on the tradition followed by Hsüan-tsang : spiritual descendents of the arahant Bhadra.

Paramārtha relates how the Bhadrayānīyas were one of the four schools which completed the *Abhidharma-Piṭaka* of the Vātsīputrīyas which is also called the *Sārīputrābhidharma* or the *Dharma-lakṣaṇābhidharma* in nine parts by means of commentarial treatises (*śāstra*) based on the meaning of the sūtras (see further, Demiéville : *Origine des sectes bouddhiques*, pp. 23 and 58).

The tradition of the Sammatīyas, as quoted by Bhavya, places them along with the Dharmottarīyas in the sub-group of the Mahāgiriyas, i.e., those who resided in the great mountains. Inscriptions of the second century A.C. prove their presence in Nāsik and Kanheri in the mountain ranges of the Bombay region (Hultzsch : *EI.* VIII, 61–62, 67), which are no doubt the Mahāgiri referred to.

Little is known of their specific teaching. According to Bhavya, they maintained the same thesis as the Dharmottarīyas, viz. : In birth (*jāti*) there is ignorance (*avidyā*) and the arising thereof : in cessation (*nirodha*) there is ignorance and the cessation thereof.

According to Vasumitra they had an interpretation of their own of the following stanza:

" Being already freed, one chooses again.
The fall comes from lust; again one returns.
To have attained the place of joyful calm, that is happiness.
If one follows the practices of happiness, that is perfect bliss. "

K'uei-chi in his commentary explains the views of the Bhadrayānīyas in this regard as follows: the first two lines apply to the arhant who, therefore, may fall back; the third line concerns pratyeka-buddhas; and the last line refers to the Buddhas.

The *Kathāvatthu* attributes to them the thesis that realisation of the Four Truths and of the fruits of sainthood is progressive (*anupubbena*: *Kvu*. ii 9).

A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Andre Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques du petit Véhicule*; Paul Demiéville, *Origine des Sectes bouddhiques*.

BHADRIKA (1), a pratyeka-buddha whom Yaśoda served with meals at his residence in Bārāṇasī. He made a vow that, as a result of his action, he should be reborn in a rich family. Being aware of this vow, the pratyeka-buddha departed through the air. Seeing this, Yaśoda made another vow that he would possess the same qualities as the pratyeka-buddha did (*Mhuv*. III, 414). See YAŚODA.

U. K.

BHADRIKA (2), one of the five Bhadravargiya monks. See PAÑCAVAGGIYA.

BHADRIKA (3), a Śākyan youth usually associated with Aniruddha and Mahānāma (*Lal*. 165; *BB*. XIII, 52). He was the chief of five hundred Śākyan youths who entered the order of monks on the Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu, the capital city of the Śākya territory. Among them were Aniruddha, Revata and Devadatta. Soon afterwards he became an arhant. Seated under a tree in a lonely spot, he thought that when he was ruling his principality he was well protected, yet was ever fearful and nervous, whereas now, having renounced all, he was free from all fear (*Avś*. 225).

Once upon a time he was born very poor and became a beggar. A pancake he received from a girl was offered by him to a pratyeka-buddha with the result that he was born in a Śākyan family during the time of Gautama Buddha. Earlier he had entered the Order under Kāśyapa Buddha and led the noble life (*brahmacaryā*) for ten thousand years. As a result, he became an arhant in the time of Gautama Buddha (*Avś*. 226). According to the *Ārya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, he was one of the eighty chief disciples (*mahā śrāvaka*) of the Buddha (*Mmk*. 64). See KĀḶĪ-GODHĀPUTTA.

U. K.

BHADRIKA (4), name of a yakṣa, referred to in the *Mahāmāyūrī* 66, as living at Bhadrikā (*BHS*. s. v.).

BHADRIKA (5), Pali: Bhaddiya, a city in Aṅga country mentioned in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* (*Kvbh*. 68). See BHADDIYA (8).

BHADRIKĀ, a city or a locality where the yakṣa Bhadrika (4) lives, as mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*JAs*., 1915, No. 1, p. 48).

BHADRIYA, the son of the emancipated Yugaprajñaka and the donor of a railing-pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I. His gift is recorded on that pillar in a third century B.C. inscription (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 255, 271).

BHADROTTAMĀ, a lay woman disciple (*upāsikā*), who lived in the city of Vartanaka in the district of Kevalaka of the Magadha country.

A banker, named Śilpābhijña, advises Sudhana, who is intent upon attaining enlightenment, but does not know the path leading thereto, to go to Bhadrottamā and ask her how a bodhisattva should train himself. Sudhana does so, whereupon she denies any knowledge of the career a bodhisattva should adopt, and refers him to a goldsmith called Muktāsāra living in the city of Bharukacchā of the Deccan (*Gvyū*. 451-52).

U. K.

BHAGA (1), from the root *bhaj*, with different shades of meanings, amongst: to divide, to bestow, to enjoy, to possess, to adore. Besides these meanings *bhaga* in Sanskrit denotes also the female

organ. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of a particular deity called Bhaga, the bountiful god or the god of fortune. *Bhaga* seems also to indicate that particular disposition which produces in a woman luck in marriage, for a man success in his daily affairs.

Though there is no god by the name of Bhaga in Buddhism, the term occurs in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist literature in the compounded form *bhagavant*, a common epithet of the Buddha, meaning the adorable one, the fortunate one. Later, in tantric Buddhism this epithet is interpreted differently. The *Hevajra tantra* (I, p. 16, *v.* 15) says that the Buddha is called *bhagavat* because he possesses the six blessings, namely, lordliness (*aiśvarya*), energy (*vīrya*), fame (*yaśas*), wealth (*śrī*), widsom (*jñāna*) and detachment (*vairāgya*). According to another interpretation, this epithet is applied to the Buddha, because he destroys (*bhañjanāt*) defilements, Māra and so on. This interpretation is based on the wrong assumption that *bhaga* is derived from the root *bhañj*, to break. Further, *bhaga* is called the destroyer (*bhañjana*), for it destroys all defilements. Wisdom (*prajñā*) is also considered to be the destroyer of defilements. Because of the similarity of functions, *prajñā* and *bhaga* were treated as being identical. This led to an important change for it brought in to the forefront the other meaning of the term *bhaga*, i.e., the female organ (see S. B. Das Gupta, *An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 79).

Prajñā in tantric Buddhism is treated as the female principle. When *bhaga* and *prajñā* were considered as identical *bhaga* came to denote the female organ. Thus, *prajñā* is described as the female organ and *upāya*, the male principle, as the male organ. *Prajñā* is called the female organ because it is the abode of all pleasuros which give great bliss (*mahāsukha* : Das Gupta, op. cit. p. 115).

The term occurs also in the phrase *vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu*, found in the set introductory formula of tantric *saṅgīti* literature which reads *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmiṃ samaye bhagavan sarva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-hṛdaya-vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu vijahāra* and which is normally translated as : " Thus I have heard : once the Lord sported in the *knowledge* arising out of the body, speech and mind of all the Tathāgatas. " Here too, the term is explained in numerous ways. Some take it to mean the six blessings. In the *Guhya-siddhi*, Padmavajra takes the two syllables *bha-ga* to denote everything that is established in *prajñā* and he calls it the absolute truth. Sometimes, *bhaga* in *vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu* is explained as the non-constructive omniscience (*nirvikalpa-sarvajña-jñāna*) which is condensed into a lump (*piṇḍīkṛta*) in the form of void element (*kha-dhātu*). This void element or *śūnyatā* is again nothing else but *prajñā* (see Das Gupta, op. cit. p. 120). Side by side with such philosophical interpretations, *bhaga* in this particular case was also explained as the female organ.

S. K. N.

BHAGA (2), name of an ascetic under whom the Śākyamuni practised the austere life (*DCBT*. p. 391).

BHAGALAVATĪ, assembly hall (*sabhā*) of the yakkhas in Uttarakuru (*D*. III, 201). The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* describes it as a jewelled pavilion (*ratana-maṇḍapa*) situated on the banks of the Dharaṇī lake and surrounded by a creeper named Bhagalavatī (*DA*. III, 967), hence, probably, its name. The *Suttanipāta* commentary makes mention of a mountain called Bhagalavatī in the Himālayas where the devas assemble every month for eight days in order to settle matters. The yakkha leaders also attend these assemblies (*SnA*. I, 197).

U. K.

BHAGAVĀ, the Blessed One, is an epithet of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa says that *bhagavā* is a term signifying the respect and veneration accorded to the Buddha as the highest of all beings and distinguished by his special qualities, and quotes the Ancients (*Porāṇā*) as saying that *bhagavā* is the best of words, the finest word ; he is called *bhagavā* because 'he deserves awe and veneration', (*Vism.* 173). It is not a name given him by anybody, but is derived from his final liberation, together with the acquisition of omniscience at the foot of the Bodhi tree (*Vism.* 173 ; *Ps.* I, 174 ; *Nd.* I, 143 ; *Nd.* II, 216).

Buddhaghosa continues to explain the word in many ways. The Buddha is the revered one (*garu*), has blessings (*bhagī*), is a frequenter (*bhajī*) and a possessor (*bhāgī*) of what has been analysed (*vibhattavā*) ; he has caused abolishing (*bhagga*), he is fortunate (*bhāgyavā*), he has fully developed himself (*subhāvitattano*) in many ways, and he has gone to the end of becoming (*bhavantago*) ; thus, he is called " Blessed " (*bhagavā* ; Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 225 ; *Vism.* vii. § 56).

He gives six more reasons why Buddha is called *bhagavā*, and explains them in detail : they are that " he is fortunate (*bhāgyavā*), possessed of enlightenment (*bhaggavā*), associated with blessings (*bhagehi yutto*), possessor of what has been analysed

(*vibhattavā*), has frequented (*bhattavā*) and has rejected going in becoming (*bhavesu vantagamano*), thus, he is Blessed (*bhagavā* : Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, op. cit. p. 226 ; *Vism.* vii. § 57).

The Buddha can be called, ' fortunate ' (*bhāgyavā*) owing to his having the fortune (*bhāgya*) to have reached the perfection in generosity and virtue that produce mundane and supramundane bliss (ibid. 173).

He can also be called ' possessed of abolishment ' (*bhaggavā*) on account of the fact that he has abolished all the hundred thousand kinds of trouble, anxiety and defilement classed as greed, hate and delusion, misdirected attention, conscientiouslessness and shamelessness, anger and enmity, contempt and domineering, envy and avarice, deceit and fraud, obduracy and presumption, pride and haughtiness, vanity and negligence, craving and ignorance, three unwholesome roots, misconduct, defilements, stains, fictitious perceptions, applied thoughts and diversifications, four types of perversion, cankers, ties, floods, bonds, bad ways and clingings, five wildernesses in the heart, shackles in the heart, hindrances, six roots of discord, seven inherent tendencies, eight kinds of wrong, nine things rooted in craving, ten courses of unwholesome action, sixty-two kinds of false views, a hundred and eight ways of behaviour of craving—or in brief, the five Māras, namely, the Māra of defilement, of the aggregates, and of formations, Māra as deity and Māra as death.

By his being fortunate (*bhāgyavantatā*) is indicated the perfection of his material body which bears a hundred characteristics of merit ; and by his having abolished defects (*bhaggadosatā*) is indicated the perfection of the *dhamma*-body. Likewise, by his being fortunate is indicated the esteem of wordly people ; and by his having abolished defects, the esteem of those who had gone beyond the world. And by his being fortunate is also indicated that he is fit to be relied on by laymen ; and by his having abolished defects that he is fit to be relied on by those gone forth into homelessness ; and when both have relied on him they acquire relief from bodily and mental pain, and they are rendered capable of finding both mundane and supramundane bliss (ibid. 174).

He is also called *bhagavā* because he is associated with blessings (*bhagehi yuttavā*). The word *bhaga* is used for six things, namely, lordship, *dhamma*, fame, glory, wish and endeavour. The Buddha has supreme lordship over his own mind, he has, complete in all aspects, that kind of *dhamma* which is reckoned as mundane and also, supreme *dhamma* ; he has his exceedingly pure fame spread through the three worlds, acquired through the special quality of veracity; he has glory in all his limbs, perfect, in every aspect, which is capable of giving joy to the eyes of people eager to see his physical body ; he has also his wish, in other words, the production of what is wanted, since whatever is wanted and needed by him as beneficial to himself is then and there produced for him ; he has also the endeavour, the right effort, which is the reason why the whole world venerates him (ibid. 174).

He is called *bhagavā* because he possesses what has been analysed (*vibhattavā*) ; he has analysed and clarified all states into three classes : wholesome, unwholesome and undetermined, and also into such classes as aggregates, bases, elements, truths, faculties, conditioned origination, etc. (ibid. 174-175).

Again, he is called *bhagavā* because he has frequented (*bhattavā*), cultivated and repeatedly practised the states which are mundane and supramundane.

He is also called *bhagavā* as he has rejected wandering through *saṃsāra* (*bhavesu vanta-gamano* : ibid. 175).

Buddhaghosa gives a rather fantastic explanation of the word *bhagavā*. He takes the syllables *bha* from the word *bhava* and *ga* from *gamana*, and *va* from *vanta* with the letter *a* in *va* lengthened, and connects them to read *bhagavā* (ibid. 175).

The *Niddesas* give a simple explanation of the word *bhagavā*. It says that the Buddha is called *bhagavā* because he has destroyed greed (*rāga*), hate (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*), false views (*diṭṭhi*), obstructions (*kaṇṭaka*), and defilements (*kilesa*) ; because he has analysed the Dhamma, put an end to becoming (*bhava*), developed body (*kāya*), virtue (*sīla*), mind (*citta*), and wisdom (*paññā*) ; because he lives in forests, is fit to possess the four requisites (*parikhāra*) of a recluse ; he possesses the taste (*rasa*) of meaning (*attha*), that of *dhamma*, of release (*vimutti*) ; he possesses higher virtue (*adhisīla*), concentration (*adhicitta*) and wisdom (*adhipaññā*) ; also because he is possessed of four mental absorptions (*jhāna*), four immeasurables (*appamañña*), four formless attainments (*arūpasamāpatti*), eightfold emancipation (*aṭṭha vimokkha*), eight stages of mastery (*abhibhāyatana*) and nine attainments (*anupubba-vihāra-samāpatti*). He has developed his mind on ten perceptions (*saññā-bhāvanā*), ten *kasiṇas*, mindfulness with regard to in-and out-breathing practice (*ānāpānasati*), concentration on

loathsomeness (*asubha-samāpatti*), fourfold mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), fourfold right striving (*sammappadhāna*), fourfold bases of psychic powers (*iddhipāda*), five faculties (*indriya*), five powers (*bala*), seven limbs of wisdom ((*bojjhaṅga*), noble eightfold path (*aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*), ten powers of a Tathāgata (*tathāgata-bala*), fourfold self-confidence (*vesārajja*), fourfold analytic knowledge (*paṭisambhidā*) and the sixfold higher knowledge (*abhiññā*: *Nd.* I, 142-143; *Nd.* II, 215–216).

U. K.

BHAGAVACCHĀKYAMUNI-STOTRA, the reconstructed title of a text, a Tibetan translation of which is entitled *Bcom–ldan-ḥdas Śākya-thub-paḥi bstod-pa* (*TM.* No 1552; *TT.* No. 2043). It occurs in the *Bstod-tshogs* (stotra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is known as Dkon-mchog gsum-gyi ḥbaṅs (Triratnadāsa), but the name of the translator is not known.

The entire text is an eulogy of the Śākya Buddha (Gotama). The work begins and ends with a salutation to the Triple Gem. The author addresses the Buddha in the first person singular.

He Says, 'I worship thee who has been a lamp unto the whole world.' By way of admonition, the Buddha is said to have brought discipline and happiness to the people and with his directions he dispelled their darkness (ignorance) and discarded their afflictions (Tib. *ñon-moṅs*). He is said to have preached the dharma avoiding both extremes (Tib. *mthaḥ-gñis*), namely, immortality (Tib. *ṛtag-pa*) and total annihilation (Tib. *chad-pa*), showed them life to be like a mirage (Skt. *marīcikā*, Tib. *smig-rgyu*) and taught them how to put an end to 'becoming'.

Śākya Buddha was an eloquent speaker and an incomparable logician. He is referred to as the greatest arhat who, through the power of his perception, understood the voidness of life and, having discarded all his passions, attained the bliss of emancipation. There was no one in the three worlds who could be compared to him in compassion (Tib. *thugs-rje*) and in generosity.

He is called the Daśabaladhārin who was honoured by the gods, the men and the nāgas. Lastly, he has been compared, in his quality of firmness, to the mountain Sumeru which is supposed to be the king of mountains and the centre of the world, and to the Buddhist folded flag or emblem of conquest having a diamond for its ensign (Skt. *vajraketu*, Tib. *rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan*).

I. K.

BHAGAVACCHRĪ-CAKRASAMBARA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI, the reconstructed title of two Sanskrit texts, the Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas dpal bde-mchog ḥkhor-loḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga*, occurs in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The first text was compiled by Brtul-shugs spyod-pa nag-po (Vratacaryākṛṣṇa), translated by Buddhaśrīśānti and Rinchen bzaṅ-po and revised by Gayadhara and Lha-btsas. The second text was compiled by Nag-po (Kṛṣṇa), translated by Dharmaśrībhadra and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and revised by Sumatikīrti and Chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug (*TT.* Vol. 51, Nos. 2163, 2164; *TM.* No. 1446).

The work begins with a salutation to the victorious Śrīvajra (Tib. *dpal-rdo-rje*). Then, the author worships the twenty-four incomparable and terrifying deities (of the Bon and Tantric Schools: Tib. *khrug-ḥthuṅ*). This text expounds the procedure of drawing a magic circle (maṇḍala) for the worship of the victorious deity Śambara of blue complexion. The entire text is written in verse form.

I. K.

BHAGAVACCHRĪ-CAKRA-SAMBARA-SĀDHANA-RATNA-CŪḌĀMAṆI-NĀMA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas dpal ḥkhor-lo bde-mchog-gi sgrub-thabs rin-po-che gtsug-gi nor-bu shes-bya-ba*, occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The authorship of this work is credited to La-ba-pa (Kambala) and the translation is attributed to Chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug and Sumatikīrti (*TM.* No. 1443; *TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2160; *Cordier*, II, p. 36).

The text which begins with a salutation to the god Śrīvajra, deals with the method of effecting the propitiation of the deity Sambara. The author states that he would set out the Sādhana as taught by the lamas and he gives instructions accordingly.

The worshipper is asked to meditate on Sambara whose form is described. The four-faced and twelve-armed god, blue in colour, sits in the Ālīḍha attitude on the prostrate forms of Bhairava and Kālarātrī. With his first pair of right hands he carries the vajra and vajra-marked bell (Tib. *dril-bu*), and embraces Vajravārāhī (Tib. *Rdo-rje phag-mo*), who is believed to have a hundred thousand ḍākinī followers and is said to be possessed of supernatural powers. With the second pair of right hands he carries the skin of a white elephant from which blood trickles down. With the other

pair of right hands he holds a hand drum (Skt. *damaru*, Tib. *can-teḥu*), an axe, a sharp instrument (Skt. *kartari*) and a trident. His four left hands show a vajra-marked staff with a skull at the top (Skt. *khaṭvāṅga*), a skull-cup full of blood (Tib. *thoṅ-khrag*), the vajra-marked noose and the severed head of Brahmā. This god is said to be another form of the god Heruka.

I. K.

BHAGAVACCHRĪ-MAHĀSUKHAVAJRASATTVA-SĀDHANA, a sādhana which deals with the procedure of propitiating the god Mahāsukhavajrasattva. The author begins the text with a salutation to Śrīvajra and then worships Mahāsukhavajrasattva three times.

The worshipper is asked to worship this god with a happy mind. Several mantras are included in the procedure of propitiating him.

The author of this sādhana is mentioned as Thu-bo Rājahasti. The translator is unknown. It is included in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur under the title *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas dpal bde-ba chen-po rdo-rje-sems dpaḥi sgrub-thubs* (*TM*. No. 1681 ; *Cordier*, II, p. 160 ; *TT*. Vol. 59, No. 2553).

I. K.

BHAGAVAD-ABHISAMAYA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the two Tibetan texts, the *Dpal bcom-ldan-ḥdas mṅon-par-rtogs-pa ches-bya-ba*, attributed to Lūyi-pa and Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes, respectively. While the first text was translated into Tibetan by Śraddhākaravarma and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, the second was translated by Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. Although the first text was revised by Nabakoṭipāda and Hgos Lhas-btsas and was revised for the second time by Dānaśīla, the second text was not revised at all. According to the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, there is only one text under this name in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2144), while the *Sde-dge* edition mentions two (*TM*. Nos. 1427 ; 1492).

The author begins the text with a salutation to Śrīvajrasattva and says that the meditator should first contemplate for a while the four divine states of the mind (*brahmavihāra*), namely, love (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), kindliness (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekṣā*). Thereupon, the five sensorial aggregates (Skt. *skandha* ; Tib. *phuṅ-po*) which condition the appearance of life in any form are symbolised with five gods as follows : Vairocana (Tib. *rnam-par snaṅ-mdsad*) with material qualities (Skt. *rūpa* ; Tib. *gzugs*), Vajrasūrya (Tib. *rdo-rje-ñi-ma*) with feeling (Skt. *vedanā* ; Tib. *tshor-ba*), Padmagar (Tib. *pad-ma-gar*) with perception (Skt. *saṃjñā* ; Tib. *ḥdu-ces*), and Vajrarāja (Tib. *rdo- rje rgyal-po*) with the principle of conciousness (Skt. *vijñāna* ; Tib. *rnam-pa ces-pa*).

All these five gods are said to have resembled in their natural dispositions (Tib. *raṅ-bshin*) Heruka, the terrific manifestation of the chief Tantric god Sambara. Then the author describes the physique of Heruka in the following manner. His pair of eyes burns with ignorance (Skt. *moha* ; Tib. *gti-mug*), his ears burn with anger (Tib. *she-sdaṅ*), his nose with avarice (Tib. *ser-na*) etc. and they are compared to Indra's thunder bolt. Then follows a description of the six elements : earth (Tib. *sa*), air (Tib. *rluṅ*), fire (Tib. *me*), water (Tib. *chu*), the heavenly ether (Tib. *nam-mkhaḥ khams*) and the physical substance of the mind (Tib. *nam-shes*). The descriptions are followed by a mantra that has to be recited by the meditator.

I. K.

BHAGAVAD-AMITĀBHA - DHĀRAṆĪ - MANTRA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas snaṅ-ba mthaḥ-yas-kyi gzuṅs sṅags*, occurs in the *Rgyud ḥbum* (100,000 tantra) section and in the *Gzuṅs ḥdus* (dhāraṇī) section of the Tibetan Kangyur (*TM*. Nos. 677, 864 ; *TT*. Nos. 153, 489). The author and the translator are unkonwn.

The work, which begins with a salutation to Amitābha Buddha, who is referred to as being one who has attained the first stage of the bodhisattva-perfections (Tib. *dgra-bcom-pa*), the most perfect teacher and enlightened one, mentions a spell which is one hundred and thousand kalpas (a measure of time) old, and which has to be repeated three times. It says that, by the power of this spell, one could put an end to all defilements (Tib. *sgrob-pa*), either moral or mental. The spell is as follows : *amite amitodbhave amitasambhave amitaba krin taṁ kare, amitaggana kārati kare, sarva kleśa kṣayaṃ kāri svāhā*.

After saluting Amitābha Buddha for the second time, the latter part of the spell which runs as follows : *namaḥ ratnatrayāya mahā mahī duhī ke svāhā*, has to be repeated twice. Then it is mentioned that the reciter of this spell would lead a happy life, devoid of illness.

I. K.

BHAGAVAD-APARAMITĀYUR-JÑĀNA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Bcom-Idan-ldas tshe-dan ye-śes dpag-tu-med-paḥi dkyil- ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga shes-bya-ba,* incorporated in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. Ye-śes-kyi mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma grub-paḥi rgyal-mo (Jñānaḍākinī Siddharājñī) is said to be the author of this work and the translator is unknown (*TT.* Vol. 86, No. 4888; *TM.* No. 2146; *Cordier,* II, p. 197).

The author begins his work with a salutation to the Buddha Aparimitāyus (Tib. *tshe-dpag-tu-med-pa*). The procedure to be adopted in the preparation of the magic circle (Skt. *maṇḍala,* Tib. *dkyil-ḥkhor*) in propitiating Aparimitāyus, forms the contents of the work. The author says that the person who prepares the magic circle would see in his dreams, in their bodily forms (Tib. *dṅos-su*), the gods from whom he should apparently receive the injunctions. Thereupon he is asked to obtain the permission of the lamas in order to carry out his propitiation.

I. K.

BHAGAVAD-ĀRYAMAÑJUŚRĪ-SĀDIṢṬHĀNASTUTI, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas ḥphags-pa ḥjam-dpal-gyi bstod-pa byin-rlabs dan-bcas-pa,* occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is Candragomin and the translators are Sumatikīrti, Blo-ldan ses-rab and Mar-pa Chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug (*TM.* No. 2710; *TT.* No. 3534).

The entire text is an eulogy of the Buddha Mañjuśrī. The work begins and ends with a salutation to him. The author refers to this Buddha as Mañjughoṣa (the soft-voiced one), and mentions that he is praised by tens of millions (of people) living in the ten directions (of the world).

According to the author of this work, Mañjuśrī possesses a handsome and a well proportionate physique which is adorned with a number of ornaments. He is resplendent and charming like a young prince with a pair of golden ear-ornaments which he wears on the tip or on the upper lap of his ears, and a half length string of pearls round his neck. His beautiful, blue complexion is like that of (the blue water of) a pond (Skt. *puṣkariṇī*: Tib. *rdsiṅ-bu*), and his body is annointed with excellent sweet smelling incense. His fame has spread in all the four directions (of the world). He is referred to as being even more beautiful than the moon which appears in a dark night during autumn. The odour (Tib. *drī*) that emanates from his body is said to be sweeter than the smell of the water-lily which wafts along with the cool breeze. The thousand-fold radiance that emanates from his toe-nails (Tib. *shabs sen-mo*) is compared to that of the finest crystal gem (Skt. *candrakāntimaṇi,* Tib. *zla-ḥod*).

Mañjuśrī is said to hold a sword in his hand, which symbolises the cleaving asunder of the clouds of ignorance. He has taught his profound doctrine to the people and thereby shown them the noble way to put an end to all sufferings (in life).

Mañjuśrī is believed to have erected a vihāra for the benefit of his disciples.

The author has taken great pains to describe at length the physical beauty of the Buddha Mañjuśrī.

I. K.

BHAGAVADDHARMA, known in Chinese as Chieh-fan-ta-mo, a monk of western India, said to have translated a work called *Sahasrabāhu-sahasrākṣa-avalokiteśvara - bodhisattva - mahāpūrṇapratihata-mahākāruṇikahṛdaya-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (*Ch'ien - shou-ch'ien-yen - kuan - shih - yin-p'u - sa - kuang-ta-yüan-man-wu-ai-ta-pei-sin-t'o-lo-ni-ching*).

The exact date of the translation is not known (*Nanjio,* Appendix II, No. 135).

BHAGAVADDHEVAJRA-SĀDHANĀBHISAMAYA-KRAMĀRTHA-PRASANNA-NĀMA, the Sanskrit title corresponding to the Tibetan *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas kyeḥi-rdo-rjeḥi sgrub-paḥi thabs mṅon-par-rtogs-paḥi rim-pa don rab-tu gsal-ba shes-bya-ba,* the name of a text incorporated in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 56, No. 2414). Neither the author nor the translator is known. This is also included in the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM.* No. 1291).

The text contains a detailed account of how the deity Śrī Hevajra (Tib. dpal-kyeḥi-rdo-rje) should be propitiated. It begins with a salutation to the above god. After describing him as one who possesses great wisdom, the author gives instructions as to how the meditator should perform the propitiation. The latter is asked to go to a cemetary and draw a maṇḍala in which Hevajra should be drawn seated on a lotus surrounded by his retinue. The meditator should then offer to the god various things such as baskets of natural flowers, tasty food, meat, and vessels of unscented water and of fermented liquor. Several mantras

to be chanted in the course of the ceremony are quoted. Among those mantras, the following contains a partial description of the physique and nature of Hevajra to a certain extent :...... *catur viṃśati netrāya, ṣoḍaśa bhujāya, kṛṣṇa ...... vapuṣe, kapāla mālanīkadharine ...... krūra cittāya, ardhendu daṃṣṭrine, māraya māraya, kāraya, kāraya, garjaya garjaya, tarjaya tarjaya.*

I. K.

BHAGAVADDHEVAJRA - TATTVA - CATUṢ-KRAMA SĀDHANA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas dgyes-paḥi rdo-rjeḥi sgrub-paḥi thabs de-kho-na-ñid bshiḥi rim-pa shes-bya-ba,* incorporated in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 56, No. 2377; *TM*. No. 1248; *Cordier*, II, p. 81).

The four methods of propitiating the god Hevajra form the contents of the work. The author instructs the meditator in detail how these methods should be carried out. During the course of this ceremony the latter is asked to chant a number of mantras. The work begins with a salutation to Hevajra.

I. K.

BHAGAVAD - EKAJAṬA - MAHĀKALPA - TAN - TRARĀJA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section of the Kangyur, under the title *Dpal-bcom-ldan-ḥdas ral-pa gcig-paḥi brtag-paḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po shes-bya-ba* (*TT*. Vol. 4, No. 110; *TM*. No. 476). The author of the work is unknown. But the translators are named as Vajraśrīkhalarutra and Byams-paḥi dpal.

The work begins with a salutation to Ekajaṭa, who is here referred to as a male while in all the Mahāyāna texts he is referred to as a female deity (*Sadh.* p. 266).

Ekajaṭa is said to have resided at one time on the vajra mountain in Aṭakāvatī, where he was visited by the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (*Phyag-na-rdo-rje*) and four goddesses. The former is said to have had a discussion with him on *śūnyatā* (Tib. *de-kho-na ñid*) and the goddesses seem to have requested him to preach the doctrine of great happiness. Having heard the sermon Vajrapāṇi and all the others in the audience rejoiced and praised the teachings of the Buddha.

The entire work includes four mantras, by learning which one could avoid injuries caused by evil spirits.

I. K.

BHAGAVAD - EKAJAṬA - MAṆḌALA - CAKRA - SĀDHANA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation, *Dpal bcom-ldan-ḥdas ral-pa gcig-paḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi ḥkhor-loḥi sgrub-thabs,* in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 68, No. 2973; *TM*. No. 2122; *Cordier*, II, p. 194).

Ajitamitragupta is credited with its authorship. Śrī Jaganmitrānanda and Byams-pa dpal are said to have translated it into Tibetan.

This sādhana deals with the worship of Ekajaṭa. The work begins with a salutation to him. The meditator is asked to meditate on *śūnyatā* (the voidness of all phenomena) with a mind, full of faith and as clear as a crystal (Tib. *śel*). He should draw a maṇḍala and make eight kinds of offerings of fruits and perfumes, etc. While being seated, he should snap his fingers and take a vajra in his fist. Then the meditator should inaugurate the ceremony by performing a dance, while carrying with two of his fingers an iron-rod (Tib. *lcag-sa-kya*).

The entire work consists of seventeen magic formulas.

I. K.

BHAGAVAD-EKAJAṬĀ-SĀDHANA, the Sanskrit title of twelve Tibetan texts entitled *Dpal bcom-ldan-ḥdas ral-pa gcig-paḥi sgrub-thabs,* which occur in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur* in the Peking edition (*TT*. Vol. 59, No. 2599; Vol. 68, Nos. 2974–77; Vol. 80, Nos. 4070, 4185; Vol. 81, Nos. 4336–40) and in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* in the *Sde-dge* edition. In the latter, there are four works under the same title (*TM*. Nos. 2123–26). Out of the twelve works of the Peking edition, only the first five and the last works mention their respective authors, namely, Rtag-paḥi rdo-rje (Śāśvatavajra), Mi-pham sbas-pa (Ajitagupta), Rol-paḥi rdo-rje (Lalitavajra), Śrīvajrakīrti, Thugs-dam and Klu-sgrub shabs (Nāgārjunapāda). The translators of the first seven works are : Dānaśīla, Śrīmitra and Maitrīśrī, Mañjuśrījaganmitrānandarāja and Maitrīśrī, Gnubs lo-tsā-ba, Dānaśrī jñāna and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-rilo-tsā-ba. The other five works are said to have translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. While the authorship of the first two works mentioned in the *Sde-dge* edition is attributed to Mi-pham sbas-pa, Śrīvajrakīrti and Mitrayogin are said to have been the authors of the latter two works.

Four of these sādhana texts occur in the *Sādhanamālā* (I, Nos. 124–27). But, the gist of all these sādhanas is the same, except that some texts give more detailed descriptions of the propitiating ceremony and the physique of the goddess Ekajaṭā. She is described in three different forms, as possessing one face with two, four or eight arms.

The worshipper is asked to sit comfortably and after worshipping the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas, he is instructed to seek refuge in the Triple Gem and confess his sins. Then, he is asked to produce within himself the thought of Enlightenment, and meditate upon the voidness of all phenomena (Skt. *śūnyatā*; Tib. *stoṅ-pa-ñid*) and mutter the syllable Oṃ in which he should visualize the universal lotus (Skt. *viśva-padma;* Tib. *sna-tshogs pad-ma*) arising from it. In the middle of the universal lotus the syllable tāṃ should be meditated upon. There he is told to conceive a white skull and in its middle the syllable hūṃ. There the meditator should visualize Ekajaṭā, who is sixteen years of age, ferocious looking, of black (dark) complexion, with two, four or eight arms, one face distorted with anger, three red eyes (blood-shot), a protruding (*ḥjol-ba*) belly, a lolling tongue, with full-grown, upraised breasts (*ḥo-ma-ḥdsiṅ*), brown upraised hair, wearing garments made of tiger skin and adorned with ornaments made of lotuses, with garlands made of skulls hanging from her neck, adorned with vicious blue serpents, wearing a pearl (Tib. *mu-tig*) necklace and jingling bells (Tib. *dril-bu*). She stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude resting on corpses, bearing the image of Akṣobhya on her crown, possessing grace, glory and wealth (*phun sum-tshogs*). When two-armed, she carries a short crooked sword (Skt. *kartri*; Tib. *gri-gug*), and a skull (Skt. *karoṭaka*; Tib. *thod-pa*); when four-armed she carries with her two right hands an arrow and a conch-shell (sword according to *TT.* No. 4340) and with her two left hands a bow and a skull. When eight-armed, she carries with four right hands a conch, an arrow, a vajra and a *kartri* and in her four left hands a lotus, a bow, a pick-axe and a *karoṭaka*.

The meditator is instructed to contemplate upon this goddess and chant the four syllabic magical formula *hrīṃ trīṃ hūṃ phaṭ*, as a a result of which the whole world would come under his sway, according to a declaration of the Buddha (*Sādh.* I, No. 123). This formula is to be chanted one hundred thousand times (ibid. No. 127; *TT.* No. 4340).

The authors of all these texts begin their works with a salutation to the goddess Ekajaṭā (var. Ekajaṭī) and then proceed with the instructions to be followed at the ceremony. However, there is one text which begins with the magical formula, *Oṃ āḥ hūṃ; Oṃ Vajrayogini praticchemaṃ baliṃ hrīṃ hūṃ ha ha ha ha haṃ haḥ phaṭ mama śantiṃ kuru svāhā; Oṃ āḥ aralli hiḥ ityādīnuchārayet* (*Sādh.* I, No. 127; *TT.* No. 4340). The latter work also is an exception; it discusses all the three forms of Ekajaṭā while the others mention only one of her forms. A detailed description of Mahākāla (*Nag-po chen-po*)is also given in one of these texts (*TT.* No. 4336).

I. K.

BHAGAVAD-EKAJAṬA-STOTRA, the corresponding Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Dpal bcom-ldan-ḥdas ral-pa gcig-pa-la bstod-pa,* incorporated in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. Buddhaśrībhadrajñāna and Gnubs Byams-paḥi dpal (Maitrīśrī) are credited with the Tibetan translation (*TT.* Vol. 68, No. 2979; *TM.* No. 2128; *Cordier*, II, p. 195).

The text is an eulogy of Ekajaṭa. The work begins with a salutation to him which is repeated at several places. Ekajaṭa is referred to as a hero (*dpaḥ-bo*) of immeasurable kindness, who has put an end to all the defilements (*Sdig-pa*) and misery (*ñon-moṅs-pa*), by the power of his wisdom. He is also described as one who has subdued Māra and his retinue.

I. K.

BHAGAVAD - RATNAGUṆA - SAÑCAYA-GĀTHĀ-PAÑJIKĀ-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text by Haribhadra. It has not been found yet in its original form, but exists in a Tibetan translation, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas yon-tan rin-po-che sdud-paḥi tshigs-su bcad-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel-shes-bya-ba.* Here the author's name is translated as Seṅ-ge bzaṅ-po. The Tibetan translation was effected by Jetahandu Śāntibhadra with the assistance of Ḥbro Seṅ-dkar Śākyaḥi ṇod. The work is incorporated in the Tengyur under the Śes-phyin or Prajñāpāramitā section (*TT.* No. 5190; *TM.* No. 3792; *Cordier*, III, No. 277).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAGAVAD - VAJRAPĀṆI - GUHYĀBHIDESA - TANTRARĀJA - NĀMA, a Sanskrit text preserved in its Tibetan translation, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas*

phyag-na rdo-rje gsaṅ-ba mṅon-par bstan-paḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po shes-bya-ba. The author is unknown, but the names of the translators are recorded as Valacandra, and Glaṅ-chuṅ Dar-ma tshul-khrims. This work is included in the Rgyud ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section of the Tibetan Kangyur (*TT*. Vol. 4, No. 99; *TM*. No. 464).

The text, the opening salutation of which is addressed to Vajrapāṇi (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje*) includes the tantra which deals with the secret doctrine of Vajrapāṇi.

Once, when Vajrapāṇi was residing in Aṭakāvati, a group of bodhisattvas, spirits, asuras and five hundred demons approached him when he was engaged in deep meditation (Skt. *samāpatti*; Tib. *tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdsin*). When they worshipped him and sat on a side, Vajrapāṇi taught them the tantra which included his secret doctrine.

In the text, Vajrapāṇi is described as one who is endowed with great kindness as infinite as the sands of the river Ganges, and with the five kinds of divine wisdom (Tib. *ye-śes-lṅa*), such as the wisdom with regard to the element of existence (Skt. *Dharmadhātuñāṇa* Tib. *Chos-kyi-dbyiṅs-kyi-ye-śes*).

I. K.

BHAGAVAD-VAJRAPĀṆI-STOTRA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas phyag-na-rdo-rje-la bstod-pa*, occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author and the translator are unknown (*TM*. No. 2890, *TT*. No. 3715).

The entire text consists of an eulogy of the Buddha Vajrapāṇi who is to be saluted by the worshipper seven times. At the beginning of the text, the worshipper salutes him and describes him as a great and powerful being from whose body emanates a great splendour and who has disciplined himself well. He is said to have subdued the evils (of beings) by way of his noble speech (doctrine) consisting of magical formulas. Vajrapāṇi who is of blue complexion is believed to be capable of averting harm caused (to the people) by the demons (Tib. *gnod-sbyin*) who haunt the mountains and the mountain passes. He is referred to as the Lord of the external spells by which a god or a goddess is propitiated and brought under one's power so as to obey one's wishes. The abode of Vajrapāṇi is mentioned as *lcaṅ-lo-can*. Rai Sarat Chandra Das has rendered this word as Alakāvatī ? (*Tibetan English Dictionary*, p. 399).

I. K.

BHAGAVAD - VAJRAPĀṆYANALAJIHVAGUHYA-SAṂVESA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA, var. *Bhagavān-jihvāmveśamantrahṛdayamvajrapāny-Sādhana-Nāma*, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur in the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 2186) and in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section in the Peking edition (*TT*. Vol. 68, No. 3030). Both editions give the same title : *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas phyag-na-rdo-rje-lce-dbab-kyi gsaṅ-baḥi yaṅ-bkol-gyi bgrub-paḥi thabs shes-bya-ba.* The author of the work is Rgyal-po sprin-gyi śugs-can (Rājaputra Meghavegin). The translation is attributed to Jayākara and Mar-pa.

The sādhana deals with the procedure of worship of the god Vajrapāṇyanalajihva (Vajrapāṇi with a blazing tongue).

The author begins this text with a salutation to Phyag-na rdo-rje gos-sṅon-can, one of the most terrific manifestations of Vajrapāṇi. The next salutation is addressed to Vajradhara (rdo-rje-ḥchaṅ), a dhyānibodhisattva evolved from the second Dhyānibuddha, Akśobhya (Mi-skyod-pa).

The meditator is instructed to start the ceremony by remembering the lamas. He is asked to draw a maṇḍala in a cemetery (*dur-khrod*) and strew-blue flowers in front of it. Thereafter, he should place in it the food of the god (Skt. *pīyūśa* ; Tib. *bdud-rtsi*), the sacrificial objects (Skt. *bali* : Tib. *gtor-ma*) such as cakes made of rice, barley flour, wheat etc., meat (Skt. *maṃsa* ; Tib. *sa*) and fermented liquor (Skt. *surā* ; Tib. *chaṅ*). According to the author the meditator should have a bath before starting the ceremony and be seated cross-legged serenely without moving his limbs (Tib. *skyil-kruṅ*). He should also be endowed with the seven elements of religious service, namely, profound salutation, worshipping or making offerings to a deity, confessing of sins, taking delight in virtue, exerting one's self to preach the Dharma, dedicating all accumulated moral merits to the attainment of Buddhahood and praying for not passing into Nirvāna. While starting the ceremony with a purified heart, the meditator should chant the *svabhāvaśuddha mantra*, meditate upon the voidness of all phenomena (*śūnyatā*), think of himself as Vajrapāṇi and contemplate on the blue-complexioned god with three faces etc.

he described as devoid of characteristics, not subject to rising or decay, not subject to decrease or increase and so forth. The attainment of this knowledge, he said, would finally lead to Nirvāṇa.

Further, he pronounced a mantra associated with this doctrine, which should be learnt by all bodhisattvas. The mantra is as follows: *oṃ gate gate virage bārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā*. The Buddha then rose from his state of samādhi, applauded the sermon of Avalokiteśvara and confirmed that the doctrine should be mastered by all bodhisattvas. Thereafter the whole assembly rejoiced and applauded the teaching of Avalokiteśvara.

The title of the Chinese translation of this text is *Fu-shuo shêng-ju-mu-po-fo-po-lo-mi-to-ching* (*Nanjio*, No. 935).

R. H.

BHAGAVATĪ - PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ - HṚDAYA - ṬĪKĀRTHA-PRADĪPA-NĀMA, the title of a commentarial work on the *Bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya* (q. v.), extant in its Tibetan translation. The author of the commentary is Phyag-na rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇi) and the title of the Tibetan translation is *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas-ma śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-paḥi sñiṅ-poḥi ḥgrel-pa don-gyi sgron-ma shes-bya-ba*. This translation has been included in the Śes-phyin (prajñāpāramitā) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 94, No. 5219).

R. H.

BHAGAVATĪ - PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ - NAVA - SLOKA-PIṆḌĀRTHA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas-ma śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi tshigs-su-bcad-pa dgu-pa*, occurring in the *Śes-phyin* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) section of the Tengyur. Kambala is said to be the author of the text. Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po are the translators. This work has a Chinese translation entitled *Shêng-fu-mu-po-jo-po-lo-mi-to-chiu-sung-ching-i-lun* (聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論 *TM*. No. 3812; *TT*. Vol. 94, No. 5212; *Cordier*, III, p. 286 f.; *Nanjio*, No. 1313). The name of the work suggests that it is a synopsis of a text called *Bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitā-navaśloka*. The author begins his work with a salutation to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta.

I. K.

BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-NAVAŚLOKA-PIṆḌĀRTHA-ṬĪKĀ, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas-ma-śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi-don bsdus-paḥi tshigs-su-bcad-pa-dgu-paḥi rgya-cher bsad-pa*, included in the *Śes-phyin* (prajñāpāramitā) section of the Tengyur. The author of the work is Kambala and the translators are Kamalagupta and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. This text also has its Chinese translation entitled *Shêng-fu-mu-po-jo-po-lo-mi-to-chiu-sung-ching-i-lun* (聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論 *TM*. No. 3813; *TT*. Vol. 94, No. 5213; *Cordier*, III, p. 287, *Nanjio*, No. 1313). The work is a commentary on the text called the *Bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitā-navaśloka-piṇḍārtha*. At the beginning of this work is a salutation to Vāgīśvara (Tib. *ṅag-gi-dwaṅ-phyug*), lord of speech.

I. K.

BHAGAVATĪ - PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ - PAÑCĀSAT (I)KĀ, Ārya-bha° (*pañcāśatka*, a group of 50), a Buddhist Sanskrit work extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations.

The Tibetan version occurs in the *Śer-phyin* (*prajñāpāramitā*) section of the Kangyur, under the title *Ḥphags-pa bcom-ldan-ḥdas-ma śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa lṅa- bcu-pa*, (*TT*. Vol. 21, No. 740). Suzuki, the editor of the Japanese facsimile edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, lists the title of the text as ....*pañcāśikā*, thus emending the reading *pañcāśatikā* of the text and the reading of the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 18). The reading *pañcāśatka* could be suggested as an alternative emendation.

The work contains the text of a sermon preached by the Buddha at a large assembly of bodhisattvas, monks, gods, nāgas, asuras etc., on the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain in Rājagṛha. The Buddha addresses Subhūti and says that śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, and bodhisattvas should hear this prajñāpāramitā doctrine, learn it and bear it in mind. When the Buddha further emphasised the importance of the doctrine, Subhūti asked him to preach it. This he did and the discourse, of about 50 stanzas, consists of an enumeration of different categories of dharmas, e.g., the 6 *pāramitās*: *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*; twenty-four aspects of the *śūnyatā* doctrine; the four essential recollections (*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*); the four acts which should be entirely abandoned; the five *indriyas*; the five powers (*bala*); the four Noble Truths; the Noble Eight-fold Path; the four immeasurables (*aprameya*); the eight *vimokṣa* dharmas; the *abhijñās*; *samāpattis* and so on.

During a discussion that followed, Subhūti raised some questions. These being answered, the assembly lauded the sermon of the Buddha. The

Chinese translation of the work is entitled *Fu-shuo-wu-shih-sung-shêng-po-jo-lo-mi-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 248 ; *Nanjio*, No. 879).

R. H.

BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-PAÑCAŚATKĀ (Ārya-bha°), the possible title of a text occurring in Tibetan and Chinese versions. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-PAÑCAŚATIKĀ.

BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-PAÑCAŚIKĀ (Ārya-bha°), the possible title of a text occurring in Tibetan and Chinese versions. See BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ PAÑCAŚATIKĀ.

BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-SĀDHANA, a sādhana text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas yum śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu phyin-maḥi sgrub-thabs* (*TT.* Vol. 81, No. 4475 ; *TM.* No. 3653). The author and the translator are unknown. The text, which begins with a salutation to Prajñāpāramitā deals with the procedure of worship of the same goddess.

The worshipper is called upon to wash his face first and then meditate on Prajñāpāramitā. Her form is described as being white in colour, with matted hair (Skt. *jaṭā* ; Tib. *ral-pa*), beautiful in appearance, adorned with precious ornaments (Tib. *brgyan-pa*) and sweet-scented flowers. Seated in the Vajraparyaṅka (Tib. *rdo-rjeḥi-skyil-kraṅ*) attitude, she carries with her a lotus and the Prajñāpāramitā text. She should be invoked with the following short mantra, *Oṃ prajñāmahā-prajñā huṃ*.

I. K.

BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ - SARVATA-THĀGATAMĀTĀ-EKĀKṢARĪ, a Buddhist Sanskrit work which is included in the *śes-phyin* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) section of the Tibetan Kangyur. Winternitz translates the title of the work as " the sacred Prajñāpāramitā of one syllable, of the mother of all Tathāgatas " in which the perfection of wisdom is concentrated in the one sound " a " (*History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 315). This work is not included in the Peking edition or in the Sde-dge edition.

I. K.

BHAGAVATĪ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-VAJRACCH-EDIKĀ-SAPTĀRTHA-ṬĪKĀ, a Buddhist Sanskrit work compiled by Dbyig-gñen. Its Tibetan translation entitled *Ḥphags-pa bcom-ldan-ḥdas-ma śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu phyin-pa rdo-rje gcod-paḥi don bdun-gyi-cher-ḥgrel-pa,* compiled by Dbyig-gñen, translated by Gshon-dpal and revised by Ḥgos Chos-skyoṅ bzaṅ-po, belongs to the Śes-phyin (prajñāpāramitā) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TM.* 3816). There is also a Chinese translation by the title *Chin-kang-po-jo-po-lo-mi-ching-lun* (*Taishō*, No. 1510 ; *Nanjio*, Nos. 1167, 1168).

H. R. P.

BHAGAVATĪ-TĀRĀDEVYEKAVIṂŚATI-STOTRA-SĀDHANA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text occurring in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas-ma sgrol-ma-la bstod-pa ñi-su-rtsa-gcig-paḥi sgrub-thabs* (*TM.* No. 1688 ; *TT.* Vol. 59, No. 2560). The work was compiled by Ñi-ma sbas-paḥi shabs (Sūryaguptapāda) and translated by ŚākyaŚrībhadra and Byams-paḥi dpal.

The work begins with a salutation to Tārā (Tib. *sgrol-ma*), the goddess who saves (beings) from transmigratory existence and who exhibits twenty-one different manifestations. The entire work deals with a sādhana consisting of twenty-one songs of praise of Tārā.

I. K.

BHAGAVAT-NĪLĀMBARADHARA-VAJRAPĀṆI-TANTRA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur in the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol 6, No. 128), and in the *Rgyud-ḥbum* (100,000 tantra) section of the Kangyur of the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* No. 498). Both editions give the same Tibetan title, *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas phyag-na-rdo-rje gos-sṅon-po-can-gyi rgyud ces-bya-ba.* The author is unknown and the translators are Celu and Ḥphags-pa Śes-rab.

The work begins with a salutation to Nīlambaradharavajrapāṇī and then to all the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas of the past, present and future. Certain magical formulas, taught by the Buddha Akṣobhya of the Vajra clan to a group of bodhisattvas, form the contents of the work. The work is so named probably because there are several magical formulas addressed to the god Nīlambaradharavajrapāṇī.

Once, when the Buddha Akṣobhya of the Vajra clan was residing in a palace, in the village called Aṭakāvatī in India, a group of bodhisattvas, namely, Phyag-na rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇī), rdo-rje-sñe, rdo-rje kun-tu ḥdsin-pa, rdo rje rab-tu-ḥdul-byed, rdo-rje

mi-zad-ḥjoms and rdo-rje gdug-pa kun-gyes-gnas skyob-la-sogs-paḥi-ḥkhor bye-ba phrag sñeṅ-mams, visited him and they, saluting him on their knees, begged of him to preach the doctrine, so that they would be converted. The Buddha gave them several instructions and told them to practise deep meditation on *śūnyatā* (Tib. *de-kho-na-ñid*). The formula on *śūnyatā* runs as follows: *Oṃ śūnyatā-jñāna vajra svabhāva ātma ko haṃ*. The following formula is repeated several times, *Oṃ Nīlam-baradhara-vajrapāṇi hūṃ phaṭ*. There are other formulas such as, *Oṃ Vaiśravana ākara ....*, *Oṃ Amrita kuṇḍalī hana hana hūṃ phaṭ*, *Oṃ Dsambhala yesvāhā*, *Oṃ Pūrṇabhadrā yesvāhā*, *Oṃ Manibhadra yesvāhā*, *Oṃ Kubera yesvāhā*, occurring in the text.

I. K.

BHAGAVATO - BHAIṢAJYA-GURU - VAIḌŪRYA-PRABHASYA - PŪRVA - PRAṆIDHĀNA - VISEṢAVISTARA - NĀMA - MAHĀYĀNA - SŪTRA (or *ārya-bhay°*), a reconstructed title from its Tibetan translation, entitled (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas sman-gyi bla bai-duryaḥi ḥad-kyi sṅon-gyi smon-lam-gyi khyad-par rgyas-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. See BHAIṢAJYAGURU-SŪTRA.

BHAGAVAT-SARVADURGATI-PARIŚODHANA-TEJORĀJA-TATHĀGATĀRHAT-SAMYAK-SAMBUDDHA-MĀHĀTANTRARĀJA-VYĀKHYĀ-SUNDARĀLAMKĀRA-NĀMA, a lengthy commentary (*vyākhyā*) on a tantric text. As the title indicates, the name of the commentary appears to be *Sundarālaṃkāra* while the text commented on seems to have dealt with a Buddha called Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-tejorāja. The corresponding Tibetan title of the text is *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas de-bhin-gśegs-pa dgra-bcom-pa yaṅ-dag-par rdsogs-paḥi saṅs-rgyas ṅan-soṅ thams-cad yoṅs-su sbyoṅ-ba gzi-brjod-kyi rgyal-po rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-poḥi rnam-par bśad-pa mdses-paḥi rgyan shes-bya-ba*.

According to the colophon of the text, the author of the work is Rdo-rje go-cha (Vajravarman) and the contents amount to 6014 stanzas. The work is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 76, No. 3453).

R. H.

BHAGAVATYĀMNĀYĀNUSĀRIṆĪ -NĀMA -VYĀKHYĀ, a Sanskrit text ascribed to Jagaddala (Śrīrāja Jagaddala-nivāsin) which has not been found yet in its original form. It exists, however, in a Tibetan translation, entitled *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas-maḥi man-ṅag-gi rjes-su ḥbraṅ-ba shes-bya-baḥi rnam-par bśad-pa*. The author's name is translated as Dpal-ldan Rgyal-po Jagattalar gnas-pa. The Tibetan translation was effected by Alaṅkadeva (or Alaṅkāradeva) with the help of Ga-rod Tshul-khrims ḥbyun-gnas (sbas-pa) and incorporated in the Śes-phyin, i.e., the Prajñā-pāramitā section, of the Tengyur (*TT*. No. 5209; *TM*. No. 3811).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAGAVATYUṢṆĪṢAVIJAYĀ-STOTRA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation, *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas-ma gtsug-tor rnam-par rgyal-ma la-bstod-pa*, in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 3115) and in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section according to the Peking edition (*TT*. Vol. 80, No. 3936). Candragomin is credited with the authorship of this work.

An eulogy of the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijayā forms the contents of the work. She is referred to as a distinguished female deity of utmost importance with a terrific appearance. She is said to be decked with many jewels and a diadem. Her complexion is white and she has three faces, three eyes and eight hands. While her four right hands display the vajra, the Buddha on a lotus, the arrow (Skt. *Śara*, Tib. *mdaḥ*) and the varada pose, the four left hands show the noose (Skt. *pāṣa*, Tib. *shags-pa*) with the Tarjanī (threat, Tib. *sdig-pa*), the bow (Skt. *dhanu*, Tib. *gshu*), the Abhaya (*mi-ḥjigs*) pose and the well filled water vessel.

The author begins the work by saluting Mañjughoṣa.

I. K.

BHAGGA, name of a country of which the capital city was Suṃsumāragiri. The Buddha visited this place several times during the course of his wanderings, and while residing in the Bhesakaḷā grove (*Bhesakaḷāvana*) in the Deer Park (*Migadāya*) at the Crocodile-Haunt (*Suṃsumāragiri*) he admonished the bhikkhus and the laity as well.

The Buddha is said to have laid down a number of rules of discipline (*vinaya*) for the bhikkhus while he was residing in the Bhagga country. One such rule was that except in the case of sick monks the bhikkhus should not kindle a fire (*joti*) in order to warm themselves (*Vin*. IV, p. 115). When the Buddha had heard that the bhikkhus of

the Kokanada palace had accepted a drinking cup while their hands were soiled with food, he ruled that they should not do so in future (*Vin.* IV, pp. 198–199). Again, when the Buddha was invited for a meal by prince Bodhi at his palace, he refused to tread on the cloth carpeting and ruled that bhikkhus should tread on cloth carpeting, only after washing their feet, in case of a request by the householder for the sake of bringing them good luck (*Vin.* II, pp. 127 ff.; *M.* II, pp. 91–93). He also laid down three other rules of discipline while he was in the Bhagga country (*Vin.* V, p. 145).

The Buddha preached the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta* to prince Bodhi while residing in Bhagga, explaining to him the five qualities of striving, namely, faith, good health, honesty, energy and wisdom (*M.* II, pp. 95–96). Prince Bodhi, son of king Udena of Kosambi (Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 187) had apparently lived in Bhagga (*M.* II, p. 91) as the viceroy of his father, in which case the Bhaggā were subject to Kosambi. But according to Rapson, Bhaggā were the members of the Vajjian confederacy (op. cit. p.178). The *Samaññvana Sutta* was preached by the Buddha to the parents of Nakula when they expressed their earnest wish to be born as husband and wife in their next existence. The Buddha said that it was possible, since they were equally endowed with qualities such as faith, virtue, generosity and wisdom (*A.* II, 61).

Moggallāna, while living in Bhagga, was attacked by the Evil One (Māra) entering into his stomach. Moggallāna preached to him the *Māratajjaniya Sutta* (*M.* I, 332). On a previous occasion, he had preached to the bhikkhus in the same place the *Anumāna Sutta* (q.v.). It was in the Bhagga country that the father of Siṅgāla (Siṅgālakapitā) renounced the household life and later attained arahantship, after the practice of meditation (*ThagA.* I, p. 75). In the *Apadāna*, the Bhaggā are mentioned with Kārusā (*Ap.* II, p. 359, *v.* 15).

I. K.

BHAGGAVA (1), a religious teacher in the time of Gotama Buddha. After his renunciation and before seeking Āḷāra and Uddaka, Gotama went to Bhaggava's monastery and studied under him (*ThigA.* p. 2).

BHAGGAVA (2), father of Aṅgulimāla and chaplain of king Kosala. He was a brāhman by birth (*ThagA.* III, 54).

BHAGGAVA (3), a potter at Rājagaha in whose dwelling the Buddha spent a night and preached the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* to Pukkusāti (*M.* III, 237 ff.). Bhaggava here is a personal name, but many references in canonical and commentarial literature show, as observed by Malalasekera (*DPPN.* II, 345), that it had been a generic name for all potters, perhaps a special form of address towards members of the *kumbhakāra* caste. In the *Kacchapa Jātaka* (*J.* II, 80) a tortoise is said to have addressed the bodhisatta, who was a potter at the time, as Bhaggava. In the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* (*J.* III, 376 ff.) the bodhisatta, who was born in a potter's family, addresses his wife as Bhaggavī and the wife addresses the bodhisatta as Bhaggava. In the *Thullatissavatthu* of the *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhpA.* I, 39) the ascetic Devala goes to a potter's house and addresses the potter as Bhaggava. Then, in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, 53) and also in the *Saṃyutta* (I, 36, 60) the Buddha addresses Ghaṭīkāra Brahma as Bhaggava. Curiously enough, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (loc. cit.) shows that Ghaṭīkāra Brahma, in his previous birth, was a potter. Ghaṭīkāra means jar-maker. The *Vinaya* commentary (*VinA.* I, 160) mentions Bhaggava as a clan (*gotta*) along with Gotama.

According to the *PED.*, the term Bhaggava (Skt. Bhārgava) means shining, bright or radiant. How the meaning of potter is connected with this meaning is not clear. The term is not explained even in the commentaries, evidently because it is somewhat obscure. Malalasekera (loc. cit.) suggests that the potters perhaps claimed their descent from Bhṛgu.

H. R. P.

BHAGGAVAGOTTA, a clothed wanderer (*DA.* III, 816, *channaparibbājaka*) who lived in a part near Anupiya in the Malla country. He was a friend of Sunakkhatta (q.v.). The Buddha once visited him, and their conversation is recorded in the *Pātika Sutta* (*D.* III, 1). He was evidently so called because he belonged to the clan (*gotta*), named Bhaggava.

U. K.

BHĀGINEYYA-SAṄGHARAKKHITA, a thera who lived during the time of the Buddha and was the nephew of thera Saṅgharakkhita; hence his name. Once he was given two sets of robes, and immediately put away the better set to be given as a present to his uncle and teacher. At the end of

the rainy season he went to the monastery of his uncle and offered his gift. But his uncle Saṅgharakkhita refused it in spite of the youth's repeated request. Thereupon, the nephew became sulky, and while fanning his uncle, started to think what he could do if he became a layman. He would sell his robe, buy a she-goat, get rich thereby, marry and have a son. While taking the child out for a walk, he would ask to be allowed to carry him, his wife would refuse and carry him herself. Then she would drop the child and her husband would hit her. So thinking, in his absent-mindedness, the youth hit the elder with the fan. The elder read his thoughts and rebuked him. The youth then started to run away, but the monks caught him and brought him before the Buddha. The Buddha preached to him on the difficulty of keeping the mind in check (*Dhp. v.* 37). At the end of the sermon the youth became a *sotāpanna* (*DhpA.* I, 300–304).

The *Visuddhimagga* makes mention of a monk by the same name. When he was a novice, he ate hot food and burnt his tongue. His teacher warned him against such lack of restraint, and the novice, developing insight on that topic, became an arahant (*Vism.* 36).

Another thera by the same name appears in the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary. He stayed in the Koṭagarukapāsāda during his illness. His cell would accommodate just one bed, yet the *devas* of two *deva*-worlds, led by Sakka, were present there to wait upon him. (*MhvA.* 552).

U. K.

BHAGINĪ SUTTA (1), found in the second chapter of the *Anamatagga-saṃyutta* of the *Nidāna-vagga* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 189). It was preached by the Buddha when he was staying at Sāvatthi. According to this sutta, it would not be easy to find a being who has not been one's sister in *saṃsāra* (round of rebirth), for incalculable is the beginning of saṃsāra.

L. R. G.

BHAGINĪ SUTTA (2), in the fourth chapter of the *Lābhasakkāra-saṃyutta* of the *Nidāna-vagga* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (II, 243 f.) and preached at Sāvatthi. The Buddha points out the dangers from gains, honour and fame in the path to deliverance. There are some people who would not lie even for the sake of a sister but when overcome by gains, honour and fame, would deliberately tell lies. Therefore, should a bhikkhu train himself not to be attracted by gains, honour and fame.

L. R. G.

BHAGĪRASA, an ancient king, who inspite of all his sacrifices, could not advance beyond the *peta* world (*J.* VI, 99).

BHĀGĪRATHA, name of a former Buddha occurring between the names of two Tathāgatas, Baladatta and Aṅgīrasa. He was proclaimed by the Buddha Baladatta, and after attaining enlightenment, he proclaimed the Buddha Aṅgīrasa (*Mhvu.* III, 239). The *Avadānaśataka* (p. 31) also mentions a Buddha by the same name who met the bodhisattva, a caravan leader at the time, on the banks of the river Ganges. The bodhisattva made many offerings to this Buddha and aspired at his feet for Buddhahood.

It is not clear whether the two Buddhas are identical. (*BHS.* s.v.)

U. K.

BHĀGĪRATHĪ, a name for the Ganges (Gaṅgā). See GAṄGĀ.

BHAGU (1), an arahant. He was born in a Sakyan family. When he came of age he renounced the worldly life along with Anuruddha and Kimbila, and was practising the religious life at Bālakaloṇakāragāma. One day he left his cell in order to drive away drowsiness, and when he stepped on to the terrace he fell down, and being urged thereby to further effort, before long realised arahantship. The Buddha came to congratulate him on his solitude when he was living in the bliss of fruition, and after his meal preached for a whole day and night. The following day Bhagu accompanied the Buddha on his alms round and turned back when the Buddha proceeded to Pācīnavaṃsa Migadāya to see Anuruddha and others (*Thag. vv.* 271–4; *ThagA.* II, 111 f.; *M.* III, 155; *Vin.* I, 350).

During the time of Padumuttara Buddha, Bhagu was a householder and, when the Buddha died, he offered flowers to his relics. As a result of this he was born among the Nimmānarati gods (*ThagA.* II, 111).

Bhagu thera is probably identical with Jātipupphiya thera of the *Apadāna* (II, 405 f.).

A monk named Bhagu is mentioned (*Vin.* I, 300) as staying with Jātipupphiya at the Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputta, but he is probably a different person.

W. G. W.

BHAGU (2), a seer (*ṛṣi*) of the brāhmans, always mentioned along with nine others in a passage oft-repeated, but in different contexts, in several suttas, e.g., *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*D.* I, 104); *Tevijja Sutta* (*D.* I, 238); *Caṅkī Sutta* (*M.* II, 169); *Subha Sutta* (*M.* II, 200); *Doṇa Sutta* (*A.* III, 224), *Dāna Sutta* (*A.* IV, 61 f.) and the Vinaya (*Vin.* I, 245). The names of the other seers are Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessamitta, Yamataggi, Aṅgīrasa Bhāradvāja, Vāseṭṭha and Kassapa, given in that order, with Bhagu appearing last in the list. All of them are mentioned as being held by the brāhmans as authors of verses (*mantras*)—obviously the Vedas are meant—utterers of verses, whose runes are said to have been constantly chanted by the brāhmans. In most of the occurrences of this passage the Buddha uses it to convince some that these sages are by no means final authority for the truth. The ten names of these seers are those of the ten sages believed traditionally to be the authors of the Vedas. The sage Bhagu is probably the ṛṣī Bhṛgu, to whom the Indian counterpart of Prometheus, Mātariśvan, brought the divine fire.

B. J.

BHAḤ, germ letter (*bījākṣara*) or mystical syllable in the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, representing Śākyamuni, presiding over the hall bearing his name. This hall appears in the maṇḍala above the Parijñā hall which is directly above the Lotus centre of Vairocana. In Śākyamuni's hall in the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala are found thirty-four names referred to by their respective mystical syllables, amongst whom are mentioned the better known disciples of Śākyamuni, several Tathāgatas and cakravartins.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAI-RA-BAḤI SHI-BAḤI BYA-BA BDUN-PA, title of the Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit text. See BHAIRAVA-ŚĀNTI-KARMA-SAPTAKA.

BHAIRAVA-ŚĀNTI-KARMA-SAPTAKA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which is entitled *Bhai-ra-baḥi shi-baḥi bya-ba bdun-pa* and which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 67, No. 2854). It describes the manner of performing seven rites to appease Bhairava.

The first of the rites is the offering of gifts to deities (*mchod-sbyin*). Flowers, perfumes, incense, lamps and food should be placed on a maṇḍala drawn according to prescribed injunctions. These should be offered to deities as mantras are chanted. A wishing prayer should then be pronounced.

The second rite is that of offering oblations to malignant demons (*gtor-maḥi las*). It should take place on the second day. The offerings being ready, the devotee should sit on a seat of kuśa grass, face the east and offer the oblations with a compassionate mind. He should chant the *Svabhāvaśuddha* mantra, viz., *oṃ svabhāvaśuddhaḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho aham* and meditate on the doctrine of soullessness (*anātmatā*). As he does so, Mañjuśrī will originate from the mystic syllable '*dhrīḥ*'. White in colour he is said to carry a blue lotus. The Buddhas of the ten directions will be seen next and then Yamāntaka will appear. The worshipper should invite him to accept the offerings and confer favours with the formula, *oṃ hrīḥ bho bho mahākrodhā gaccha āgaccha....pūjaṃ pratigṛhṇa prasādaṃ me....kuru svāhā.* He should offer oblations to the accompaniment of mantras like *oṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ oṃ hrīḥ ha ha he he* and *oṃ śrīḥ śrīḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ....śāntiṃ kuru svāhā.* Whilst performing the rite the worshipper should cultivate thoughts of kindness and compassion towards all beings.

The third rite that should follow the next day is that of chanting spells (*bzlas-paḥi las*). At this ceremony too, Yamāntaka should be appeased with offerings and his blessings invoked.

The fourth ceremony (*sbyin-steg-gi las*) is that of making burnt offerings (*homa*). Detailed instructions for drawing a maṇḍala are given. Once completed, it should be cleansed with white sandalwood and milk. A prayer for warding off obstacles should then be pronounced, viz.....*amṛtakuṇḍali sarvavighnān nāśaya hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ.* The *Svabhāvaśuddha* mantra, quoted earlier, should be chanted and meditation on the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and selflessness (*anātmatā*) of all things should be practised. As the worshipper meditates, Mañjuśrī will originate from the syllable *dhrīḥ*. Offerings should be made to him. Agni will arise next. He should be hailed with the mantra, *oṃ agnaye āgacchāgaccha oṃ agnaye svāhā.* Five kinds of offerings should be made to him: flowers with the

formula *oṃ agnaye devata vajra puṣpe hūṃ* ; incense with *oṃ agnaye vajra dhūpa hūṃ* ; lamps with *oṃ agnaye devata vajra āloke aḥ hūṃ* ; perfumes with *oṃ agnaye devata vajra gandhe* and food with *oṃ agnaye devata nivedye.*

The following invocatory mantras should then be chanted and blessings invoked : *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ agnaye svāhā oṃ sarvadhanavajra svāhā oṃ vajra-āyuḥ śrī svāhā vajrapuṣpaye svāhā.... arghaṃ praticcha svāhā hūṃ....oṃ agnaye mama śāntiṃ kuru svāhā.*

The next deity to be invited and invoked is the krodha deity Prajñāntaka, the spell to be used for this purpose being *oṃ hrīḥ hrīḥ bho bho mahākrodha āgaccha asmat pūjāṃ pratigṛhṇa prasādaṃ me kuru svāhā.* Offerings should be made to him and favours solicited.

The next rite, the fifth, is that of the 'wheel of peace' (*zi-baḥi ḥklor-lo*). Injunctions for drawing the circle and inscribing mystic syllables on it are given. The phrase, '*śāntiṃ kuru*' should be written in the middle of the circle. Yamāntaka is to be propitiated at this ceremony, too. Further blessings should be invoked.

The sixth rite is that of practising meditation to ensure peace (*zi-baḥi bsam-gtan*). The krodha deity, Yamāntaka, should be meditated on first. The devotee should then rid his mind of evils of body, speech and mind and cultivate thoughts of enlightenment.

The final rite, the seventh, involves making offerings, confessing sins and pronouncing wishing-prayers.

R. H.

BHAIRAVAVAJRA, a 'demoniacal' Buddha, regarded as the fierce manifestation of Mañjuśrī, worshipped in Tibetan Buddhism. See VAJRA-BHAIRAVA.

BHAIṢAJYA, medicine. see BHESAJJA.

BHAIṢAJYA-GURU (Chinese : Yo-shih-fu Jap : Yakushi Nyorai ; Tib : Sman-bla-rgyal- po=Manla) or Medicine-Master, a Buddha of the 'Eastern Paradise' called *Vaidūrya-nirbhāsa.* He is regarded as the supreme divine healer or physician and hence his great popularity in the Far-East, specially in China and Japan. This Buddha is also known as Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūrya (-vaiḍūrya)-prabha or Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabha-rāja. The Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-rāja, referred to in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (64), appears also to be the same as Bhaiṣajya-guru.

There is a sūtra, named the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*, or the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūrya-prabha (rāja) Sūtra*, which mainly deals with this Buddha. Therein are described the twelve former vows (*pūrva-praṇidhāna*) which he undertook, when he was practising the bodhisattva discipline. The vows mainly reveal his functions and do not throw much light on his personality. The only information found with regard to his personality is that he vowed to obtain a well-grown and lustrous body, marked with the thirty-two major and eighty minor signs of a great being, which is pure both internally and externally, like a cat's-eye gem (*vaidūrya-maṇi*). Hence his name and the name of his sphere of influence (*kṣetra*). He resolved also that the rays issuing from his body shall outshine both the sun and the moon and illumine the entire world system, enabling beings to move about freely even at night.[1] His functions are not limited to healing activities. Besides resolving to cure various deformities, he vowed, also, to change females into males, to establish all devotees in the path of enlightenment, to dispel all their fears, to provide them with food, clothing and protection and also to lead them to heaven (*GM.* I, Intro. pp. 47 ff. and text pp. 1 ff.).

His Buddha-sphere (*buddha-kṣetra*),called Vaidūrya-nirbhāsā, is in the east and it is separated from our world system by a number of other world systems, ten times the number of the grains of sand in the Ganges. This buddhakeṣtra is devoid of all forms of suffering and has no women. Its floor is made of cat's-eye gems (*vaidūrya*). The mansions are made of the seven kinds of precious jewels and, in fact, it is like Sukhāvatī itself. Of

1 This description seems to suggest that the theory, which explains his origin as the personification of certain aspects of the sun, is not quite tenable.

the numerous bodhisattvas who reside in it, Sūrya-vairocana and Candra-vairocana are the foremost.[2] Besides them there are twelve yakṣa generals[3] who attend upon Bhaiṣajyaguru.

The vows and the buddha-kṣetra of Bhaiṣajya-guru are not totally different from those of other Buddhas, like Akṣobhya and Amitābha. The buddha-kṣetra of both Akṣobhya and Bhaiṣajya-guru are located in the east. The Vaidūrya-nirbhāsā appears to have been modelled on Sukhāvatī, for in the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*, it is likened to Sukhāvatī. Even healing-power is not his monopoly. The bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, whose origin is as old as that of Bhaiṣajya-guru, is said to possess similar powers. Numerous other functions, such as providing food and clothing and dispelling fears, changing females into males, are common to many Buddhas and bodhisattvas. In spite of certain similarities between the vows of Amita and Bhaiṣajyaguru, an important difference is noticeable in that while Amita is mainly looked up to for final liberation, Bhaiṣajya-guru is looked up to only for temporary and mundane benefits. Final liberation cannot be attained through Bhaiṣajya-guru. The *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* (q.v.) says that even those who lead well-disciplined lives with the aim of attaining Sukhāvatī will be born in heaven if they happen to hear the name of Bhaiṣajya-guru, and departing from heaven they will be born as world-rulers (*cakravartin*) or noblemen. By repeating his name, women are relieved of labour pains. The sūtra describes rites and rituals to be performed in honour of Bhaiṣajya-guru and through them the worshippers can obtain wealth and sons and even revive dying persons.

It is difficult to trace the origin of Bhaiṣajya-guru. The *Bhiṣajyaguru Sūtra* says that prior to the attainment of Buddhahood he had been born a bodhisattva, but neither his name nor other details except his vows, are given. The date of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* is also not known. The earliest reference to this text is in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and in the *śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*.[4] Though the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* contains interpolations, the earliest portions (i.e., i-xxvii) are considered as belonging to the 2nd century A.C. (*GOS*. LIII, Intro. pp. xxxiii, ff.). The *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* is referred to in these early portions and therefore, it could be surmised that the Bhaiṣajya-guru worship goes back to a still earlier period.

The concept of the divine-physician is not unique to India.[5] In India the concept goes back to the earliest Vedic period. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of a number of deities who are credited with divine healing power, and the origin of some of these can be traced to the Indo-European period. Among the divine healers or physicians mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, the Aśvins are quite well known. Healing is their main function and they are credited with numerous miraculous acts of healing. Varuṇa, too, possesses divine healing powers. Even the ruthless god Rudra is regarded as a divine healer. Dhanvantari, with a cup of ambrosia (*amṛta*) in his hand, is described in epics and other post-Vedic literature as a divine physician. He is said to have originated at the churning of the ocean by the gods. Sometimes, along with Dhanvantari, six other sages (*ṛṣi*) are mentioned and they are all regarded as celebrated physicians. These seven are referred to in Buddhist texts,[6] too.

The origin of the Buddhist concept of divine healer or physician appears to be traceable to a period prior to the rise of Bhaiṣajya-guru. Besides Bhaiṣajya-guru, the Buddhist texts refer to a number of bodhisattvas such as Bhaiṣajya-rāja, Bhaiṣajya-sena, Bhaiṣajya-samudgata who, as their names suggest, were divine healers. Of these, Bhaiṣajya-rāja and Bhaiṣajya-samudgata appear to be the earliest, for, they are referred to in the earliest section of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*[7] (p. 2; pp. 96 ff.). H. Kern (*Sdmp.* trsl. p. 404 n.) suggests the identification of Bhaiṣajya-rāja with Rudra, Dhanvantari and also with the bodhisattva Gadgadasvara. The evidence put forward by Kern in support of the identification of Bhaiṣajya-rāja and Rudra is slender. It is evident that

2 If the theory of his sun-origin is accepted, it is difficult to see why his two foremost attendants are given these two names.

3 The Chinese Buddhists connect these twelve yakṣa generals with the twelve zodiacal signs (M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935. p. 551). This is a later development and apparently due to the significance of the number twelve. Such later developments, too, seem to have prompted the modern scholars to suggest a theory of sun-origin for Bhaiṣajya-guru.

4 The date of the *ŚsP.* is not certain. It is, probably as old as the *Mmk.* itself.

5 e. g., Apollo of Greek mythology is also regarded as a divine healer.

6 They are Nārada, Dhammantari, Aṅgīrasa, Kapila, Kaṇḍaraggisāma, Atula, Pubbakaccāyana (*Miln.* 272). Sometimes Dhammantari is mentioned along with Vetaraṇi and Bhoja (*J.* IV, 496).

7 The exact date of the *Sdmp.* is not known. But the oldest chapters (i. e., i—xxi) undoubtedly belong to a very early period. The first Chinese translation done in 223 A. C. is lost. The earliest extant Chinese translation consisting of 28 chapters is assigned to the period between 265—316 A.C. This as well as the doctrine embodied in the oldest chapters seems to justify the suggestion that the oldest portions of the *Sdmp.* are datable to the latter part of the 1st century A.C. or early part of the 2nd century. The lengthy discription of Bhaiṣajya-rāja found in chp. xxii may be a later addition, added when the concept of medicine-bodhisattavas acquired greater significance.

Dhanvantari has some similarities with the healing Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Yet, these similarities do not warrant a total identification of the two. It seems more plausible to hold that the character of Dhanvantari may have influenced the Buddhist concept of divine-healer but did not serve as its proto-type. The bodhisattva Gadgadasvara is never regarded as a divine physician, and therefore, cannot be identified with Bhaiṣajya-guru.

Many other eminent scholars, too, attempt to trace the origin of the Buddhist concept of divine physician to Ṛgvedic gods and the sun. M. W. de Visser (*Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, I, p. 13) considers the medicine Buddhas and bodhisattvas as representing the healing and purifying nature of the sun and further regards Bhaiṣajya-guru to be a counterpart of the Aśvins and Sūrya.[8] M. Anesaki considers Bhaiṣajya-guru as representing the sun with its healing power and its brilliant light (*ERE*. XII, p. 645). It is an accepted fact that the creation of deities by personifying natural phenomena was a very common habit among the Vedic Indians. But, there is no evidence to show that this habit was prevalent during a period of two thousand years after the Vedic period. It is obvious that some of the deities in the Buddhist pantheon are Buddhist transformations of deities found in the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*. But Buddhas and bodhisattvas are not such transformations. Though numerous qualities and attributes of Vedic and Brāhmanic deities are superimposed upon them and even though, at times, they are identified with such deities, it is quite apparent that they are neither personifications of natural phenomena nor transformations of such deities.[9]

The Buddhas and bodhisattvas are for the most part metaphysical creations, personifications of different virtues, attributes and epithets of the Buddha. This was the most common mode of creating numerous Buddhas and bodhisattvas.[10] There is no valid reason to assume that in this particular case the Buddhists deviated from the normal mode of creating Buddhas. The assumption of a sun-god for the origin of the concept of the medicine-Buddhas and bodhisattvas seems unwarranted. Their characters do not reveal any special features that stamp them as personifications of certain aspects of the sun, although they are described as being extremely lustrous. Specially, Bhaiṣajya-guru is said to be extremely bright. But lustre seems to be a feature common to many Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Amitābha,[11] too, is described as being quite bright. Akṣobhya[12] is said to illumine his buddha-kṣetra by his own lustre. As already pointed out, even healing power has not been their monopoly at any stage.

On the other hand, it is quite probable that the concept of medicine-Buddhas and bodhisattvas, too, arose in the normal pattern, i.e., by the personification of certain characteristics and epithets of the Buddha. By natural metaphor, a religious teacher is regarded as a physician who cures the sufferings caused by numerous ills of life. In this sense the Buddha is often referred to as the best surgeon (*sallakatto anuttaro*), the physician (*bhisakka : Sn. v.* 560; *Miln.* 215, 248 f.). In Sanskrit Buddhist texts, too, he is called the physician (*cikitsaka: Sdmp.* xv, *v.* 21). The *Mahāvagga* records an incident where the Buddha cured Suppiyā miraculously (*Vin.* I, 216 f.). The Buddha personally attended on sick monks and the story of Pūtigata-tissa thera is a case in point (*DhpA.* I, 319 ff.). The *Mahāvagga* records numerous other instances where the Buddha is said to have acted as a physician and even prescribed various medicinal preparations to sick monks (*Vin.* I, 203–4, 210, 221). Most probably, these epithets and personal characteristics were later personified into medicine-Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

From textual evidence it would appear that the concept of medicine-bodhisattvas arose before the concept of medicine-Buddhas, for, the two bodhisattvas, Bhaiṣajya-rāja and Bhaiṣajya-samudgata, are referred to in the earliest sections of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. It has been suggested that these two bodhisattvas are identical (*BHS.* s.v.). The fact that Bhaiṣajya-samudgata is also called Bhaiṣajya-rāja-samudgata seems to suggest that he owes his origin to Bhaiṣajya-rāja. This habit of splitting up of one natural phenomen on or abstraction into several beings is quite common in Indian religious thought.[13] This process of multiplication

8 See also De Yisser's treatise on *Dragon in China and Japan*, Intro. § 4, p. 33 ; J. J. M. De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, viii, p. 157.

9 Even though the two names Ākāśa-garbha and Kṣiti-garbha suggest that they are personifications of natural phenomena, a closer examination reveals that these names are used more for their metaphorical significance. On the metaphorical importance of the name Ākāśa-garbha see *EncyBsm.* I, p. 312.

10 But some are mere creations of fancy, like the bodhisattva Dharma-cakra-pravartin referred to in *Lal.* p. 302.

11 Even the theory of his solar origin is not endorsed by all (see *EncyBsm.* s. v.).

12 On the metaphorical significance of the name Akṣobhya see *EncyBsm.* I, p. 365.

13 Almost all important bodhisattvas are represented in numerous forms. Avalokiteśvara alone has 108 forms.

brought in other medicine-bodhisattvas such as Bhaiṣajya-sena. In the beginning they were not regarded as important and they were assigned to the retinue of Amitābha. Amitābha was mostly worshipped for the attainment of Sukhāvatī, the final liberation. When the concept of Amitābha gained popularity, pious devotees seem to have felt the need for another Buddha to whom they could look for mundane and temporary benefits. The Buddha Bhaiṣajya-guru was created to fulfil this need. The concept of medicine-bodhisattvas may have served as the basis for this creation. Besides healing power, other functions, too, were attributed to him. Ultimately, according to the wishes of the worshippers, Bhaiṣajya-guru came to be regarded as the dispenser of almost all mundane benefits.[14]

It is evident that the concepts of Amita and Śukhāvatī, as well as the concepts of other Buddhas, influenced the formation of the concept of Bhaiṣajya-guru. An incident in a previous birth of Bhaiṣajya-rāja seems to explain the most marked aspect of his personality, namely, his extreme brightness. Bhaiṣajya-rāja in one of his previous births, resolving to honour the Buddha and the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, wrapped his body in divine garments, bathed it in oil and burnt himself (*Sdmp.* iii). His body continued blazing for twelve thousand years and numerous worlds were brightened by the glare of the flames. This particular incident must have prompted the imagination of the pious Buddhists to represent the Buddha Bhaiṣajya-guru as being specially lustrous. Once the Bhaiṣajya-guru concept arose, his personality, character and functions were influenced not only by other Buddhas and bodhisattvas, but also by Vedic and Brāhmaṇic gods of somewhat similar characteristics. The concept of Dhanvantari, the divine-physician with a pot of *amṛta* in his hand, could have influenced the representations of Bhaiṣajya-guru. The superimposition of various characteristics of Vedic and Brāhmaṇic gods on Buddhas and eminent bodhisattvas was a common habit among the Buddhists. This process of superimposition, at times, went to such extents that the Buddhas and bodhisattvas lost their original form and appeared to be transformations of Vedic and Brāhmaṇic gods.

The Chinese and Japanese Buddhists believe in seven healing Buddhas. The *Bhaiṣajya-guru Sūtra* is supposed to be the last work dealing with the different resolutions of these seven Buddhas. The concept of seven healing Buddhas is not known in India. However, it is laid down in the *Bhaiṣajya-guru Sūtra* that, when performing the particular rite meant for reviving a dying person, the worshipper has to make seven images of Bhaiṣayja-guru. It is not quite certain whether this formed the basis on which the concept of seven healing Buddhas was developed. It is quite possible that these seven are different manifestations of Bhaiṣajya-guru himself. In India Bhaiṣajya-guru was known by different names. Though the *Sapta-tathāgata-pūrva-praṇidhāna-viśesa-vistara* (*Taishō*, No. 451 ; *Nanjio*, No. 172), treats them as seven different Buddhas, the fact that they were worshipped together and were called by the name of the last one, namely, Bhaiṣajya-guru, also suggests that the concepts of seven healing-buddhas was formed by splitting the concept of one Bhaiṣajya-guru. Whether the belief in the seven celebrated physicians referred to in Brāhmaṇic as well as Buddhist texts influenced this concept or not is not certain.

The belief in Bhaiṣajya-guru reached China at a very early period. A translation of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* appeared in the early part of the 4th century. The appearance of numerous subsequent translations of the same sūtra suggests that the belief in Bhaiṣjya-guru gained considerable popularity and importance in China. In an inscription belonging to the 8th century, he is mentioned along with Amitābha and this hints at the eminence he had attained by that time (*GM.* I, p.15).

It was in Japan that he attained his greatest popularity and importance. The belief in the Buddha Bhaiṣajya-guru was firmly established in Japan by about the end of the 7th century. Japanese texts record the frequent performance of the 'rite of repentance' in the worship of the Buddha Bhaiṣajya-guru (*Yakushi-kekwa*) in order to revive dying emperors, to lengthen the lives and safeguard the health of the members of the palace, to purify the people from sin, to pray on behalf of the souls of the dead, and to ward off drought, pestilence and famines. In Japan the *Yakushi-kekwa* rites were performed at the court of Nara in the first half of the Heian period (8–12 A.C.). One of the earliest references shows that in 686 A.C. when emperor Temmu was gravely ill, the *Bhaiṣajya-guru Sūtra* was expounded in the temple of *Kawara* and a retreat was held within the palace. In 720, the empress Genshō had the sūtra read for one day and one night in 48 temples, in order to save the

14 Amitābha, Śākyamuni and Bhaiṣajya-guru form a popular trinity in Japan.

life of her minister Fujiwara no Fubito. But the minister died the following day. Yet, in keeping with the teachings of the sūtra, a great amnesty was proclaimed throughout the empire on his behalf. The first performance of the *Yakushi-kekwa*, officially indicated by this name, was carried out in 744 by the order of emperor Shōmu. This rite was performed again in the following year to revive the ailing emperor. Emperor Shōmu was an ardent believer in Bhaiṣajya-guru. After abdicating the throne, he retired to *Yakushi-ji*, where he became a monk. His daughter, empress Koken, too, was extremely devoted to Bhaiṣajya-guru. She had a new temple hall built for this Buddha in the Nashiwara palace and invited forty monks to perform the *Yakushi-kekwa* for seven days. She also issued a proclamation stating that she took refuge in the *Bhaiṣajya-guru Sūtra* and performed the *Gyodo-kekwa*, i.e., circumambulation of the healing-Buddha's image, and the *Yakushi-kekwa*. She also got the monks of the new Yakushi temple to perform the particular rite to lengthen the life of her father. Her father's death in 757, in spite of the performance of numerous rites to lengthen his life in the previous year, seems to have diminished her belief in the efficacy of Yakushi's saving power, for she did not repeat the performance even when her mother was ill.

The *Yakushi-kekwa* and other rites in honour of Bhaiṣajya-guru seem to have been revived in the reign of emperor Konin (770–80). Kwammu Tennō (781–806), too, performed Yakushi-rites to prevent drought and pestilence. These rites were repeated when the emperor fell ill. Gradually, these rites lost their former importance, and during the reign of Nimmyo Tennō these were used as nocturnal rites combined with the reading of the *Vajracchedikā-parjñā-pāramitā Sūtra* which was carried out during the day time. Ultimately, in place of the *Yakushi-kekwa* the mystic ceremony of Bhaiṣajya-guru (*Yakushi-ko*) was performed.

There are four ceremonical rules (*kalpa*) of the tantric school, explaining the meditation on Bhaiṣajya-guru and prayers dedicated to him. Two of them were translated by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in the eighth century. The translator of the third *kalpa*, on which is based the Japanese mystic *Yakushi-ho*, is unknown. The fourth *kalpa* was translated by the Tibetan monk Sha-lo-pa (1259–1314). The ceremony of the seven healing Buddhas (*Shichi-butsu-yakushi-ho*) was brought into prominence by the mystic branch of the Tendai sect. In 850 this ceremony was performed, most probably for the first time, in order to save the life of emperor Nimmyo. Again in 956 this ceremony was performed on a larger scale for one whole week. This was for the purpose of promoting the prosperity of the Kujō family. In 1015, the same ceremony was carried out to cure the emperor Sanjō. It was repeated, at Hieizan, in the following year. A similar ceremony was performed four years later.

The mystic cult of Bhaiṣajya-guru attained great popularity and in 1024 a new chapel called Joruri-in (Pure-vaidūrya-temple) was dedicated to the seven Buddhas. In it their images were placed together with the six Kannon images. In 1028 and 1142, too, this ceremony was performed on a grand scale at Hieizan. This ceremony was one among many such performed in 1281 to repel the invasion of the Mongols. Emperor Go Uda, in 1276, is also said to have performed this ceremony on behalf of Shinyomei-Monin, Kameyama Tennō's concubine, to ensure an easy child-birth. Prince Tendai Zasu Jido of the 14th century is regarded as the leader of the *Shichi-butsu-yakushi no ho*, an important ceremony of esoteric Buddhism in the Tendai sect (*Taimitsu*), performed specially in order to check diseases and increase wealth. In 1598, when the emperor Go yozei was ill, a ceremony called ' visitation of the Yakushis of seven places ' (*Shichijo Yakushi mōde*) was performed by the ministers. There seem to have been other mystic ceremonies such as *yakushi-goma*, a rite in worship of the seven healing Buddhas, and *Yakushi-ko*, a discourse upon Yakushi, probably a ceremony in honour of Yakushi Nyorai alone. But these do not seem to have been as popular as the other ceremonies mentioned earlier. Though the later Japanese texts do not record instances on which these mystic rites were performed, it is apparent that the mystic cult of the seven healing Buddhas did not go into complete oblivion, for, it is seen that in 1713, when Terajima Ryōan wrote the *Waken sansai zue*, there existed many chapels and temples dedicated to the cult of Bhaiṣajya-guru.

In Japan, after the spread of the mystic cult, Bhaiṣajya-guru was identified with Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amita and Śākyamuni. Sometimes, he is counted among the Dhyānibuddhas, taking the place of either Vairocana or Akṣobhya. He is also regarded as one of the thirteen Buddhas of the Shingon sect and he is believed to look after the soul of the dead on the seventh week after death (Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1962, pp. 24 f.). Gozu-Tennō or Susa-no-mo, the ancient god of the tempest and lord of the waters,

who later became god of love and marriage, too, is regarded as a metamorphosis of Bhaiṣajya-guru (J. Hackin, *Asiatic Mythology*, publ. Thomas. Y. Crowell, p. 40). It would appear that in Japan, Bhaiṣajya-guru acquired certain new characteristics. It is probable that the sun concept, which is the most important in indigenous religious belief, e. g., in Shintoism, later influenced the Bhaiṣajya-guru concept.

Bhaiṣajya-guru is held in high esteem in Tibet, too. There he is looked upon as the supreme healer. He is assigned seven or eight attendant bodhisattvas who are also divine healers.[15] Besides them, Amitāyus, Vajrapāṇi, Padmapāṇi, Siṃhanāda-Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśri, Mahākāla and the Pañcarakṣā goddesses are also worshipped for the same purpose.

Images of Bhaiṣajya-guru are common in Japan and these represent him either in the posture of standing or sitting. His right hand shows the *abhaya mudrā* (safety granting gesture) with the thumb slightly bent or rarely, touching the middle finger. His other hand carries the medicine pot or shows the *varada-mudrā* (wish-granting gesture). His seated images represent him in the *dhyāna-mudrā* (meditation-posture) with his hands lying on his lap, his fingers joined and the tips of the thumbs touching each other. A medicine pot is, also, placed on his palm. There is also another form of the seated image which represents him as carrying the medicine pot in his left hand which lies on the lap in *varada-mudrā* whereas the right hand makes the *abhaya-mudrā*. Seated images of Bhaiṣajya-guru found in Tibet show his right hand in *varada-mudrā* holding a myrobalan fruit, while the left is in *dhyāna-mudrā*, sometimes carrying the medicine pot.

Chinese paintings represent him also as riding on an elephant, carrying a staff with iron rings (*khakkhara*) in his right hand and an almsbowl in his left, whereas his two attendants are riding on a horse and a goose.

S. K. N.

BHAIṢAJYAGURU SŪTRA (var. *Ārya-Bhaiṣajya-guru-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* ; *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha* (*rāja*) *sūtra*). A Sanskrit sūtra so named after the Tathāgata Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha with whom the sūtra mainly deals (*GM*. I, Intro. pp. 47 ff. and Texts p. 1. ff.).

When the Buddha was sojourning at Vaiśālī he discoursed to a vast assemblage which consisted of bodhisattvas, disciples, gods, nāgas and other supernatural beings. On one occasion at the request of Mañjuśrī he preached about the twelve former vows or resolutions *pūrva-praṇidhāna* of the Tathāgata Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha who dwells in the buddha-field (*buddha-kṣetra*) called Vaidūryanirbhāsā. Further, he detailed the benefits one acquires by recalling the name of that Tathāgata.

The Tathāgata Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha while practising the bodhisattva discipline, is said to have made the following twelve vows which were to take effect when he attains enlightenment. i. That the lustrous rays issuing from his body shall illumine innumerable world systems and all beings, like himself, shall be marked with the 32 major and 80 minor signs of a great-being (*mahā-puruṣa*). ii. That his body shall be well-grown, and also be pure, internally and externally, like a cat's-eye gem (*vaidūrya-maṇi*) and rays issuing from it shall be brighter than those issuing from the sun or the moon, enabling beings of the numerous world systems to move about even during dark nights. iii. That his infinite knowledge shall provide protection to all beings and that none shall suffer from any form of deformity. iv. That he may establish in the path of enlightenment all those who follow either false-doctrines or the path of disciples or pratyekabuddhaṣ. v. That all those who practise chastity in his dispensation shall be well-restrained and none of them, even if they happen to transgress the moral rules, shall be born in evil states after hearing his name, vi. That people who suffer from various deformities shall be cured of such deformities after hearing his name. vii. That helpless and poor people who suffer from numerous diseases shall be cured as soon as they hear his name. viii. That if any woman, being disgusted, wishes to get rid of her femininity shall be able to do so by repeating his name. ix. That he may be able to turn away all those who cling to false views and who are ensnared by Māra, and set them on the right path

15 These are Siṃhanāda, Suparikīrtitanāma-śrī, Sarvaghoṣarāja, Suvarṇabhadra-vimala-ratna-prabhā-rāja, Aśokottamaśrī, Dharmakīrti-sāgara-ghoṣa, Abhijñā-rāja, and Sikhin. They are even at times regarded as Buddhas. For a painting showing the group of medicine Buddha see Alice Getty, op. cit. plate v. For a list of their Japanese counterpart see De Visser op. cit. II, pp. 551 ff.

of bodhisattva-discipline. x. That beings who fear the wrath of kings and its consequences as well as those who are confronted with other types of fear and obstacles shall be relieved of such fears and obstacles on account of his great merit and by hearing his name. xi. That hunger-stricken beings, even if they happen to commit sin for the sake of food, shall obtain excellent, tasty food, if they remember his name. xii. That all beings who are too poor to afford clothes and in consequence suffer heat and cold during day and night, shall obtain excellent clothes and valuable ornaments on remembering his name.

After enumerating these vows the Buddha described the buddha-kṣetra of Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha which is likened to Sukhāvatī itself. Then he preached about the great power of the name of this Tathāgata in bringing about relief to suffering masses. In doing this, the Buddha enumerated also different virtues which are stressed in Buddhist ethical teachings. Thus, he detailed the evil fate that befalls one who does not practise generosity and explained that even such a person will be saved from woeful existences and be reborn among human beings if he happens to remember the name of this Tathāgata. The same is said about those who transgress the precepts and those who through conceit speak derogatorily of others. In the same way the Buddha denounced slandering and speaking ill of others as well as the performance of tantric rites. Those who are guilty of these acts are saved only if they remember the name of this Tathāgata.

The Buddha further said that if either male or female disciples or male or female lay devotees, who follow the Noble Eightfold Path and observe either the fast-day (*upavāsa*) for one year or follow the precepts for three months with the wish of being born in Sukhāvatī, happen to hear the name of this Tathāgata, eight bodhisattvas will appear before them at the time of their death and lead them to heaven. While living in heaven their former roots of merit (*pūrva-kuśala-mūla*) will not diminish and, departing from there, they will be born among human beings as cakravartins or noblemen. The women who hear his name will be reborn as men.

Then Mañjuśrī himself enumerated the benefits that one acquires either by making others hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha or by preaching the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*. The Buddha described the procedure that should be adopted in worshipping this Tathāgata. The worshipper is to follow the Noble Eightfold Path and avoid impure food, choose a clean spot and decorate it with flags, festoons, clothes and so on. He should bathe and be of a friendly mind towards all beings. Then he should honour the statue of this Tathāgata with music. He should also remember the former great vows of this Tathāgata and read the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*. One who worships this Tathāgata in the above manner will be relieved of all obstacles and fears that confront him, and will also be endowed with sons, wealth and so on.

Further, it is said that those who may happen to hear the name of this Tathāgata and take refuge in the Triple Gem, observe the five precepts and the rules of bodhisattva discipline or become monks or nuns will ever be protected by this Tathāgata. The saving power of his name is so great that women, who repeat his name, when giving birth will feel no labour pains and will give birth to healthy, handsome and intelligent children.

Then, the Buddha asked Ānanda whether he had full confidence in all that the Buddha had said. Ānanda replied in the affirmative.

Another bodhisattva, named Trāṇamukta, then described how even a person who is on the ver ,e of death could be revived by his relatives by seeking refuge in and worshipping this Tathāgata. At the request of Ānanda he also described the special mode of worship that is to be performed by the relatives of the dying person. This is a much more elaborate form of worship than the one detailed above. In this form of worship seven images of Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha are to be made and at each image seven lamps, each of the size of a cart-wheel, are to be lighted. The worshipper himself should observe the Noble Eightfold Path and fast for seven days. He should provide the monks with alms and other requisites and also fix his mind on the name of this Tathāgata, three times day and night. Success is assured if the lamps he has lighted burn for thirty-nine days. Trāṇamukta described further how even a king could ward off all his calamities by worshipping this Tathāgata. This is followed by a discussion between Ānanda and Trāṇamukta on various forms of untimely death.

Then the twelve yakṣa generals including Kimbhīra, Antila and others who were in the assembly rose and promised to take refuge in the Triple Gem and also to protect all those who repeat the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabha and spread the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*.

Finally, at the request of Ānanda the Buddha gave two names *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūryaprabhasya-tathāgatasya - pūrvapraṇidhāna - viśeṣavistara*

and *Dvādaśānāṃ-mahāyakṣasenāpatīnāṃ-praṇidhānāṃ* by which this discourse is to be known, and remembered. However, at the end of the sūtra it is called the *Ārya-bhaiṣajyaguru-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*.

The fact that it is quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (pp. 13, 174, 175) is some proof of its popularity in India.

S. K. N.

There are four Chinese translations. The earliest one is the *Pa-ch'u-kuo-tsui-shêng-szŭ-tê-tu-ching* (拔除過罪生死得度經 Jap. *Batsujyo-kazai-shōji-tokudo-kyō*) which is the twelfth chapter of the (*Fu-shuo-*)*kuan-ting-ching*, 1 vol. (佛說灌頂經 Jap. *Bussetsu-kanchō-kyō, Buddha-bhāṣitābhiṣeka-sūtra : Taishō*, No. 1331, *Nanjio*, No. 167). This was translated by Śrīmitra of the Eastern Chin dynasty 317-420 A. C. Among the manuscripts of this translation which are found at *Tunhuang*, we can see many of them which exist not as a chapter of the (*Fu-shuo-*)*kuan-ting-ching* but as an independent *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*.[1] The second is the independent translation entitled the *Yo-shih-ju-lai-pên-yüan-ching*, 1 vol. (藥師如來本願經 Jap. *Yakushi-nyorai-hongan-kyō, Bhaiṣajyaguru-tathāgata-pūrvapraṇidhāna-sūtra : Taishō*, No. 449, *Nanjio*, No. 170) translated by Dharmagupta (615 A. C.) of the Sui dynasty 589-618 A.C. The third is also an independent translation known as the *Yo-shih-liu-li-kuan-ju-lai-pên-yüan-kung-tê-ching*, 1 vol. (藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經 Jap. *Yakushi-rurikō-nyorai-hongan-kudoku-kyō, Bhaiṣajyaguru - vaiḍūrya - prabhāsa - pūrvapraṇidhāna - guṇa-sūtra : Taishō*, No. 450, *Nanjio*, No. 171). This was translated in 650 A.C. by Hsüan-tsang of the T'ang dynasty 618-907. The Tunkuang, manuscripts of this translation according to Stein are in general agreement with the text of the Taishō Tripiṭaka.[2] These three texts appear almost similar to each other. But the fourth is quite different from them, that is, it has some other parts which must have been added in the later period. This is the translation in 707 A.C. by I-tsing of the T'ang dynasty 618-907. The title is the *Yo-shih-liu-li-kuan-ch'i-fu-pên-yüan-kung-tê-ching*, 2 vols. (藥師琉璃光七佛本願功德經 Jap. *Yakushi-rurikō-shichibutsu-hon-gan-kodoku - kyō, Bhaiṣajyaguru - vaiḍūrya - prabhāsa saptabuddha - pūrvapraṇidhāna-guṇa-sūtra : Taishō*, No. 451 ; *Nanjio*, No. 172).

This sūtra is extant in Tibetan, too. One version is found in the *Ḥphags-pa bcom-ldam-ḥdas sman-gyi bla bai-ḍūryaḥi ḥod-kyi sṅon-gyi smon-lam-gyi khyad-par rgyas-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*Ārya-bhagavato-bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūryaprabhasya - pūrva - praṇidhāna - viśeṣavistara-nāma - mahāyāna-sūtra, T.M.* No. 504) translated by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde. This corresponds to the earlier three Chinese translations mentioned above. The other version is known as the *Ḥphags-pa de-bshin-gśegs-pa bdun-gyi snon-lam-gyi khyad-pa rgyas-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*Ārya-sapta-tathāgata - pūrva - praṇidhāna - viśeṣavistara-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra, TM.* No. 503) translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde. This corresponds to the latest Chinese translation by I-tsing.

S. Mo.

BHAIṢAJYA-GURU-TATHĀGATA-PŪRVA-PRAṆIDHĀNA-SŪTRA, a reconstructed title from its Cninese translation, entitled *Yo-shih-ju-lai-pên-yüan-ching*. See BHAIṢAJYAGURU-SŪTRA.

BHAIṢAJYAGURU-VAIḌŪRYA-PRABHA, name of a Tathāgata (*ŚśP.* p. 1). This is also given as the name of a work, called *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūrya-prabha Sūtra*, in which he is prominent (*Śiks.* p. 13 ; *Mhvyut. BB.* XIII, p. 22). This work is the same as the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*. He is one of the so called " medicine-Buddhas " whom some scholars consider to be deifications of the purifying and healing aspects of the sun. But, it appears more probable that he is a personification

1 A few earlier catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka edited in ancient China gave some information, apt to be misunderstood as if another translation entitled *Yo-shih-liu-li-kuang-ching*, translated by Hui-chien, had existed. But Chih-shêng's Catalogue edited in 730 A.C., rightly observed that such a translation never existed. This observation of Chih-shêng was upheld not only by the later catalogues of the same kind, but also by modern researches with the exception of Paul Pelliot's contribution to the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. III, 1903, pp. 33-37 (the Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. I, pp. 48-50, has followed this view), who based his opinion on the earlier catalogues which are considered incomplete and incorrect by others (*Taishō*, Vol. 55, pp. 531b-c, 593c, 594a).

2 loc. cit.

and deification of epithets and personal characteristics of the Buddha which describe the latter as a physician. He seems to be identical with Bhaiṣajyavaiḍūrya-rāja, and even with Bhaiṣajyaguru. For details see BHAIṢAJYAGURU.

S. K. N.

BHAIṢAJYA - GURU - VAIḌŪRYA - PRABHĀSA-PŪRVA-PRAṆIDHĀNA-GUṆA-SŪTRA, a reconstructed title from its Chinese translations, entitled *Yo-shih-liu-li-kuang-ju-lai-pên-yüan-kung-tên-ching*. See BHAIṢAJYA-GURU-SŪTRA.

BHAIṢAJYA - GURU - VAIḌŪRYA - PRABHĀSA-SAPTABUDDHA-PŪRVA - PRAṆIDHĀṆA - GUṆA-SŪTRA, a reconstructed title from its Chinese translation, entitled *Yo-shih-liu-li-kuang-ch'i-fu-pên-yüan-kung-tên-ching*. See BHAIṢAJYA-GURU-SŪTRA.

BHAIṢAJYARĀJA, name of a bodhisattva, who is regarded as the elder brother of the bodhisattva, Bhaiṣajyasamudgata. He is represented as being seated cross-legged with a lotus in his right hand or as standing on a lotus with a banner in his hand.

In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Chapter xxii), it is said that in a former existence, during the time of the Buddha Candrasūryavimalaprabhāsaśrī, he was born as the bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriya-darśana and practised severe austerities. By walking to and fro (*caṅkramaṇa*) for twelve thousand years, he acquired the state of trance (*samādhi*) called *sarvarūpadarśana*. Later, resolving to honour the Buddha and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* text, he sacrificed his own self by burning himself to death. His body went on burning for twelve hundred years, and the whole world system was diffused by its light. After the lapse of this long period, during the dispensation of the same Buddha, he was born spontaneously (*aupapātika*) in the place of king Vimaladatta. As soon as he was born he spoke, expressing his desire to attend upon the Buddha, and went through the air, to meet him, but found that the Buddha was about to pass away. After the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, in order to fulfil the request made by the Buddha himself, he cremated the Buddha's body and later erected eighty-four thousand stūpas enshrining the relics from the cremation. Again, to show his devotion, he stood in front of those stūpas and offered his arms by burning them, but he regained them later by a truthful resolve (*satyādhiṣṭhāna*). Once he was born as Vimalanetra, the son of king Śubhavyūha (*Sdmp.* 470.11).

In Japan he is known as yaku-ō-Yo-wang (藥王) and is regarded as belonging to the retinue of Amitābha. He is also grouped among the eight bodhisattvas appearing at the death of a devout worshipper to lead him to Amitābha's heaven. The fact that the Bhaiṣajyarāja worship was regarded as a means of acquring immense merit is evident from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (p. 418), where it is stated that a female who shall hear and understand the chapter called the *Bhaiṣajyarājapūrvayogaparivarta* (the chapter on the former existence of Bhaiṣajya-rāja), shall be born as a man in Sukhāvatī, Amithābha's heaven, and shall also be praised by the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

In China, he is known as Yo-wang-p'u-sa (藥王菩薩); and important rites connected with repentance were based upon the sūtra called *Fu-shuo-kuan-yo-wang-yo-shang-êrh-p'u-sa-ching* (佛說觀藥王藥上二菩薩經 Sūtra spoken by the Buddha about the meditation on the two bodhisattvas, Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata) in which he is given a prominent place (*Nanjio*, No. 305). The fifteenth day of the fourth month is regarded as his birthday and occasionally he is regarded also as a follower of Bhaiṣajyaguru. Scholars regard him as a deification of the purifying and healing aspect of the sun (M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, see index under Yaku-ō and Yakujo).

S. K. N.

BHAIṢAJYARĀJA-BHAIṢAJYASAMUDGATI-SŪTRA, (or gata-) known in Chinese as *Fu-shuo-kuan-yo-wang-yo-shang-êrh-p'u-sa-ching* (佛說觀藥王藥上二菩薩經 Sūtra spoken by the Buddha about the meditation on the two bodhisattvas, Bhaiṣajya-rāja and Bhaisajyasamudgata), incorporated in the Sūtrapiṭaka of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and translated by Kālayaśas of the earlier Sung dynasty 420-79 A.C.

There seems to have been an earlier translation, which was already lost in 730 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 305).

S. K. N.

BHAIṢAJYASAMUDGATA (var. Bhaiṣajyarājasamudgata), name of a bodhisattva, who is closely associated with his elder brother Bhaiṣajyarāja (q.v.). He is represented as standing on a lotus with a banner in his hand. In a former existence he was born as Vimalagarbha, son of king Śubhavyūha

and together with his brother Vimalanetra (Bhaiṣajyarāja) performed paired miracles ((*yamakaprātihārya*) to convert their father who was bent on accepting brāhmanical teachings (*Sdmp.* 459 and 470).

In Japan he is known as Yaku-shang (藥上) and is regarded as belonging to the retinue of Amitābha. Sometimes he is classed among the eight bodhisattvas appearing at the death of a devout worshipper to lead him to Amitābha's heaven.

In China he is called Yo-shang-p'u-sa (藥上菩薩). There, important rites regarding repentance are based upon a sūtra called (*Fu-shuo-*)*kuan-yo-wang-yo-shang-êrh-p'u-sa-ching* (佛說觀藥王藥上二菩薩經 Sūtra spoken by the Buddha about the meditation on the two bodhisattvas, Bhaiṣajyrāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata) in which he is held in high esteem (*Nanjio*, No. 305). Occasionally, he, too, is mentioned as a follower of Bhaiṣajyaguru. Scholars regard him, like his elder brother, as representing the healing and purifying nature of the sun (M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, see index under Yaku-o and Yakujo).

S. K. N.

BHAIṢAJYASENA, name of a bodhisattva mentioned in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (1.15). He was present among the vast number of bodhisattvas listening to the Buddha, when the latter was sojourning at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana monastery (*BHS.* s.v.).

BHAIṢAJYAVAIḌŪRYARĀJA, a Tathāgata, cited in the (*Ārya-*) *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa* (64.2) and probably the same as Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūrya-prabha (-rāja). (*BHS.* s.v.)

BHAIṢAJYAVASTU, a section of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, available in Sanskrit and published in the *Gilgit Manuscripts* (III, i). This text corresponds roughly to *khandhaka* vi (i. e., *Bhesajjakkhandhaka*) of the *Mahāvagga* of the Pali *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

According to the title this book should deal exclusively with the various medicines allowed for monks. But, only the first few pages (i. e., i–xiv) deal with this subject. From there, a portion of the original is lost, which, according to N. Dutt, is available in Tibetan (*GM.* III, i, p. xv) and this lost portion must have contained valuable information regarding the use of medicine. According to him, the present Sanskrit text contains only about half of the original *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. Generally, the book contains the stories of the *avadāna* as in the *Divyāvadāna* which has very many passages common with this text.

The narrative begins by referring to an illness of the monks and the Buddha recommending four kinds of medicine, viz., those to be taken for a short time, for the duration of one watch, for one week and for life. These four kinds comprise various kinds of gruel, fruits, leaves, raisins, roots, bark, decoctions, flowers, ointments, stalks, wood, butter, honey, molasses, etc. In addition to these he also recommends marrow, collyrium, raw meat and blood for various diseases. (For a detailed discussion of these medicines see BHESAJJA). The recommendation of these medicines gave rise to several Vinaya rules. At first, when the monks fell ill the Buddha granted permission to use medicines of various kinds. Next, he laid down rules limiting the time for the consumption of various medicines, which is decided by the kind of medicine permitted. It is an offence to consume them in any way other than as prescribed. Another rule that is repeatedly laid down is that the medicines allowed should not be used as food, but only as medicines. Instead of throwing away the unwanted medicines, which constituted an offence, they should be preserved so that they could be made use of by someone in need of them. These minor rules are referred to in the course of a series of stories which narrate how the monks, suffering from various illnesses, had medicines recommended by the Buddha. An outstanding case is that of the insane monk who was cured by eating raw meat and drinking raw blood (*GM.* III, i, p. ix; *Vin.* I, 202–3). The contents of the first 14 pages of the text are fully discussed in the article BHESAJJA.

On p. xiv, at the end of the section dealing with medicines, begins the story of Mahāsena, but from here a portion of the book (about 100 leaves) is lost. From then onwards the book contains a series of narrative accounts of the Buddha's sojourns into various places in north India, the converts he made and the important personages he met in these places. Thus p. xvii opens with the account of the Buddha's visit to Kashmir and his meeting with the yakṣa Vajrapāṇi. It is of interest here, that the conversion of Kashmir by Asoka's missionary, Mādhyandina (Pali: Majjhantika), is referred to here in the form of a prediction attributed to the Buddha. As the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* is believed to have been written about the 5th century A. C., the writer seems to have thought of adding, about 700 years after the event, authority and

sanctity to the conversion of Kashmir by Mādhyandina, by making the Buddha predict the conversion. The presence of the Nāgas in Kashmir is also referred to here. From Kashmir the Buddha visits Bhraṣṭālā, Kanthā, Dhānyapura and Naitarī, converting the yakṣa Āpannaka, a yakṣiṇī, Senarāja, and a potter, respectively, in these places. He next visited Śādvalā, and Nandivardhana, where he converted the two nāgas Aśvaka and Punarvasuka. The text says that the Buddha gave them an image of his for worship. This reference to a Buddha-image may be of interest as the book was written about the 5th century A. C. Nālī and Udaryā were two other yakṣiṇīs converted by the Buddha here. At Kuntīnagara he converted the yakṣiṇī, who had been a terror to the inhabitants of the city in that she used to take away all the new-born babies. Next, he went to Kharjūrikā where he pointed out a certain boy and predicted that 400 years after his parinirvāṇa that boy would be reborn as king Kaniṣka. This prediction is also intended to invest this Buddhist king with sanctity.

On his way to Rohitaka from there, the Buddha converted the nāga king Apalāla. Here the Buddha refers to the women of Uttarāpatha as being of wicked behaviour. It is worth noting here that up to the conversion of Apalāla the Buddha was accompanied by the yakṣa Vajrapāṇi. The Buddha himself says that he went to Uttarāpatha with him (p. 2). In his journeys from Sūrasena onwards he was accompanied by Ānanda. From Rohitaka it was to Sūrasena that the Buddha proceeded, which is referred to as the first kingdom (*ādirājya*), as it was here (according to the text) that the first king Mahāsammata was elected. From here he went to Bhadrāśva and thence to Mathurā. On his way to Mathurā he predicted that 100 years after his parinirvāṇa two brothers, Naṭa and Bhaṭa, would erect a vihāra on a mountain called Uramuṇḍa. Here, the Buddha also refers to an Alakṣaṇaka Buddha, called Upagupta who would be ordained by Mādhyandina. Could this Upagupta be the same as the monk of the same name who, according to some, presided over Asoka's Council ? and also, could this Mādhyandina be the same as the Majjhantika thera, who was Asoka's missionary to Kaśmīra ?

An interesting feature introduced into the story of Upagupta in this text is the adoption of the style of the jātaka stories. Here, the Buddha is questioned by the disciples as to Upagupta's previous karma, whereupon the Buddha, in the true jātaka style, relates his previous karma and identifies the characters at the end.

Next, the Buddha went to Mathurā where he preached on the purity of all the four castes. To this the brāhmans of the place took exception and they asked the brāhman chief Nīlabhūti to revile the Buddha. But being a lover of truth, instead of reviling him, he eulogised him in forty stanzas in which the Buddha's teaching is briefly dealt with. The Buddha then accepted the food offered by the brāhmans and the householders of Mathurā and disciplined Gadrabha and many other yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs of the place.

The Buddha's next visit was to Otalā, where 500 cultivators were ploughing with 1000 oxen. Here, too, the Buddha explained to them their past karma and preached to them. The reader is referred to the *Otalāyana Sūtra* of the *Saṃyuktāgama* for details. It was here that the Buddha met the servant woman Kacaṅgalā, who was allowed to embrace the Buddha as a special favour as she had been his mother in several previous existences. The Buddha preached to her, after which she entered the Order, realised the truth and became the chief female expositor of the *Sūtrāntas*. Here also the Buddha explains her past karma due to which she was born as a servant woman and also why she was able to enter the Order and realise the truth.

From Otalā the Buddha went to Vairambhya where he converted and admitted into the Order a brāhman who had an aversion to the Buddha's teaching. The king of the region, Agnidatta, offered to provide the Buddha and his disciples with the four requisites for three months. But owing to a trick played by the king's adviser the king could not keep his promise. The Buddha had to live on barley grain for the whole period. Later, the secret was out but the king was able to feed the Buddha and his retinue only for one day. It was because of an incident here that the Buddha laid down the rule that it was an offence for a monk to touch food with his feet (p. 45). Within this story is inserted another story in which Ānanda described in great detail to a brāhmaṇa girl treasures of a world ruler (cakravartin). Here also the Buddha recounts some past karma of his, due to which he had to live on barley grain. From here the Buddha proceeded to Ayodhyā and stayed on the banks of the Ganges. Here he preached a discourse to a monk in which some doctrinal matters are referred to. A cowherd by name Nanda, listened to this discourse, entered the Order and achieved emancipation. A frog, on whom Nanda was resting his pole while listening to the discourse, did not want to disturb him.

It died and, as a result of this merit, was reborn as a god. The narrative continues to relate how the Buddha preached the doctrine to some aquatic creatures.

The pattern of the stories narrated in this text is that the Buddha visits a certain place, preaches the doctrine, whereupon those listeners are not only converted but very often become arahants. Inevitably the Buddha preaches their past karma and draws a moral from their stories. The main purpose of the narrative is to teach the karma-theory, as in the jātakas. A number of small stories are embossed within the main story. This is the framework within which the narrative proceeds. The story of the Buddha's meeting with the pretas and that of the origin of the lake Anavatapta and of the Ganges (pp. 59 ff.) have their own peculiar interest. The story of the king Piṇḍavaṃśa (p. 63) is reminiscent of the renunciation of prince Siddhārtha, for here the king, on his way to the pleasure garden, sees an old man, a diseased one and a corpse, and he becomes dejected and opens halls of charity in his kingdom.

At Sāketa, Śrāvastī and Toyikā, too, the Buddha made many converts, most of whom were farmers. The good results of generosity are extolled highly in those stories (pp. 69 ff.) by means of short parables. Not only the purpose but even the characters of these stories, who are very often animals, are similar to those of the jātakas or of the stories of the *Pañcatantra*. Even bulls, swans, tortoises, fish, etc., listen to the Buddha's discourses and realise the truth. At Toyikā the Buddha showed to his disciples the relics of Buddha-Kāśyapa, which had been buried there.

Next the Buddha relates the merit gained by worshipping *caityas*, where the Buddha's relics are enshrined. At Śrāvastī the Buddha was entertained by Anāthapiṇḍada. Some incidents relating to the visit of Mahākāśyapa to Śrāvastī are also narrated here (pp. 80 ff.). There follows an account of Mahākāśyapa's meeting with Śakra. In all these narrative accounts the main theme is to illustrate how even a small meritorious action leads to rich rewards both in this world and in heaven and finally to the realisation of Nirvāṇa. The Buddha's meeting with king Prasenajit is the occasion for the Buddha to relate a number of his past birth stories after the manner of the jātakas. Out of these birth stories the story of king Kuśa could be compared with the Pali *Kusa Jātaka* (No. 531). Most of these stories are not given in detail but the reader is referred to various *Āgamas*. In the story of Sudhana the description of Manoharā's beauty deserves special mention because of its poetic value.

From here several leaves of the Sanskrit text are missing and the next available leaf (p. 161) opens with the concluding portion of the story of Cañcā (Ciñcā) Mānavikā. Next, 500 arhants went to the lake Anavatapta, along with the Buddha, to recount their previous existences. An incident in this story sparked off a trial of strength in psychic power between Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana from which the former emerged victorious. Concerning this the Buddha related some previous birth stories of the two in which, too, Śāriputra defeated Maudgalyāyana in skill (pp. 163–71). Here starts the text of the *Sthaviragāthā* (*Theragāthā*) which tell of the birth stories of some monks. Of these there are 22 collections attributed to various elders. In the corresponding Pali texts there are similar *gāthās* attributed to these monks with occasional agreements between the two texts. Of special interest is the *gāthā* attributed to Koṭīviṃśa (pp. 181–2) which agrees very closely with the *Soṇakoṭivīsāpadāna* of the Pali *Apadāna* (p. 298). After the 22nd *Sthaviragāthā* a few pages are again missing and the available portion continues a number of short stories in which are given some instances of the bad karma the Buddha had committed in previous existences, and for which he had to pay the penalty in his last birth. For instance, according to one of these stories, the Buddha had to face the false charge of rape from Cañcā (Ciñcā) because he had in a previous existence killed his mistress (a courtezan) and fathered the guilt upon a pratyeka-buddha (pp. 213 ff.).

The Buddha then visited Nagarabindu and thence Vaiśālī where he preached some sermons and made converts. It was at Nagarabindu that the Buddha allowed the eating of molasses (*guḍa*) for any monk whether ill or otherwise and also at any time (p. 223). In the following pages some incidents are related which led to the Buddha's allowing the monks to prepare their own food in special circumstances. When a certain monk fell ill the Buddha allowed him to be given a hot beverage and also allowed the monks to heat it, if necessary (p. 234). Then there follows a discussion of the places allowable for such purposes, which could be compared with a similar discussion in the Pali *Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* I, 239–40). The Vinaya rules regarding the eating of meat is also laid down here (pp. 236–7). Meat is allowed to monks provided it satisfies three conditions, which are that one

should not have seen, heard or had reason to think that the meat was prepared specially for him. In the Pali text (*Vin.* I, 23) the same rule is laid down, but there the reference is to both fish and meat (*macchamāṃsa*), whereas in the Sanskrit text the reference is only to meat (*māṃsa*). Then follows the relaxation of certain Vinaya rules regarding food in times of scarcity. In the Pali text, too, (*Vin.* I, 238) there are similar relaxations of rules in times of scarcity, but here the Buddha emphatically lays down that those relaxations are valid only during such lean times and not at any other time. There is also the story of Śāriputra suffering from a disturbance of the humours of his body and Maudgalyāyana bringing lotus seeds from the lake Mandākinī and curing him (pp. 239–40). This story is found in the Pali text, too, (*Vin.* I, 214–15), which , however, says that Śāriputra's illness was fever. After this follows the story of the Meṇḍhaka family of six members, who were of great merit This story, with some differences in detail, is found in the Pali text (*Vin.* I, 239 ff.) and also in the *Divyāvadāna* (123 ff.). The relation of the story led to the formulation of a few Vinaya rules by the Buddha. One such rule was that the Buddha permitted the consumption of ghee (*ghṛta*), molasses (*guḍa*) sugar (*śarkarā*) and drinks (*pānaka*) even after meal time (*akālakhādyakāni*). Another was that the monks were allowed to accept money (*kārṣāpaṇa*) through an attendant (*kalpakāra*) or a novice (*śrāmaṇera*). The Buddha further related the previous birth stories of the members of the Meṇḍhaka family to show why they were so lucky (*mahāpuṇya*).

A new section begins here (p. 255) in which the Buddha preaches to the Cāturmahārājika devas. He preached to the four guardian deities Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa. It is of interest that the two latter deities are here said to be non-Āryan and as such, the Buddha not only preached to them in a non-Āryan language (*dāsyuvācā*), but he preached to them two mantras whereas to the other two, being Āryans, he preached the normal Dharma in the Āryan language. The Buddha also preached the four previous birth stories of the four deities.

The Buddha next preached to the seer named Kaineya, who became an anāgāmin and offered the Buddha eight kinds of drinks allowed by the Buddha (For details about these drinks see BHESAJJA). Then there follows the account of the conversion of 1,000 *jaṭilas*, which account is followed by a versified account of the same story in which various doctrinal points, too, are referred to. This story is found in the Pali text also (*Vin.* I, 245–6), but there are many points of difference between the two stories.

Then follows the sojourn of the Buddha in the country of the Mallas, where the chief minister of the Mallas, Roca, became greatly devoted to the Buddha. In the Pali text (*Vin.* I, 247 ff.) there is the story of Roja, the Malla, but the two stories are not identical. The concluding story of the text is one in which a monk bitten by a snake is first given some medicine (for details see BHESAJJA) and when it failed, the Buddha teaches the Mahāmāyūrī mantra, which cures the monk (the mantra is given in the text, p. 287). The book ends with the Buddha relating the story of how this mantra was discovered by a peacock living in the Himālayas.

A. G. S. K.

BHĀJĀ. The piety of Asoka which recognised in no uncertain terms the humanistic character of Buddhism imbued it with a dynamic force which led to its wider diffusion in the country of its origin and outside. Asoka had truly realised that while ethical principles and philosophical thought could appeal to a limited coterie of monks and laymen, the grand concepts of art and architecture, if pressed to the service of Buddhism, were bound to attract a much bigger number of followers who could see in them the dream of the royal patron translated into visual symbols. The foundations and embellishments of the stūpas, the building of big brick-and-mortar monasteries and the excavation of rock caves which served as chaityas and vihāras certainly emphasised the dynamic role Buddhism was destined to play in the future.

It must be admitted that, before Asoka, stone architecture, as it existed, was in a primitive stage, and to transform the wooden prototypes into solid rock acquired a new technique of cutting and polishing the living rock. The resultant cave architecture was a happy compromise between the old and new material and though in its formative stage it could not aspire to more creative conceptions of the later period, it showed a nobility of conception which took into consideration such factors as the geographical situation, the nature and formation of the rocks which were excavated and a steadfast adherence to architectural prototypes in wood.

Of great significance to the rock-cut caityas and vihāras in the Deccan (Western India) are the excavated caitya halls in the Barābar hills in Bihār,

dedicated to the use of the Ājīvikas (q.v.), showing the wide tolerance of Asoka's religion. Certain features of the Sudāmā Cave in this group dated in the twelfth regnal year, such as a circular chamber, and an ante-chamber with side entrance, the chambers, being separated by a wall whose upper part has overhanging caves representing thatch, are with certain changes repeated in somewhat later Buddhist caves at Koṇḍaviṭe in Salsette, Maharashtra, Junnar and Guṇṭupalle. The unfinished and undated Lomas Rishi Cave of the Mauryan period has a similar plan, but the shrine chamber is oval " and the entrance facade is carved in imitation of wooden forms, in the shape of an ogee arch above heavy sloping joints, and the pediment is decorated with a frieze of wall-designed elephants. "[1]

It is apparent that newly evolved northern architectural tradition took some time to spread to other parts of the country. With the forward march of Buddhism by the second century B.C. (if not earlier) rock-cut architecture as one of the visible symbols of the burning faith had reached the Deccan.

In this group of Buddhist caves, Bhājā is perhaps the earliest in western India. The work here is datable to the second centrury B.C. though some scholars have tried to bring it down to the first century B.C., and some even later. However, as pointed out by M. N. Deshpande[2], the archaic features of the caitya cave, such as the pronounced rake of the pillars, the presence of timberwork as an inseparable feature of the architecture, and the archaic feature of the figure sculpture etc. support its early dating. The sculpture in the vihāra cave, the provision of stone beds and pillars in the cells, the early form of the pillars and slanting door joints also support the greater antiquity of the Bhājā group.

The group of caves at Bhājā is situated about a mile from Maḷavalī Station on the Central Railway and is about 2½ miles south of the Bombay-Poona Road from Lonāvālā. The small village of Bhājā is situated at the foot of a spur of the hill which is crowned by the old Īsāpur hill-fort. The caitya and the vihāras face the west; counting upper storeys, etc., there may be altogether reckoned eighteen excavations.

1 Comaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 19,

2 M. N. Deshpande, Important epigraphical records from the Chaitya Cave, Bhājā, *Lalit-Kalā*, No. 6 (Oct. 1959), pp. 30–32.

The nearest parallel to the caitya cave at Bhājā is the Koṇḍaṇe caitya near Karjat (Kolaba District). Deshpande[3] has rightly pointed out that these two early Buddhist caves lie at the two ends of Bor Ghat through which passed the ancient trade route connections between Kalyān and Sopārā in the north and the Māmaḷa country in the South.

Commencing from the north the first cave is a natural one which has been slightly enlarged. The next ten are plain vihāras. Vihāra No. VI is now in a dilapidated condition. It has an irregular hall almost 14 feet square with two cells on each side and three at the back. The cell doors are decorated with the caitya-window ornament. The verandah in front, which is in a very dilapidated condition, has a part of a broken pillar and a broken capital with animal figures.[4]

Caitya Cave No. XI is one of the most interesting of caves in India. Its front view (*EncyBsm*. Vol. II, Pl. LXXI) sufficiently explains its general character. The wooden screen which originally enclosed its front has disappeared, but it could be restored as its literal copies in stone exist at Beḍsā, Kārle and elsewhere, and also with the help of the mortices cut in floor and at the sides showing the emplacements of the timbers attached to the rock. It is significant to note that there is no single feature in the construction of the Bhājā caitya which is not based on wooden construction.

As pointed out by Percy Brown[5], the chronological sequence in which the caitya halls were executed is based mainly on the principle that the earlier the example the more closely does it copy wooden construction. It is also assumed that the inward inclination of the pillars was derived from wooden posts, slanted in order to counteract the outward thrust of a heavy timber-roof; thus the greater the angle of the rake, the nearer the relation to its wooden prototype. Moreover, the shape of the arch in the façade, from simple to complex, determines the chronological sequence of the caves. For instance, the façade in the Lomas Rishi shows a gable end made up simply of laminated board, bent rather curved to a suitable angle. At Bhājā, however, the characteristic horseshoe arch first appears in the façade, but its undecisive curves (which become firmer at Koṇḍaṇe) gain their early maturing at Nāsik and Kārle.

3 Deshpande, op. cit., p. 30.

4 Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, pp. 223, ff

5 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, Bombay, p. 26.

The Bhājā caitya proper measures 26 feet 8 inches wide and 59 ft. long, with a semi-circular apse at the back, and has an aisle 3 ft. 5 inches wide separated from the nave by twenty-seven plain octagonal shafts 11 ft. 4 inches high, which rake of inward about 5 inches on each side. The diameter of the stūpa (*EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. LXXII) at the floor level is 11 feet, the cylinder is 4 feet high, the dome is 6 feet high and the " box " (*harmikā*) at the top is two-storeyed, the upper one being hewn out with a hole in the bottom sunk down in the dome to receive the shaft (*yaṣṭi*) of the umbrella (*chatra*) which once topped the stūpa. The upper portion of the *harmikā* probably contained some relic. The plain pillars are decorated with Buddhist symbols, conventional rosettes, etc.

The arched roof (the arch springing from a narrow edge over the triforium) attains a height of 26 feet 5 inches from the floor. It is ribbed inside, with teak girders some of which are missing. Originally the frontage must have been constructed entirely of wood. The four holes in the floor indicating the position of the principal uprights and the mortices cut in the arch to show the emplacements of the main cross beams to secure the lattice work in the upper part of the window, show certain features of wooden construction. " Almost the only difference in detail between this and Caitya at Koṇḍaṇe is that in the latter the irregular pillars immediately in front of the nave, and nearly in line with those dividing off the aisle were of stone, here they are of wood ; both temples are equally simple and almost identical in the styles of their façades, and only the difference just remarked seems to indicate that the Bhājā example is earlier of the two."[6]

The front of the great arch is full of pin holes, in three rows, indicating that some ornamental facing had probably covered the whole of it. Railings, balconies and latticed windows give the whole structure the appearance of a royal palace as described in Pali and depicted in contemporary sculpture. The only figure sculpture is a female figure high up on the left side of the front wearing a heavy torque, a necklace, a beaded belt and a short *sārī*, and two half figures looking out from a window in the projecting side to the right of the great arch. On the same side appear the heads of others in two small compartments in the façade, and on a level with the top of the arch.

The vihāra at Bhājā has an outer verandah separated by a wall with two doorways and a barred window from an inner hall 16 ft. 7 inches deep and about 10 ft. 9 inches high with a bench on the left side and two cells in the right and two in the back wall and a fifth in the right end of the verandah. Three of the five cells have stone beds. Three shelves surmounted with caitya arches in unoccupied parts of the walls. Outside the vihāra there are three small cells, excavated after construction of the vihāra to accommodate additional monks. [7]

The ornamental stūpas are of a simple type surmounted with an umbrella and festooned domes. The male caryatid figures in between the stūpas wear white, heavy necklaces and bracelets. The three *dvārapālas* (doorway sentries) on the front wall are very elaborately decked. The one between the two doors now in a very much damaged condition, wears a bulky turban, heavy earrings with beads, a broad torque and a narrow ornamented belt to support the broad sheath of a short sword. He holds two lances in his left hand. The feet are bare and he wears a *dhotī* which hangs in loose folds. On the right of the principal door stands another *dvārapāla* equipped with a short broad knife, a bow and a quiver on the left shoulder (*EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. LXXII). He wears heavy coiled bracelets and palmate-shaped armlets. The third *dvārapāla* is very richly dressed; his complicated headdress is larger ; the bracelets and armlets are decorated with minute carvings and the necklace has an oblong pendant. He is armed with a knife and two spears.

Among the other decorative elements may be noted the winged, sphinx-like figures with bodies of bulls, with male and female busts, serving as crowning pieces of the pillars ; these call to mind similar elements in early Indian architecture and sculpture.

The most interesting feature of the vihāra is a set of bas-reliefs whose interpretation has not yet been finally settled. On the left side of the verandah is represented a royal personage, driving in a four-horsed chariot, who is accompanied by two female attendants, one holding an umbrella and the other a *chaurī* (white yak fly-whisk), the recognised emblems of royalty. Figures on horseback escort the royal chariot, and of these one woman rider has her leg on stirrups. The chariot is driven across the back of gross, ugly, nude demons floating in the air. Fergusson compares the principal figure in

6 Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit. p. 226.

7 J. Burgess, *A Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples ASWI.* Vol. IV, Lond., 1883, pp. 3-4.

the base relief with the figure of Sūrya and his two wives appearing in one of the Bodh Gayā reliefs. [8] Coomaraswamy [9] supporting Fergusson's views observes, "I see no reason to question the original identification of the scene as representing Sūrya with his two wives driving through the sky and dispelling the powers of darkness." Marshall, however, does not agree with this identification. In his opinion "four-horsed chariots of this type are a familiar motif in early Indian art, and in this instance there is nothing special to indicate the identity of Sūrya." [10] E. H. Johnston, writing in 1939[11] after examining the developments and classification of the iconography of Sūrya, questions the view that the scene might have some distant relationship with a passage in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (I, 10) where Śambara engages in battle with Savitri and is defeated. Johnston, however, finding the presence of some birds in the scene, identifies it with the war between Sakka and the Asuras as described in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 224–5). This story of the campaigns of the gods against the Asuras, though of pre-Buddhistic origin was later incorporated into *Jātaka* collections. The essential point of the legend is that Sakka, fighting in his chariot against the Asuras had to take a course that would have cut some *sālmali* (Silk-Cotton Bombax Heptaphyllum or *Salmalia Malabarica*) trees in which *garuḍas* were resting. "In order to save the life of the birds and their nestlings he directed Mātali to take the hazardous step of turning the chariot back, and the Asuras, thinking from this movement that he had received reinforcements, fled in terror. It is this episode which has been chosen for representation in this relief." [12]

In a more elaborate relief on the right, the centre and the top are occupied by an enormous elephant decorated with ornaments and provided with an elaborately figured elephant-carpet, who has uprooted a tree with his trunk. The royal rider who is elaborately dressed has an attendant holding aloft a standard with the post tipped with a *Nandipāda* symbol. To the left appears a chaitya tree with railing on which are pendent a large number of women, a couple of them plucked from the tree stand a side. A soldier with a dagger is also shown pulling out a woman for himself. In the foreground appear some interesting details. To the left a man of position is seated on a *modhā* (woven basket seat) with a *chaurī*-bearer standing behind him; another woman stands besides the *modhā*. A little below this appear a man playing the harp (*saptatantrī vīṇā*) and a dancing girl performing before him. In the centre appears a chaitya tree decorated with garlands, necklaces and an umbrella. On the right appear curious mythical animals and a horse-headed yakṣī dragging a male.

Here again scholars differ in their identification of the scene. Coomaraswamy, agreeing with former writers, identifies the figure riding the elephant as Indra mounted on his elephant Airāvata and quotes Vedic and Paurāṇic verses to support this iconographic concept. [13] Johnston [14] identifies the figure as that of Kāmadeva. In support of this view he quotes *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, 103–4), the second of the *Māra-saṃyuttas* in which Māra is said to have created the form of a gigantic elephant to frighten the Buddha when soon after the enlightenment he was sitting in the open air on the bank of the Nirañjarā under the *Ajapāla nigrodha*. To obviate the difficulty about the presence of the elephant, Johnston suggests that the Pali text *mahantaṃ hatthirājavaṇṇam abhinimminitvā* should be translated: he (Māra) produced the form separately from his own and if this be correct, then Māra might be represented as sitting on the back of the elephant, his own manifestation. Johnston explains the bodhi tree and the women to be Nandabalā and her followers, and the men to be the Gopa chief and his attendants.

The latest view about the identification of the two reliefs is that they form a part of the story of Māndhātā related at some length in the *Divyāvadāna*. [15] It is related in the Avadāna that after the death of his father Māndhātā was crowned at Sāketa. At the coronation ceremony the royal turban was tied to his head by the gods, and the seven jewels befitting a cakravartin (Wheel or Universal king) manifested themselves to him. While Māndhātā was reigning an incident happened which throws light on his compassionate nature. In the forests at Vaiśālī there lived five hundred *ṛṣis*. As the chirping of birds was a constant source of nuisance to them, one of them named

8 *JRAS.* (N. S.) V (1871), pp. 367 ff.

9 Coomaraswamy, op. cit, p. 25.

10 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 638.

11 *Journal of the Society of Oriental Art.* VII (1939), "Two Buddhist Scenes at Bhājā", pp. 1 ff.

12 ibid. p. 5.

13 Coomaraswamy, op. cit. pp. 25–26.

14 *JISOA*, VII, pp. 5–7.

15 *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 1, (1950–51) pp. 15–21; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Bombay, 1959, pp. 130 ff.

Durmukha pronounced a curse clipping their wings. When Māndhātā came to know of this he banished the *ṛṣis*, who then settled on Sumeru. The legend further states that in order to satisfy the wants of his subjects the king caused the rainfall of grain, cotton, fabrics and gold. On the advice of the yakṣa Divaukasa, Māndhātā conquered Pūrvavideha and Apara Godānīya and finally decided to lead an expedition to Uttarakuru accompanied by his seven jewels, which naturally included the elephant-jewel (*hasti-ratna*). There, he found k .lpavṛkṣas growing garlands and cloths and he asked his followers to enjoy themselves. Here in the running description of Uttarakuru the presence of beautiful women is not mentioned. The wishing-trees, in Uttarakuru growing beautiful wome :, however, form a motif in literature. Thus the *Mahāvaṇika Jātaka* (No. 493) mentions that the merchants who had set out in search of a treasure came across a banyan tree, apparently a kalpavṛkṣa, whose western branch yielded a bevy of beautiful girls resplendent in their gorgeous attire and ornaments. The same idea of a wishing-tree growing costly gems, furniture, food and drinks, maidens, fair and gay in the Uttarakuru is expressed in the Rāmāyaṇa (VII, 43, 43–8). Māndhātā next conquered many mountainous regions. On mount Sumeru he was opposed by the *ṛṣi* Durmukha, but Māndhātā subdued him and his followers and ordered their matted locks to be cut off. Proceeding further he saw Sudarśana, the city of gods. After penetrating its defence line he met the Twenty two Gods who made peace with him. He also saw growing on Sumeru a huge Pārijātaka tree in whose shade the gods sported and enjoyed themselves. On one of its peaks he saw the Council-House of the gods. Besides the beautiful layout of the city with extensive roads and gardens, there were wishing-trees and pleasure-grounds where gods and goddesses enjoyed themselves.

Another episode in this legend, which bears close relationship with the so called Sūrya relief at Bhājā, narrates that when Māndhātā reached Sudharmā Devasabhā he was well received by Indra who gave him an honorable seat by his side and, seated in that posture, he reigned for aeons. Then ensued a war between the gods and the Asuras; sometimes victory favoured the gods and sometimes the Asuras. Once Māndhātā, seeing the gods in a confused state of mind, asked the reasons and was informed that it was due to the Asuras having broken their defences. Learning this he ordered his guards to bring his bow which he twanged. Hearing the shattering uprorious twang the Asuras were surprised. In the aerial war that ensued the chariots of the Devas and Asuras were equally matched. But the aerial chariot of Māndhātā rushing forth went over the forces of the Asuras. Discovering that he was the great King Māndhātā they said, "Here is the great virtuous being whose aerial car goes over us." Broken up and defeated they turned their backs and fled back to their own city.

There should be little doubt that the legend of Māndhātā related above has close connection with Bhājā reliefs. The king riding the elephant, one of the seven jewels in his possession, marching to Uttarakuru which grew kalpavṛkṣas producing all kinds of delectable articles, including women, the presence on the summit of Mt. Sumeru of a Pārijāta tree under which gods passed their time pleasantly, etc., have close parallels in the legend. The closest parallel, however, could be cited between the episode of Māndhātā fighting the Asuras on behalf of the Devas and the so-called Sūrya relief. The aerial fight in which Mandhātā has vanquished the Asuras who are flying back to their city is a common factor both in the legend and the sculpture.

Besides the relief described above, there is a third relief whose identification is yet doubtful. Beginning from the left, two winged horses cross one another and then appear in succeeding order, a male figure with uplifted hand, a horseman, another male figure and a prostrate figure on the ground gored by two infuriated bulls. We have not been able to trace any parallel to the episode either in literature or sculpture. It may be, however, of passing interest to note that an Indus Valley seal shows a bull tossing a human being who is shown pirouetting on its back, and another seal showing five persons fallen round a bull. [16] The Cretun and other parallels have been shown. [17] Its presence at Bhājā, however, could only be explained as survival of some ancient ritual not recorded in literature.

There is a divergence of opinion about the date of the caitya hall and vihāras at Bhājā. The earlier view that the earliest caitya halls were those at Bhājā, Koṇḍaṇe and Pītalkhorā, and that next in chronological order comes Bedsā. Bhājā

16 *Archeological Survey of India Reports*, 1934–35, pp. 13 ff.

17 Odette Vinennot, *Le Culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne* Paris, 1951, pp. 16–7.

was placed towards the close of the third century B. C. and Beḍsā during the second or first decade of the second century B.C. Marshall, however, taking into consideration the more developed technique of the sculptures, places the caityas of Bhājā and Beḍsā in the first century B. C. [18] Coomaraswamy, however, does not agree with the late dating of the caitya hall at Bhājā. In his opinion, " the developed relief at Sāñcī does, indeed, represent an emancipation from an earlier compression, and tends to visual realism and conscious artistic grace ; but the relief at Bhājā is a quality of volume and expansion, quite distinct from plastic modelling, and due, like the volume of the Parkham statue, to pressure from within ; at the same time both style and details are related to those of the Maurya-Śuṅga terra-cottas."

The dating of the caityas and vihāras at Bhājā in the second century B. C. was not only suggested on artistic and stylistic features but on solid palaeographical grounds. Some of the short dedicatory inscriptions on Vihāra XVII and some of the stūpas have close affinity with the Asokan script. [19] The recent discovery of two short inscriptions carved on some wooden ribs in the caitya cave gives for the first time independent evidence of its age. M. N. Deshpande suggests the affinity of fairly well-cut Brāhmī script with the calligraphy of the Asokan edict, specially the rock-edict from Bhuigaon near Sopārā (Bombay State) and Girnār edict (Jūnāgadh, Gujarāt) the slight variations being due to the nature of the materials on which they are inscribed. The first inscription reads: *Dhamabhāgasa Pasādo* (The dedication of Dhamabhāga). From this it would appear that the woodwork was the gift of a person named Dhamabhāga. The suggested reading of the second inscription is *Siri Dhammasenasa*. Possibly the inscription which is fragmentary records the gift of the wooden rib on which it is inscribed. " The date of the inscription on palaeographic grounds appears to be not later than 2nd century B. C. and this, therefore, is a certain proof of the age of the Caitya Cave. The architectural and stylistic development of caitya architecture can now be well traced after accepting as a firm datum" (*Lalit-Kalā*, No. 6, 1959, pp. 31–2).

K. E. W.

BHĀJANADĀYAKA, designation of an arahant thera. Ninety-one kappas ago he was born as a potter in the city of Bandhumatī and supplied pots to the monks. He knew no woeful birth thereafter. Fifty-three kappas ago he was a *cakkavatti* (world-ruler) by the name of Anantajāli, var. Antarajāli (*Ap.* I, 218).

L. R. G.

BHAKTI. The term *bhakti* is from the root *bhaj*, which originally meant, to divide, to share and which later developed to mean, to serve, to adore, to love. As a technical religious term it first appears in a Buddhistic work, the *Theragāthā* (p. 41) : *so bhattimā nāma ca hoti paṇḍito ñatvā ca dhammesu visesi assa* (' Him ye may call devoted and wise : Thus, he may be one that winneth distinction in knowledge of doctrines.' *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 204), and almost about the same period, Pānini uses the term in a similar sense (*Aṣṭadhyāyī*, Book IV, iii, *sūtra* 95).

Though the use of the term in its developed sense is not traceable beyond the 4th century B. C., the feeling which it represents stretches far back into the Vedic period. Hymns addressed to Varuṇa are full of such feelings.

> " Loose us from sins committed by our fathers,
> From those wherein we have ourselves offended.
> O king, loose, like a thief who feeds the cattle,
> As from cord the calf, set free Vasiṣṭha."
>
> (Griffith, *Rigveda*, III, p. 106)

In these hymns Varuṇa's character comes very close to that of Avalokiteśvara in Mahāyāna literature. The latter is invoked in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (xxiv, *v.* 27) to destroy fear, sorrow and suffering.

> " He who is now so compassionate to the world,
> He will a Buddha be in future ages.
> Humbly I bow to Avalokiteśvara
> Who destroys all sorrow, and suffering."
>
> (Translated by E. Conze, *Buddhist Texts*, p. 196)

The first occurrence of the term in a Buddhistic text is no conclusive proof that the *bhakti* cult originated in Buddhism. In fact, in Indian religious thought this cult is of greater antiquity than Buddhism and it is probable that it first acquired importance in the Bhāgavata religion, preached by Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

The meaning and the feeling expressed by the term *bhakti* cannot be adequately represented by one English term. Devotion, faith, or devotional faith

18 *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 636–37.
19 Burgess, op. cit. pp. 82–3.

bring out certain aspects of *bhakti*. Even great Indian scholars have found it to be a term impregnated with meanings. Śāṇḍilya in the *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra* (I, *sūtra* 2, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. VII) defines *bhakti* as 'absolute attachment to the Lord', (*sā parānuraktirīsvare*). He further states that "It is simply and solely an affection directed to a person and not a belief in a system ..... Bhakti is not a wish. A wish is selfish. Affection is unselfish" (*ERE.* II, 539). According to Nārada (*Bhakti-sūtra*, No. 2, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. VII), "It is of the form of intense love towards Him" (*sā tasmin paramapremarūpā*), or "the dedication of all action to Him and the feeling of extreme uneasiness in forgetting Him" (*tadarpitākhilācāratā tadvismaraṇe paramavyākulatā*: ibid. *sūtra* 19). In the *Tathvārthadīpa* (p. 65) it is defined thus "Bhakti is a steadfast, overwhelming love for God preceded by the acknowledgment of his greatness" (*mahātmya-jñāna-pūrvastu sudṛḍhaḥ sarvato' dhikaḥ sneho bhaktiriti*). If these definitions are accepted, then it can be stated positively that, Theravāda Buddhism does not incorporate within its teachings any such cult.

Scholars, who uphold that *bhakti* is of Buddhistic origin, consider the term *saddhā* generally translated as faith, to be the precursor of *bhakti*. But there is no substantial evidence to prove that *bhakti* evolved from *saddhā*.

The term *saddhā*, in Buddhist scriptures, could mean faith, trust, belief or confidence, all arising through conviction brought about by wisdom (*paññā*). Nowhere in Buddhism are *saddhā* and *bhakti*, which express widely different sentiments and emotions, considered to be similar. Unlike *bhakti* in Bhāgavata religion, *saddhā*, in Buddhism, was never regarded as an end by itself. It was considered merely to be a means or else a prerequisite, beside many other virtues which were to be perfected, before the attainment of final liberation. It is said in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, pp. 480–1), "As to this, monks, one who has faith (*saddhājāto*) draws close; drawing close, he sits down nearby; sitting down nearby he lends his ear; lending his ear he hears *dhamma*; having heard *dhamma* he remembers it; he tests the meaning of things he has borne in mind; while testing the meaning the things are approved of; there being approval of the things desire is born; with desire born he makes an effort; having made the effort he weighs it up; having weighed it up he strives; being self-resolute he realises with his person the highest truth itself and, penetrating it by means of wisdom he sees. But, monks, had there not been that faith (*saddhā*) there would not have been, monks, that drawing close...", etc. The Buddha's teaching qualified as *ehipassiko* (come and see) left no room for blind faith which is characteristic of the *bhakti* cult. The Buddha himself says in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 189): "Yes, Kālāma, you may doubt (*kaṅkhituṃ*), you may well waver (*vicikicchituṃ*). In doubtful matters wavering does arise." In the *bhakti* cult doubt and wavering find no place. The Buddha places Sāriputta, who is chief among those who are of wisdom, at the head of all his disciples, among whom was also Vakkali, chief of those who possess implicit faith. However, at a later date, due probably to outside influence, *saddhā* acquired certain features of *bhakti*. Thus in Buddhaghosa's definition of *saddhā* in the *Puggalapaññatti* commentary (p. 248) two shades of meaning are reflected: *saddhā* could develop into *bhakti* by constant practice (*punappunaṃ bhajana-vasena saddhā vā bhatti*). According to his view *saddhā* is not *bhakti*. This is the earlier view. But when he says that it could be developed into *bhakti*, one could at once notice that it reflects a later stage, when *saddhā* was modified by the idea of *bhakti*.

If Buddhism promulgated *bhakti*, the Buddha would not have dissuaded disciples from being greatly attached to the person of the Buddha. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (III, 119 ff.) relates the story of Vakkali who was dissuaded by the Buddha from being attached to him. The Buddha says "Hush, Vakkali! What is there in seeing this vile body of mine? He who seeth the Norm, Vakkali, he seeth me. He who seeth me, Vakkali, he seeth the Norm." Could this be compatibly assimilated into a system of teaching which promulgates *bhakti*?

Certain scholars consider the concept of the *ti-saraṇa* (Three Refuges) to be a feature that had crept into Theravāda Buddhism due to the influence of the *bhakti* cult. According to them the idea of *saraṇa* (refuge) is quite incongruous with the heroic spirit of Theravāda. Though quite striking, this opinion cannot hold ground. To understand its true spirit, one must keep in mind that the Buddha, in preaching his doctrine, often used the old phraseologies with new connotations attached to them. Thus, the term *saraṇa*, too, acquired a new connotation. The English word 'refuge' does not bring out quite correctly the Buddhistic meaning attached to it. The idea of 'refuge' cannot come into prominence without the belief in a saviour. In the early Theravāda texts where the *ti-saraṇa* is mentioned, the Buddha is not considered to be a saviour. Much less so then are the

Dhamma and the Saṅgha. It is due to the lack of a better word that the term 'refuge' is used to translate the term *saraṇa* in such occurrences. Yet, this "seeking refuge" is not the same as in the *bhakti* cult. The phrase *saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (I take refuge), as used in the early Theravāda texts, means taking refuge through conviction and also considering the refuge as an ideal to be followed. This is exactly what is meant by Acela Kassapa when he proclaims, "I, even I, Lord, betake myself to the Exalted One as my refuge to the Norm and to the Order" (*esāham bhante Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammañca bhikkhusaṅghañca : S.* II, 21). By taking refuge, one does not look upon the Buddha as a saviour and abandon oneself to his mercy, as the case is with a follower of the *bhakti* cult. Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (pt. I, p. 231) defines taking refuge (*saraṇāgamana*), by saying, 'taking refuge consists of the arising of thought brought about by conducting oneself in accordance with the Triad, having the Triad as the goal and characterised by the destruction of defilements through one's satisfaction in the Triad and respect to the Triad.'

Acela Kassapa after taking refuge in the Triad says, 'I would leave the world under the rule of the Exalted One. I would be ordained' (loc. cit.). This shows that he does not surrender himself to the Buddha (Dhamma or Saṅgha), but, instead, takes them as his guides and leads his life accordingly.

The idea expressed by the term 'refuge' is quite in keeping with the concept of *śaraṇa* found in the Bhāgavata religion. There, 'taking refuge' meant self-surrender to the Lord, to the Saviour. This is exactly the spirit breathed by the *Bhagavadgītā*, (e. g., xviii, v 66), 'Abandon all your duties and seek refuge in me alone. I shall deliver you from all sin. Do not grieve!'

The Buddha's final advice to Ānanda which occurs in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* (*D.* III, 100) is itself clear proof to show that he never promulgated the idea of self-surrender to external powers. The Buddha says, "Therefore, Ānanda be ye lamps unto yourselves (*attadīpā viharatha*). Be ye a refuge to yourselves (*atta-saraṇā*). Betake yourselves to no external refuge (*anañña-saraṇā*). Hold fast to the truth (*Dhamma*) as a lamp (*dhamma-dīpā*). Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for a refuge to anyone besides yourselves." The Buddha continues to explain how to be as aforesaid, "Herein, O mendicants, a brother continues as to the body, so to look upon the body that he remains strenuous, self-possessed and mindful, having overcome the hankering and the dejection common in the world (and in the same way) as to feelings .... moods .... ideas ..." (loc. cit.). Here, the idea of seeking refuge in one's own self (*atta-saraṇā*) completely rejects the concept of a saviour and also excludes every possibility of a *bhakti* concept being prevelant in the early Hīnayāna Buddhism.

This fact is proved beyond doubt by the reply given by Ānanda to Gopaka-Moggallāna, when the latter asks: "Is there, good Ānanda, even one monk who was designated by the good Gotama saying: 'After my passing, this one will be your support' (*paṭisaraṇaṃ*), and to whom you might have recourse now?" Ānanda says that there is not even one monk designated by the Buddha or agreed upon by the Order as their support. He adds, however, "We, brāhman, are not without support; we have a support, (*sappaṭisaraṇā mayaṃ*). The Dhamma is our support" (*dhammapaṭisaraṇā*) (*M.* III, 9). *Bhakti*, it is accepted, is not a belief in a system, but a love directed to a person. Therefore, seeking refuge in the Dhamma cannot be considered as a feature of *bhakti*.

Yet Theravāda could not remain completely aloof from *bhakti* influences. With the gaining of popularity, it became more and more susceptible to external influences. The new connotations attached to the old phraseology began to be overshadowed again by the old meanings. Thus the term *saraṇa*, used in later Hīnayāna texts, began to reflect certain features of *bhakti* which it had acquired previously. Seeking refuge in the *ti-saraṇa* turned out to be a mere formula, devoid of its original true spirit, uttered by the devotees to acquire merit. In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (pt. I, p. 231) Buddhaghosa speaks of two aspects of *saraṇāgamana* (seeking refuge). One is the transcendental (*lokuttara*) which is directed towards the attainment of *Nibbāna* and the other, worldly (*lokiya*), directed towards the qualities of the Buddha and the other two Refuges. Further, he mentions four modes of seeking refuge, viz., by self-dedication (*atta-saniyyātanena*), by having them as the ideal (*tapparāyanatāya*), by becoming a disciple (*sissabhāvūpagamanena*) and by adoration (*paṇipātena*).

These classifications bring out clearly the traces of the spirit of the early concept of seeking refuge in the Triad, as well as the modifications caused by the influence of the *bhakti* cult. These are much later developments and it is illogical to view the early concept and discard it as an alien feature on the evidence of its subsequent developments.

The change of the personality of the Buddha rom the Enlightened One (*Buddha*), the Teacher *satthā*), the Path Finder (*maggakovido*), to the Lord (*bhagavā*), the Great Compassionate One (*mahā-kāruṇiko*) and the Saviour of the World (*lokanātha*) is seen in the Theravāda scriptures. That this change of the Buddha-personality did not pass without protest is seen from the arguments put forward by the Uttarāpathakas who upheld that the epithet *kāruṇika* (compassionate) cannot be an attribute of the Buddha for it is a form of *rāga* (attachment : *Kvu.* II, xviii, 3). This process of change must have been quickened after the Buddha's *parinibbāna*. Later, the Buddha became an object of worship. Earlier, paying homage and reverence to the Buddha meant an act of recognition of his reverence-worthy nature attained by overcoming evil and crossing over the stream of sorrow (*papañcasamatikkante tiṇṇasokapariddave*). This is also seen in the *Mahā-maṅgala Sutta* where honouring those who are worthy of honour is regarded as a reason for great happiness. *Pūjā* in its early Buddhistic sense meant 'honour'. Whosoever had the ten things that give pleasure (*dasa pasādaniyā dhammā*) was regarded as worthy of honour (*M.* III, 11). But later, *pūjā* became a ceremonial rite, a form of devotional worship. The Buddha became the highest object of worship and adoration.

The mere name of the Buddha was not sufficient to satisfy the need for a more concrete object of worship. This need was fulfilled to a certain extent by regarding the *bodhi* tree and the *cetiya* as symbolic representations of the Buddha. But Buddhism, which had placed on a lower pedestal the great gods of the earlier period, lack d an adequate concrete object to attract the attention of the devotees. Thus, the need of the devotees, as well as the vital importance of a concrete object to replace the gods of the *bhakti* cult, contributed to the formation and growth of the Buddha image.

With the development of Hīnayāna into Mahāyāna, the Buddha-personality underwent further modifications and the Buddha came to be regarded as the Father of the world (*lokapitā*), the Healer (*cikitsaka*) and the Saviour of all beings (*sarvaprajānāthaḥ*). The vast change that has taken place in the Buddha-personality becomes more striking when compared with the views expressed in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (p. 8 f.) where a distinction is made between the Buddha and his disciples by saying, " . . . . this Lord was one to make arise a way that had not arisen (before), to bring about a way not brought about (before), to show a way not shown (before) ; he was a knower of the way, an understander of the way, skilled in the way. But the disciples are now way-followers, following after him." With the development of the conception of the Buddha as the Saviour of all beings, was introduced the doctrine of *Avatāra* (incarnation).

The *Kathāvatthu* (II, xviii, 1-3) mentions that the Vetulyakas held the view that the Buddha visited the earth only in a specially created form, while, in reality, he dwelt in the Tusita-heaven. Once, the Buddha himself said that 'he who seeth the Norm seeth me' (*S.* III, p. 120). These ideas formed the basis for the Mahāyāna *trikāya*-doctrine. With the development of this doctrine of 'three bodies' the Mahāyānists held the view that the Buddha appeared in the world merely in the body of transformation (*nirmāṇa-kāya*) adapted to the needs of all beings who could only be taught by a Buddha appearing in a physical form.

In many Mahāyāna texts the *Avatāra*-doctrine is well established. In the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* (*GOS.* LXII, p. 525) it is said, " When some living being requires the explanation of the doctrine or some other kind of help, then the Lord, by the force of his previous vows, fulfils the purpose of this living being, manifesting himself in this or that form ' (See Mūrti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, p. 287). The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (xv), too, contains similar ideas. There the Buddha says, " And then I speak to them thus, in this very place. I was not completely extinct at that time ; it was but a device of mine, monks ; repeatedly am I born in the world of the living." And, again, he says, " So am I the Father of the world, the self-born ; the Healer, the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated and ignorant, I teach final rest, myself not being at rest. What reason should I have to continually manif so myself ? When men become unbelieving, unwise, ignorant, careless, fond of sensual pleasures, and from thoughtlessness run into misfortune, then I, who know the course of the world, declare : I am so and so, (and consider) : How can I incline them to enlightenment ? How can they become partake s of the B iddha-laws ?" (*SBE.* XXI, pp. 307, 309-10 ; cp. *Bhagavadgītā*, iv, *v.* 7 ; 'Son of Bharata, whenever there happen to be a decline of righteousness and rise of unrighteousness, then I make

myself manifest: *yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata abhyutthānam adharmasya tadātmānam sṛjāmyaham*).

Owing to the change it underwent, the Buddha-personality lost its human conception and it ceased to attract the attention of the lay devotees. This, as well as the intention to popularise Buddhism in order to save it from disappearing completely, made the Mahāyānists evolve and develop the bodhisattva doctrine which subsequently over-shadowed the Buddha-personality. In order to counteract the concept of deities in Hinduism the Mahāyānists attributed divine qualities to bodhisattvas. The belief in the efficacy of the transfer of merits (*pariṇāmanā*) gave an impetus to this new doctrine. With the development of the bodhisattva doctrine, the influence of the *bhakti* cult found free access to Buddhism. The bodhisattvas were regarded as the saviours of mankind. Mere confession of sin was considered to be sufficient to induce the bodhisattvas to bring salvation to the devotee. This belief, obviously, is against the *karma* theory of Hīnayāna Buddhism. Gradually, the bodhisattvas grew in number. Certain epithets and virtues of the Buddha were personified and converted into bodhisattvas. Thus, the two important bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, are the personifications of *karuṇā* (compassion) and *prajñā* (wisdom), respectively. The bodhisattva Samantabhadra seems to have evolved from the descriptive epithet, *samantato bhadraka* (auspicious in every respect), applied to the Buddha. The influence of Hindu mythology is also seen in the character of the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi.

Originally Mañjuśrī seems to have been regarded as the chief among the bodhisattvas. But, when *bhakti* influence gained more ground in Mahāyāna Buddhism, Avalokiteśvara attained supremacy above all others. According to Har Dayal (*The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 46) " *Karuṇā* (mercy, pity, love, compassion) and its personified symbol, Avalokiteśvara, are all-in-all. This is the last word and the consummation of the Mahāyāna." In the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, he is treated as the all-powerful bodhisattva who liberates the purgatory-dwellers. He enters the Avīci-hell and makes it a pleasant place to live in. He bestows food and drinks to the *pretas* (departed beings) in the *preta*-world. Being associated with Amitābha, he saves the faithful by taking them into Sukhāvatī (Amitābha's paradise). He is sometimes considered to be above the Buddhas in merit and intelligence. It is said in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (xxiv, *v.* 25):

> Think of him, think of him, without hesitation,
> Of Avalokiteśvara, that pure being.
> In death, disaster and calamity
> He is the saviour, refuge and recourse.
>
> (Conze, *Buddhist Texts*, p. 195).

He is referred to as the destroyer of all suffering, fear and sorrow (*sarvaduḥkhabhayaśokanāś ka*: loc. cit.). The mere recollection of the name of Avalokiteśvara was considered sufficient to induce him to save beings. He ultimately assumes the form of a full-fledged god by acquiring the attributes of Brahmā and Śiva and becomes identified with the source of creation.

Besides these two bodhisattvas, Kṣitigarbha, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Vajrapāṇi, Samantabhadra and Maitreya, too, are regarded as important.

The goddess Tārā, too, was an object of devotion. Salvation could be attained by remembering her name. Her hundred and eight names are mentioned in the *Āryatārābhaṭṭārikānāmāṣṭottaraśatakastotra* and therein (verse 17) it is stated,

> " When only my names are recollected, I always protect all beings "
>
> (Conze, *Buddhist Texts*, p. 197).

Yet, it was the personality of the Buddha Amitābha that captured the hearts of the devotees most. At times, even Avalokiteśvara was taken to be an emanation of Amitābha. His compassionate nature is brought out clearly by the forty-eight vows he made under the Buddha Lokeśvararāja. The larger and the smaller *Sukhāvatī-vyūha Sūtra* and the *Amitāyur-dhyāna Sūtra* deal with this Buddha and his western paradise, Sukhāvatī. In the smaller *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* it is said that " beings are not born in that Buddha-country of the Tathāgata Amitāyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life. Whatever son or a daughter of a family shall hear the name of the Blessed Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights,—when that son or daughter of a family comes to die, then that Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples and followed by a host of bodhisattvas, will stand before them at their hour of death . . . they will be born in the world Sukhāvatī, in the Buddha-country of the

same Amitāyus, the Tathāgata" (*SBE.* XLIX, pt. ii, pp. 98–99). According to the larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (ibid. p. 15) beings who have committed the five unpardonable crimes are excluded from attaining Sukhāvatī which can only be reached through the grace of Amitābha. But according to the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra* (ibid. p. 197) even those who have committed the five deadly sins (unpardonable sins, according to the larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*) are born in the lowest form of the lowest grade of Buddhahood, if they merely repeat ten times the formula "Adoration to the Buddha Amitāyus" (*namo'mitāyuṣe buddhāya*). This clearly shows the growth of *bhakti* influence in Buddhism and how it became incorporated in Mahāyāna beliefs.

The influence of the brāhmanical *bhakti* cult on Buddhism is seen even in the later period. The *Bhakti-śataka* by Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī, written probably in 1425 shows quite clearly that the Buddha was regarded at that time as a personal god, who saves beings from all sorts of calamities. The Buddha-personality, presented in this book, has attained almost all the characteristic features which were earlier applied to Kṛṣṇa in the Bhāgavata *bhakti* poems.

These features of *bhakti,* found in Mahāyāna Buddhism, never evolved to be a separate, independent school, but remained as aspects of one or other school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Even the worship of Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha existed as features shared by many schools. The real development of this worship into an independent school took place, not in India but in China and Japan.

Hui-yüan is said to be the founder of the school known as *Ching-t'u* (Pure Realm) in China. In 402, he and his followers assembled in Mount Lu and made a vow to be reborn in Sukhāvatī. This is considered the starting point of the school in China. But the doctrine was really systematised and propagated by T'an-luan. Later, Shan-tao taught that even a sinful man could obtain his salvation by constantly thinking of Amitābha. Even the members of the Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai sects began to call upon the name of Amitābha for their salvation. The formula *Nan-wu Ami-t'o-fo* (*Namo Amitābhāya buddhāya*) was regarded as a very effective means of obtaining salvation. Up to the modern times this has survived as a separate independent school.

In Japan the Pure Land school known as Jōdo developed further and gained much popularity. It was Honen who gave it an impetus there. He, too, taught that salvation is to be attained by having faith in the power of Amitābha to save beings. Birth in Sukhāvatī could be obtained, according to him, by placing one's whole trust in Amitābha and developing faith in him. M. Anesaki in his *History of Japanese Religion* (p. 174) cites a saying of Honen from his *Catechism in Twelve Articles* which says, "There shall be no distinction, no regard to male or female, good or bad, exalted or lowly ; none shall fail to be in His Land of Purity after having called, with complete desire, on Amita........we, though our sin be heavy as stone, are borne on the ship of Amita's primeval vow and cross to the other shore without sinking in the sea of repeated births and deaths."

Some of Honen's disciples held that one thought devoted to the Buddha's grace was sufficient to bring about salvation and this doctrine was called 'One Thought' (*Ichinen-gi*). Another preached that one should constantly direct one's thought on Amita and this was known as 'Many Thoughts' (*Tanen-gi*). All these teachers believed in the Buddha's saving grace and also in the faith of the devotee in the Buddha.

But Shinran, yet another disciple of Honen, taught that the devotee had no active part to play in obtaining Amita's grace. According to Shinran, faith on the part of the devotee was not caused by his own free will but by the grace of Amita. Therefore, he considered faith to be a gift of Amita's grace. He taught that the dependence on one's own faith for salvation formed an obstacle to the absolute confidence in Amita's saving power. Thus, his preaching deviated from that of Honen, who upheld that the devotees' faith in Amita's grace as well as Amita's grace are essential for salvation. This branch of Jōdo Buddhism is called Shinshū, the 'True Doctrine'. According to Shinran even a bad man could easily obtain salvation by Amita's grace. Therefore, he says, in a passage quoted by M. Anesaki (ibid. p. 183) "Whether sage or fool, whether good or bad, we have simply to give up the idea of estimating our own qualities or of depending upon self. Though entangled in sin and depravity, even in living the life of the most despised outcaste we are embraced by the all-pervading light of grace ; indefatigable faith in salvation itself is a manifestation of the Buddha's act of embracing us into his grace, because nothing can impede the working of his grace." (Our salvation is) "natural, as it is", in the sense that it is not due to our own device or intention, but provided for by the Buddha himself. It is "natural", because we need not think of our

own good or bad ; everything has been arranged by the Buddha to receive us into his paradise. It is "natural", because his grace is intangible and invisible and yet works by "naturalness" to induce us to the highest attainment.

The practice of obtaining salvation by repeating Buddha's names is common to all sects of Jōdo Buddhism and it is the most important feature in this school. Thus *bhakti*, as understood in the Bhāgavata religion, came into prominence in later Buddhism, too.

S. K. N.

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BHAKTI-ŚATAKA (var. Bauddha-ś°), a Sanskrit poem eulogising the Buddha Gautama, written by (Śrī) Rāmacandra Kavibhārati (also known as Rāmacandrabhārati) during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte (1412–67 A.C.).

Although the author was a brāhman from Gauḍa (Bengal) in India, he composed the work in Ceylon after he came to study under Siri Rāhula Vācissara Saṅgharāja of Toṭagamuva who converted him to the Buddhist faith. The king, to whom the poem was dedicated, was so greatly pleased at the high literary merits displayed therein that he presented a gold medal to the author conferring on him the honorific title *Bauddhāgama-cakravartin* (Great Master of the Buddhist religion) and made him one of his counsellors.

Exceeding the promise of its title (*śataka*= century), the work comprises 107 stanzas written in the typical style of Sanskrit ornate poetry (*kāvya*) in which the poet extols the virtues of the Buddha in a variety of metres and in elegant diction. The poem freely breathes of the deep devotion to the Buddha and the tenets of Buddhism usual in the work of a new convert. The cadenced epithets, elaborately arrayed to describe the many aspects of the Buddha's greatness, remind one of the numerous Sanskrit *stotras* (poems of praise) found in the *Purāṇas*. But, the *Bhakti-śataka* does not, as do the *stotras*, purport to plead for material gain ; it only aims at awakening in the minds of its readers the sentiments of love and devotion towards the Buddha, urging them to follow the path. For, says Rāmacandra, "May all beings of the world sing the praises of the Buddha who is adored by the three worlds and who is perfectly pure, gain merits (*puṇya*), destroy all evils (*pāpa*), and by the practice of meditation (*bhāvanā*) attain complete enlightenment in this world itself." (*v.* 106). It is also clear, therefore, that in spite of its name the *Bhakti-śataka* does not inculcate the practice of *bhakti* (faith) as a religious practice or cult. (See BHAKTI)

The text has been edited by C. A. Sīlakkhandha thera of Śailabimbārāmaya, Doḍanduwa, Ceylon, and published, with the editor's own commentary in Sanskrit, known as the *Ratnamālā*, by the Buddhist Text Society of India, Darjeeling, 1891. Another edition, with a translation in English, by Haraprasāda Śāstrī has been brought out in the *JBTS*. I, 1893, part 2, pp. 21–43. Two more editions, in Sinhalese characters, are available : one with the commentary of Sumaṅgala Sāmi, Śāstrālokaya Press, Colombo, 1885, and the other edited by Don Andrias de Silva Baṭuwantuḍāva, Laṅkābhinavaviśruta Press, Colombo, 1903.

K.D. S.

BHALLAR STŪPA, a ruined Buddhist monument in the north-western frontier regions of India, occupying a commanding position on the last spur of the Harḍa hill, about five miles from the Taxila railway station and half a mile north of the Haro river. According to Hsüan-tsang (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 180 f.) the stūpa was first built by king Asoka in the third century B. C. at the spot where the Buddha, in a previous existence as king Candraprabha of Takṣaśilā, made an offering of his head. The existing stūpa, however, is assigned to a later period. John Marshall (*A Guide to Taxila*, 1918, p. 116, n. 2) suggests that on the spot where this stūpa now stands there may have once stood a stūpa of the hero Candraprabha, whose cult was subsequently absorbed into Buddhism.

The stūpa stands on a lofty, oblong terrace, ascended on the east by a broad flight of steps. The super-structure of the stūpa consisted of a high drum, a dome and one or several umbrellas. The drum is divided into six or seven tiers and is decorated with rows of decadent Corinthian pilasters, friezes and dentil cornices (John Marshall, op. cit. 115 ff.). In its architectural conception the Bhallar stūpa has been compared to the sixth

century Dhamek stūpa at Sārnāth and, like many other Buddhist stūpas in the north-western frontier regions of India, this stūpa, too, is decorated, on its faces, with the reliefs of the Buddha and bodhisattvas (H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, pp. 59, 65). Sarkar (op. cit. p. 65) also considers that the high drum of the stūpa is directed towards giving the monument a towering height and a majestic appearance. Now the stūpa has broken down on the northern side exposing to view the relic-chamber which was set near the top of the drum (J. Marshall, op. cit. p. 116).

In the courtyard of the Bhallar stūpa have been excavated numerous chapels and other monuments. On the east of the courtyard massive walls of a spacious monastery, too, have come to light, and this could be identified with parts of the monastery in which, according to Hsüan-tsang (Beal, op. cit. p. 181), Kumāralabdha, the founder of the Sautrāntika school composed his treatises. Hsüan-tsang (loc. cit.) mentions that in his time the courts that surrounded this monastery were deserted and overgrown but, yet, there were a few monks. He also recalls (op. cit. p. 180) an episode which relates how a woman, afflicted with leprosy, was miraculously cured on account of her cleaning the courtyard of the stūpa and scattering flowers there. Hsüan-tsang further states that on religious commemoration days the stūpa glows with light, divine flowers fall around it, and heavenly music is heard.

On the testimony of Hsüan-tsang, the Bhallar stūpa and its monastery may possibly be ascribed to the Sautrāntika school (H. Sarkar, op. cit. p. 53).

H. R. P.

BHALLĀTAKADĀYAKA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth, eighteen kappas ago, he saw the Buddha Atthadassī travelling through the air and invited him to a meal. The Buddha descended to his hermitage and was offered a *bhallātaka* fruit. As a result of this good deed he escaped all evil births in later lives (*Ap.* II, 398). He is to be identified with Vijitasena (*ThagA.* II. 150 ff.).

L. R. G.

BHALLĀTAKA VIHĀRA, a monastery in Ceylon built by the king Dhātusena, 455-73 A.C. (*Mhv.* xxxviii, 47) and restored by Vijayabāhu I, 1055–110 A.C. (*Mhv.* lx, 61). C. W. Nicholas (*JCBRAS.* New Series, Vol. VI, Special Number, p. 191) identifies it with the Baduḷu vehera of the *Pūjāvaliya* (ch. xxxiv) which, however, is there ascribed also to Jeṭṭhatissa, 263–73 A.C. The monastery is located in the Rājaraṭṭha but is unidentified (*JCBRAS.* loc. cit.).

H. R. P.

BHALLĀṬIYA JĀTAKA (No. 504). The bodhisatta was once born as Bhallāṭiya, king of Bārāṇasī. Desirous of eating venison cooked on charcoal, he left the kingdom in charge of his courtiers and went to the Himalaya on a hunting expedition. While wandering about near Gandhamādana, he saw two kinnaras fondly embracing each other and then weeping and wailing most pitifully. The king approached them and asked them why they were weeping in that manner. In answer to his question the female kinnarī told the king that one day while she was picking flowers on the opposite bank of the stream to make a garland for her lover, the stream rose and they were separated that night. The memory of one night, thus passed in separation, filled them with sorrow for six hundred and ninety-seven years, and they still embraced each other and wept in that manner whenever they thought of it.

The Jātaka was told by the Buddha in reference to a quarrel between king Pasenadi of Kosala and his queen Mallikā over conjugal rights. The king was angry and would not look at her. The Buddha visited the palace and reconciled them. The two kinnaras in the Jātaka story are identified with the king and the queen and king Bhallāṭiya was the Buddha himself (*J.* IV, 437 ff.).

The *Sujāta Jātaka* (No. 306, *J.* III, 20 ff.), too, was related in reference to a quarrel between king Pasenadi and his queen Mallikā.

H. R. P.

BHALLIKA (1), also referred to as Bhalliya, Bhalluka, one of the first two lay disciples of the Buddha, the other being Tapussa (var. Tapassu). Bhallika later became an arahant thera. Tapussa and Bhallika were declared by the Buddha to be chief among those who first "took refuge" in his teachings (*A.* I, 25 f.).

The earliest account of Bhallika is contained in the *Vinaya* where the narrative is given briefly. The Buddha was spending the eighth week after his enlightenment at the foot of the *rājāyatana* tree. Tapussa and Bhallika were two merchants who had set out from Ukkalā. When they approached the spot where the Buddha was they were asked by a deity, who had been a blood relation of theirs

in an earlier life, to offer the Buddha his first meal after the enlightenment. Accordingly, Tapussa and Bhallika offered him some rice cakes and honey. The Buddha wondered how he should accept the food, for, Buddhas do not accept food directly into their hand. Then the four Regent Gods knowing his thoughts offered him four bowls of rock crystal. The Buddha accepted the food in a new bowl. At the end of the meal Tapussa and Bhallika took refuge in the Buddha and the Dhamma and thus became the first lay disciples, using the two-word formula (*dvevācikā: Vin.* I, 3 f.).

This account is repeated in several commentaries with more detail. Bhallika was the younger son of a caravan leader from Pokkharavatī (Asitañjana, according to *AA.* I, 382) in Ukkalā, the elder son being Tapussa (*ThagA.* I, 50). They had set out for trade with five hundred cart-loads from Ukkalā to the Middle Country (Majjhimadesa: *VinA.* V, 959; *J.* I, 80 f.) and their carts were brought to a halt near the spot where the Buddha was, by the power of a deity who had been their mother in a previous birth. When they wondered at this sudden halting of the carts, the deity appeared before them and urged them to offer the Buddha the first meal after enlightenment (*AA.* I, 382 f.). The four Regent Gods offered the rock-crystal bowls only when the Buddha rejected the jewelled bowls which they first offered (*J.* I, 80 f.; *BuvA.* 290). The Buddha accepted all four rock-crystal bowls and transformed them into one bowl (*AA.* I, 383; *Divy.* 393). Before they took leave of the Buddha, Tapussa and Bhallika also asked him for an object of worship (*J.* I, 80 f.). The Buddha gave them eight handfuls of hair which they placed in golden caskets and took them to their village. They built a cetiya over the hair relic at the entrance to the city of Asitañjana and it is said that on fast days blue rays emitted from the shrine (*AA.* I, 383).

In Sanskrit literature the name occurs consistently as Bhallika. The story of Trapuṣa and Bhallika recurs with greater elaboration. There are also slight differences in detail. The Buddha was seated at the foot of the *tārāyaṇa* tree (*Lal.* 276 ff.). They hailed from Ukkalā in the northern district and were returning from the southern district when their carts suddenly stopped. The ghee they offered to the Buddha was obtained from their own herd of cows and the offering was made at the request of Brahmā Śikhaṇḍi who had been their blood relation in a previous birth. At the end of the offering the Buddha pronounced a long blessing in several verses, bestowing on them good fortune in the four quarters and under the different constellations (*Lal.* loc. cit; *Mhvu.* III, 303 ff.). Trapuṣa and Bhallika not only took refuge in the Buddha and Dhamma but also in the Saṅgha that was to be in the future. In addition to the hair relic, they also received nail parings of the Buddha. They erected a cetiya for the hair at Kesasthālin and a cetiya for the parings at the city of Vālukṣa. They set up the stones provided by the magic power of the Buddha at Silukṣa. (These three places have not been identified.) After partaking of the honey, the Buddha felt discomfort and Śakra offered him a myrobalan fruit (*Mhvu.* III, 310 f.). The Tibetan *Dulva*, too, refers to the Buddha developing a colic after taking the honey and his being cured by Śakra's myrobalan fruit. According to the *Dulva*, the Buddha had been fasting for seven days and not seven weeks when Trapuṣa and Bhallika offered the meal (Rock-hill, *The Life of the Buddha*, 34).

There is a tradition in Ceylon that Tapussa and Bhallika later brought the hair relic to Ceylon where it was enshrined in the Girihaṇḍu or Girikaṇḍika cetiya. This tradition is supported by both literary and epigraphic evidence. The *Pūjāvaliya*, a Sinhalese work assigned to the 13th century, records that Tapassu and Bhalluka took the hair relics in a jewelled casket to their own city and worshipped them. Later, while on a sea voyage they came to Ceylon taking the sacred objects with them. Going in search of firewood and water, they stopped at a place called Girihaṇḍu. They placed the casket of relics on a rock and had their meal. When they returned to the relic casket they found they could not move it from the spot. Thinking it must be a holy place, they covered it with a heap of stones, offered incense and flowers and went their way. In later times there was a vihāra called Girihaṇḍu at that spot (*Pūjāvaliya*, 1923 edition, p. 198). The Tiriyāy Rock Inscription to be dated in late 7th or early 8th century, mentions Trapussaka and Vallika as the founders of the Girikaṇḍika caitya. Apart from this Girikaṇḍika caitya at Tiriyāy there is another stūpa called Girihaṇḍu (Girikaṇḍa) at Ambalantota in south Ceylon which local tradition also claims to be the repository of the hair relics presented to Tapussa and Bhallika. But the description of the site in the *Pūjāvaliya* would be more applicable to the shrine at Tiriyāy rather than the one at Ambalantota. At the same time, it is a common belief among the Burmese that the hair relics are enshrined in the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon (See *EZ.* IV, 151 ff.).

At a later time, after hearing the Buddha preach at Rājagaha, Tapussa attained *sotāpatti* and continued to be a lay follower. Bhallika entered the Saṅgha and became an arahant. He is the author of *Thag. v.* 7 in which he declares that he has overcome all fear. This he addressed to Māra when Māra appeared before him in a frightful form (*ThagA.* I, 50 f.).

An account of Bhallika's past lives is also found. In the time of Buddha Padumuttara, Tapussa and Bhallika were born in noble families in the city of Haṃsavatī. Once, they heard the Buddha declaring two lay disciples to be chief among those who first took refuge, and they wished for themselves a similar honour under a future Buddha (*AA.* I, 382). Thirty-one kappas ago Bhallika offered fruit to paccekabuddha Sumana. In the time of Buddha Sikhī, he was born in a brāhman family in the city of Aruṇavatī. Hearing that Ujita and Ojita, two sons of a caravan leader, had given the Buddha his first meal, he and his friend held a great alms-giving for the Buddha and made the wish for a similar privilege for themselves in the future (see also *Lal.* 281). In the time of Buddha Kassapa, the two friends were born as the sons of a wealthy cattle-owner, and for many years attended on the Saṅgha with milk food (*ThagA.* I, 49 f.).

Vallikāraphaladāyaka thera of the *Apadāna* (*Ap.* II, 416), is to be identified with Bhallika (*ThagA.* I, 51).

L. R. G.

BHALLIKA (2), one of the chief lay patrons of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. The other one was Tapassu (*Buv.* ii, *v.* 215).

BHAMĀLA, a Buddhist monastery in Taxila datable in about the late 4th or the early 5th century A.C. Its original name or the name of its builder is not known. Situated at the very head of the Haro valley and at the foot of the Murree hills, about ten miles to the east of Sīrsukh, the monastery is also protected against small bands of raiders on three sides by a very sharp bend of the Haro river itself.

The monastery and its adjacent buildings stand on a natural terrace, measuring about 400 feet from east to west and about 140 feet from north to south. In the centre of this stūpa is the solid mass of the principal stūpa around which are other small stūpas and chapels. To the east of them is a rectangular monastery and to the west a second series of monastic buildings now eroded by the river floods.

The main stūpa in its present ruined condition still rises to a height of more than 30 feet. Its plan is cruciform and consists of a tall podium with an imposing flight of steps on each of the four sides. The core of the stūpa is built of heavy blocks of limestone and the facing is of semi-ashlar masonry over which is a thick facing of lime-plaster on which architectural and figural designs had been made.

Above the podium there had been the dome of the stūpa and the usual umbrellas which crown it. The dome, too, seems to have been embellished with figural sculpture in stucco relief as is proved by the discovery of a draped figure in stucco relief in the débris on the top of the podium.

Among the stucco-sculptures now remaining of the main stūpa are several statues of the Buddha resembling in style those found at Jauliān and Mohrā-Morādu. The parinirvāṇa scene in relief is another noteworthy sculpture from this stūpa.

Excavations of the stūpa have brought to light 107 coins which are assignable to the late 4th or the early 5th century A.C. These were evidently deposited when the stūpa was originally constructed.

On the eastern side of the courtyard of this stūpa is a simple rectangular chamber, used as a gateway, leading down to a flight of steps which one has to use to come to the rectangular monastery to the east, some seven feet below. Round about this courtyard are also nineteen small stūpas with square bases and several chapels which are in the form of single chambers with small porticoes in front of their entrances. Coins of the 4th century A.C. and other articles have been discovered from these small stūpas.

The rectangular monastery to the east has the usual large court of cells, an assembly hall, a kitchen and a refectory. The flight of stairs indicate that there had been an upper storey, too. The walls in some of the cells stand up to 12 feet and in one case the doorway, including the stonework over the lintle, is also well-preserved.

From the vast amount of burnt earth lying in the cells and the courtyard of this monastery it is obvious that the Bhamāla monastery was destroyed by a fierce fire and it has been presumed, on the evidence of some 5th century coins of the white Huns found in the monastery area, that they were its destroyers and that the destruction occurred towards the close of the 5th century A.C.

Apart from the sculptures of the main stūpa mentioned above, several detached pieces of

sculpture in stucco, mostly of lay worshippers, have been discovered from the stūpa court and the monastery area. One of them has been identified with that of the goddess Hārtī.

The group of buildings to the west of the main stūpa are badly damaged by the river floods and is therefore, not excavated. In this group, however, the row of buildings that faces the main stūpa have wide doorways and lime-plastered walls and, therefore, seems to have been chapels rather than cells for monks which usually have narrow doorways and clay-plastered walls (*ASIAR*. 1930-34, pp. 152–158).

H. R. P.

BHĀṆAKA, derived from √*bhaṇ*, 'to speak', signifies a reciter and in the commentaries has acquired the specific meaning of a reciter of a section of the Canon, e.g., Dīghabhāṇaka—reciter of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

Although first mentioned only in the post-canonical literature, the origin of the bhāṇakas may be traced to very early times. There is a tradition recorded in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* that when the Canon was redacted at the First Council, held three months after the death of the Buddha, the rehearsal of its different sections was put in the charge of different elders who were no doubt chosen on account of their acknowledged proficiency in that particular section. At the end of the rehearsal these elders were also made responsible for the preservation of these sections of the Canon. Thus, the *Vinaya* was entrusted to the care of Upāli, the *Dīgha Nikāya* to Ānanda, the *Majjhima Nikāya* to the disciples of Sāriputta, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* to Mahākassapa and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* to Anuruddha. These elders who were each thus made a custodian of a section of the Canon was expected to preserve it by regular recitation with his pupils (*imaṃ tuyhaṃ nissitake vācehi 'ti* : *DA*. I, 12-15). This account is repeated in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* (I, 13 ff.) and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (91 ff.) with slight variation. Herein we see the beginnings of the institution of the bhāṇakas.

It is not difficult to trace the circumstances that gave rise to the bhāṇaka system. Writing, though known, was little used in these ancient times and the method adopted to preserve and spread the teachings of the Buddha was memorising them by regular recitation and handing them down from teacher to pupil by word of mouth. This was nothing strange to the Indian who had been accustomed to this method of preserving ancient Vedic literature from muc earlier times. A division of labour was a natura step in the task of committing to memory and thu we find different sections of the canon entruste to different sets of elders. Together, these bodie preserved the entire canon and succeeded in han ding down orally the Buddha's teachings from the sixth century B.C. upto the time they were committed to writing in or about the 2nd century B.C. Even after this event the bhāṇaka system proved useful in the absence of a widespread use o writing.

The word *bhāṇaka* is not mentioned in the suttas but is found in the commentaries. There are references to other types of specialists based on the broader divisions of the Canon—the Suttantikas, those versed in the *Suttas*, the Vinayadharas, the experts in the *Vinaya* and Mātikādharas, the masters of the *Mātikās* (very probably the same as the *Ābhidhammikas* of later times, e.g., *Vin*. II, 299) but there is no reference to those devoted to the special study of the narrower divisions such as the Nikāyas of the Sutta Piṭaka, corresponding to such commentarial terms as Dīghabhāṇaka (reciter of the *Dīgha Nikāya*), Majjhimabhāṇaka (reciter of the *Majjhima Nikāya*), etc. Thus, the literary evidence would not permit us to trace the origin of the bhāṇakas earlier than the First Council. However, although most widely mentioned only in commentarial literature, there is definite proof that the institution of the bhāṇakas first crystallised in India from where it was introduced to Ceylon. In the *Milindapañha*, a work written before the Pali commentaries, are mentioned as citizens of the ideal Dhammanagara, the Suttantikā, (master in the Suttas), Venayikā (masters in the *Vinaya*), Ābhidhammikā (specialists in the *Abhidhamma*), Dhammakathikā (preachers of the doctrine), Jātakabhāṇakā (reciters of the *Jātakas*,) Dīghabhāṇakā (reciters of the *Dīgha*), Majjhimabhāṇakā (reciters of the *Majjhima*), Saṃyuttabhāṇakā (reciters of the *Saṃyutta*), Aṅguttarabhāṇakā (reciters of the *Aṅguttara*), Khuddakabhāṇakā (reciters of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*: *Miln*., 341 f.). The existence of bhāṇakas in India is also supported by epigraphical evidence. On the famous monuments of Bhārhut of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. are votive inscriptions where some of the monks are given the epithet of bhāṇaka (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*,pp.8–10,13,14, 16, 20).

The reciters of the Nikāyas mentioned in the commentaries are the Dīghabhāṇakas (*DA*. I, 15; *MA*. IV, 178, etc.), the Majjhimabhāṇakas

(*DhsA*. 420 ; *AA*. I, 306, etc.), the Saṃyuttabhāṇakas (*VinA*. II, 413 ; *BuvA*. 192, etc.) and the Aṅguttarabhāṇakas (*AA*. II, 208 ; *VinA*. IV, 789). There is no mention of the reciters of the Vinaya, the successors of Upāli, the custodian of the Vinaya at the First Council. However, there is a reference to Ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka (reciter of the two *Vibhaṅgas*, III, *VinA*. 644). Of the reciters of smaller divisions there are the Dhammapadabhāṇaka (*DhpA*. IV, 51), the Jātakabhāṇaka (*SnA*. II, 186) and of reciters of Suttas, the Mahāariyavaṃsabhāṇaka (*SA*. III, 182) and Mahācattālīsabhāṇaka (*VibhA*. 320). The variant forms Mahājātakabhāṇaka and Mahākhuddakabhāṇaka occur in the *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA*. II, 249).

In the commentaries, the most frequently referred to are the Dīghabhāṇakas. There were a large number of them living at Anurādhapura. We are told that at Ambalaṭṭhikā situated to the west of the Lohapāsāda, the Dīghabhāṇaka theras held a recital of the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*DA*. I, 131). In the time of king Vasabha (67–111 A.C.) they had a recital of the *Mahāsudassana Sutta* also at Ambalaṭṭhikā (ibid. II, 635). There are several references to individual bhāṇaka elders. The better known among them are Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya (*AA*. II, 249, etc.) and Dīghabhāṇaka Mahāsiva (*DA*. II, 543, etc.). An incident is recorded regarding an unnamed young Dīghabhāṇaka bhikkhu from Kalyāṇi vihāra (*ApA*. 157). Among the bhāṇaka theras of other Nikāyas are Majjhimabhāṇaka Revata (*Vism*. 77) and Saṃyuttabhāṇaka Cūḷasiva (*Vism*. 260). There was the Jātakabhāṇaka Mahāpaduma thera of Tulādhāra in the time of Ilanāga (33–43 A.C., *Mhv*. xxxv, 30–2). Mention is made of an unnamed Mahājātakabhāṇaka thera at Dīghavāpi (*AA*. II, 249). Dhammapadabhāṇaka Mahātissa thera lived in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (161–137 B.C. *DhpA*. IV, 51). Ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka Mahātissa thera lived at Puṇṇavālika (*VinA*. III, 644).

The traditions of the bhāṇakas form one of the sources of the commentaries. In course of time the bhāṇakas of the different divisions of the Canon seem to have developed into distinct schools of opinion and their divergent views on such matters as details regarding the doctrine and events in the life of the Buddha have been recorded by Buddhaghosa. Thus, for instance, the Dīghabhāṇakas and the Majjhimabhāṇakas held different views regarding the composition of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (*DA*. I, 15). They also held different opinions in a detail in the description of the First Council (ibid. 10 f.). Their conflicting views in connection with incidents in the life of the Buddha are recorded at *MA*. IV, 178 ; *J*. I, 59 ; etc. Sometimes regarding doctrinal matters the Dīghabhāṇakas and Saṃyuttabhāṇakas held one opinion while the Majjhimabhāṇakas held another (*VinA*. II, 413 ; *Vism*. 227). The Aṅguttarabhāṇakas had their own views about details in the practice of *dhutaṅgas* (ascetic practices : *Vism*. 60 ff.). After the narration of an event there is often added the variant view of one or other of the bhāṇakas ; thus of the Jātakabhāṇakas (*SnA*. I, 186), and the Dhammapadabhāṇakas (*DhsA*. p. 18). While in several instances the authority of various bhāṇakas has been cited, their views are not always accepted (e.g., *DA*. II, 543).

Although the different bhāṇakas would thus appear to have developed into distinct schools of interpretation, there is no evidence to indicate that they were associated with any particular place or monastery. But this system of specialisation was not without its effect of causing divisions in the community of monks. This is suggested by Buddhaghosa's remark that certain bhikkhus showed wordly attachment towards the texts they studied claiming " the *Dīgha Nikāya* is ours, the *Majjhima Nikāya* is ours " (*MA*. II, 9).

In the *Samantapāsādika* there is an interesting passage defining the knowledge expected of the different bhāṇakas. This would indicate that a bhāṇaka of a Nikāya did not necessarily have to learn the entire Nikāya. We are told that a bhikkhu of ten years standing after his higher ordination, had to learn in addition to certain sections of the Vinaya, if he was a Majjhimabhāṇaka, the *Mūlapaṇṇāsaka*, (i.e., the first fifty suttas), if a Dīghabhāṇaka, the *Mahāvagga* (i.e., the 2nd chapter), if a Saṃyuttabhāṇaka, the last three Vaggas or the *Mahāvagga* (i. e., the fifth chapter), if an Aṅguttarabhāṇaka, the first or second half of the Nikāya, or failing that, the Nipātas starting from the *Tikanipāta* (according to the *Mahāpaccarī*, a monk learning only one Nipāta should choose the 4th or the 5th), and if a Jātakabhāṇaka, the *Jātaka* together with its commentary (according to the *Mahāpaccarī* he should also learn the *Dhammapada* along with its stories: *VinA*. IV,789). It should not be inferred, however, that the specialised knowledge of a particular section of the Canon meant that a bhāṇaka did not study the rest of the canon. There is mention of bhāṇakas who were experts in all the Piṭakas, e.g., Dīghabhāṇaka Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva(*DA*.II, 543).

The essential duty of a bhāṇaka consisted in the constant recitation of a text and memorising it, and thus he played his part in handing down the Buddha's teachings by oral tradition from generation to generation. But it appears that this concentration on the rehearsal of texts was an impediment for training in other branches. Thus, Majjhimabhāṇaka Revata thera, who wished to develop concentration, had to give up reciting the *Majjhima* because that was considered a hindrance in the practice of meditation. But his earlier training had been so thorough that when he recited the *Majjhima* after a lapse of twenty years, we are told that he did not commit a single error (*Vism.* p. 77).

Two words sometimes met with in the comm n-taries are *sarabhāṇaka* (*DhsA.* p. 73; *SA.* III 36) and *padabhāṇaka* (*AA.*I, 39, II, 249). Here, the word bhāṇaka is used in a general way and does not refer to a specialist. The word bhāṇaka has been used at times without qualification—*Kalyāṇa-vihāravāsī-bhāṇaka-dahara-bhikkhu* (*SnA.* I, 70). The feminine form bhāṇikā is also met with in a similar context—*Thullanandā bahussutā bhāṇika visāradā*(*Vin.*IV, 285).

Although the habit of committing certain suttas to memory still survives, the bhāṇaka system does not exist today and it is not known when it disappeared. Very probably with the increased use of writing the system became less and less popular and it finally disappeared when it had outlived its usefulness.[1]

L. R. G.

BHĀṆAVĀRA, 'recital', a section of the books of the Pali canon, divided probably by its early reciters (*bhāṇakas*) for purposes of recitation. A *bhāṇavāra* usually consists of eight thousand syllables, generally counted in terms of stanzas, even when the text is in prose. Thus, two hundred and fifty stanzas of thirty-two syllables—stanza consisting of four feet of eight syllables each—form a *bhāṇavāra*. (*Sāratthadīpanī, Satarabāṇavarasanne,* by Välivița Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja, p. 2)

A *bhāṇavāra* in the recitation known as *sara-bhañña* (intonation) would occupy, in time, half an hour.

The division is not made use of in some books of the Pali canon. It is never used in the post-canonical Pali literature expect in the *catubhā-ṇavāra* which is a compilation of some extracts drawn from some texts of the canon.

The division is of some value in the history of the way the books of the canon were handed down. It is more or less given up in favour of the more practical division into *vaggas* etc., which were also existent from very early times.

As in the printed texts, repetitions have been avoided by a mode of reference to former passages which was impossible in the manuscripts, the average length of the matter contained in a *bhāṇavāra*, as written in the manuscripts, would be somewhat greater than its average length as actually printed.

U. K.

BHAṆḌA, a thera, colleague of Ānanda. Once he disputed with Abhiñjaka, a colleague of Anuruddha, and Kassapa had to report the matter to the Buddha at Veḷuvana. The Buddha sent for both disputants and rebuked them for their quarrelsome nature. Later, they confessed their fault and were pardoned (*S.*II, 204 f.).

W. G. W.

BHAṆḌAGĀMA, a Vajjiyan village between Vesāli and Hatthigāma, closer to the former. The Buddha visited it during his last tour and talked to the monks on four conditions which lead to Nibbāna : righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom and freedom (*D.* II, 122). The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* contains ten short discourses which are said to have been preached by the Buddha while staying in this village (*A.* II, 1 ff.). See BHAṆḌAGĀMA VAGGA.

H. R. P.

BHAṆḌAGĀMA VAGGA, the first chapter of the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 1-12). It contains ten short suttas preached to the monks by the Buddha while staying among the Vajjiyans at Bhaṇḍagāma (q. v.). The *uddāna* at the end of the chapter, gives the names of the suttas as *anubuddha* (understanding), *papatita* (fallen away), *dve khatā* (uprooted, two suttas), *anusota* (with the stream), *appassuta* (of little learning), *sobheti* (illuminates), *vesārajja* (confidence) *taṇhā* (craving) and *yoga* (bond). *Paṭhama vagga* is the title of the chapter that appears in the text but the commentary (*MA.* III, 15) gives

1 Material contained in E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, chap. iii, devoted to a study of the Bhāṇakas, has been made use of, in this article.

Bhaṇḍagāma-vagga as the title, obviously deriving it from the place where the suttas were preached.

H. R. P.

BHAṆḌAKUCCHI, one of the gate-keepers of Maṇḍavya who were ordered to cast Mātaṅga out (*J.* IV. 382). See also MĀTAṄGA JĀTAKA.

BHAṆḌANA SUTTA (1). This sutta is found in the *Kusināra-vagga* of the *Tika-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 275 f.). The Buddha says that it is unpleasant for him even to think of a place where monks are given to quarrelling, and much worse to go to such a place. Strife is due to the abandoning of dispassionate, benevolent and harmless thinking and to the indulging in sensual, malevolent and harmful thinking. Monks who dwell in harmony follow the opposite course and it is a pleasure to visit them.

This sutta is unnamed in the text. In the absence of the *uddāna* (the list of titles at the end of the chapter) it has been differently named *Bhaṇḍana Sutta* (*DPPN.* s. v.) and *Bhaṇḍanajāta Sutta* (See A. P. Buddhadatta, *Tripiṭakasūciya,* p. 87).

L. R. G.

BHAṆḌANA SUTTA (2), found in the *Pañcaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 252). There are five dangers open to a monk who encourages strife and disputes—he attains not what he has still to attain, he falls away from what he has already attained, an evil report spreads of him, he dies confused in thought and after death he is born in woeful states.

L. R. G.

BHAṆḌANA SUTTA (3), occurs in the *Dasaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (V, 88 ff.). It was preached by the Buddha when he was staying at Jetavana to certain monks who were quarrelling and abusing each other. He rebuked them for their unseemly behaviour and spoke to them on the ten qualities conducive to harmonious living—a monk should be virtuous, bound by the rules of morality, he should have a good knowledge of the doctrine, he should be a noble friend, he should be of pleasant speech, he should be energetic in his actions, he should take delight in the doctrine, and rejoice in *abhidhamma*[1] (more sublime things pertaining to the doctrine) and in *abhivinaya* (more sublime things pertaining to the discipline), he should be resolute in energy for the abandoning of bad qualities and the acquiring of good qualities, he should be content with what requisites he has, he should develop mindfulness and he should be possessed of insight.

L. R. G.

BHANDARA HILL, near Induri in the Poona district of India, the site of some ancient rock-cut Buddhist caves which remained unnoticed by antiquarians until recently. These caves comprise a caitya and three vihāras and are well known as Vithoba-Rakhumaichi Leni among the local people (*Indian Archæology*, 1957–58, p. 67).

H. R. P.

BHAṆḌIKA, an eminent thera well-versed in the four Nikāyas, evidently an esteemed commentator. Buddhaghosa in commenting on the phrase *nandībhava-parikkhaya* gives two interpretations to it, namely, *saupādisesa Nibbāna*, i.e., Nibbāna with the five groups of existence remaining and *anupādisesa Nibbāna*, i.e., Nibbāna without the five groups of existence remaining, and says that Bhaṇḍika favoured the second interpretation (*SA.* I, 21).

U. K.

BHAṆḌIKĀ-PARIVEṆA, a building attached to the Abhayagiri Vihāra and built by Kassapa V, 914–23 A.C. (*Mhv.* lxii. *v.* 58). Geiger is of opinion that it is so named in honour of his mother, Saṅghā, who has the name Sang Banḍay in the Anurādhapura inscription (*EZ.* I, 23. n. 6 ; *Mhv.* trsl. II, 167, n. 6).

H. R. P.

BHĀṆḌIN, a nāga king mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* ; there are eighty-one nāga kings in the list (*BB.* XIII, 48), and he is one of them.

BHAṆḌISUTA, a nāga king mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (247. 6 ; *BHS.* s.v.).

BHAṆḌUKA (1), an arahant, son of a sister of Devī and hence a cousin of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā. Mahinda visited Vidisā, the home town of his mother, and when he revealed to his kinsmen that

1 One of the very few instances where the word *abhidhamma* occurs in the nikāyas.

he had decided to go to Laṅkā, as his father's emissary, taking with him the message of the Buddha to be given to the king of Laṅkā, Bhaṇḍuka also expressed his desire to join the team. At the time Bhaṇḍuka had reached the state of a non-returner (*anāgāmi*) and was closely associated with Mahinda. Then a month later Bhaṇḍuka accompanied Mahinda and five others to Laṅkā. After the dramatic meeting with this team at Missaka Pabbata, Devānampiyatissa invited them to the city that day, and when the invitation was turned down the king requested Mahinda to send at least Bhaṇḍuka to go with them. But Mahinda could not allow that, as Bhaṇḍuka was an anāgami who was awaiting ordination. The king got Bhaṇḍuka to a side and obtained all the information regarding Mahinda and his other companions and, being convinced that they were disciples of the Buddha come from India, left for the city. When the king left, Bhaṇḍuka was given the ordination as well as the higher ordination, and Bhaṇḍuka attained arahantship immediately after. He is reckoned as the first monk to be ordained and the first to attain arahantship in Laṅkā (*Mhv.* xiii, 16, 18 ; xiv, 29, 31 f. ; *Dpv.* xii, 26, 39, 62, 63).

W. G. W.

BHAṆḌUKA (2), a monk whose gift of a pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I is recorded in a third century B. C. inscription on that pillar. Cunningham thinks that he was one of the four sons of Goti (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, 239, 271, 293).

BHAṆḌUKAṆṆA, a juggler who tried to make Mahāpanāda laugh by performing a masterpiece of his trade. He created a mango tree at the entrance to the palace and throwing a ball of twine over a branch he managed to climb the tree with its help. The mango tree happened to belong to Vessavana and when Bhaṇḍukaṇṇa climbed the tree Vessavaṇa's attendants caught him, and tearing him into pieces scattered them on the ground. The other dancers in his troup collected those fragments in a heap and sprinkled water on it. When this was done Bhaṇḍukaṇṇa sprang up from that heap of several limbs, dancing and clad in a garment of flowers. But even this act could not make Mahāpanāda laugh (*J.* IV, 324).

W. G. W.

BHĀṆḌYĀYANA, a mahārṣī mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (256. 33 ; *BHS.* s.v.).

BHANGARĪ, a seaport in Deccan at which the great commentator Buddhaghosa took ship and came to Ceylon (*The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, 47).

BHAÑÑA, a group of people of the Ukkala district in India who denied the validity of cause and the results of actions. They were sceptics whose views are referred to as *ahetu-vāda, akiriya-vāda* and *natthika-vāda*. They nevertheless accepted the three modes of reckoning the five aggregates of existence as belonging to the past, the present and the future (*tayo niruttipathā : S.* III, 71-3 ; *Kvu.* i, 141), the four moral standards (*cattāri dhammapadāni*), namely, freedom from covetousness and from malice, right mindfulness and right concentration (*A.* II, 30-1) and also the teaching of the *Mahācattārisaka Sutta* (*M.* III, 71-8), emphasising the importance of right views together with right thoughts and right mindfulness.

U. K.

BHĀNUPRABHĀ, a previous birth of Gopā as the daughter of the śresṭhin Nandīdhvaja in the city of Drumāvatī. She met the monk Suraśmi, also called Suraśmiketu, the son of king Śrītejas, and offered to him all the ornaments she was wearing. As a result she was born among devas and in royal families. After the lapse of two hundred and fifty kalpas she was born to a courtesan, Sudarśanā, and was known as Saṃvalitā (*Gvyū.* 427–8). See GOPĀ.

U. K.

BHĀRA, literally means a load, a burden, anything to carry (*A.* I, 84). In Buddhist literature the word is used in two metaphorical senses, viz., first as meaning duty, task (*J.* I, 292 ; II, 399 ; IV, 427 ; VI, 413 ; *DhpA.* I, 6, 111 ; *VbhA.* 141) and second, which is also the most important, in the sense of the factors of renewed existence, namely, the five aggregates of existence (*khandha*), the defilements (*kilesa*) and the karma-formations (*abhisaṅkhāra*), all explained as burdens (*bhāra : Nd.* I, 334).

According to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the burden (*bhāra*) is the five aggregates ; the burden–bearer (*bhārahāra*) is the person (*puggala*) ; the taking up of the burden (*bhārādāna*) is the lust (*taṇhā*) that leads to rebirth, and the laying down of the burden (*bhāranikkhepana*) is the passionless ceasing of craving (*taṇhānirodha : S.* III, 25–6).

It is sometimes inferred from this sutta that there is a person (*puggala*) over and above the five aggregates of existence who carries the burden (*bhārahāra*), but in the *Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta* (q. v.) the Buddha denies, in no uncertain terms, the existence of any sort of person and accepts only the existence of the aggregates. The two statements appear to be contradictory, if interpreted in their literal sense. The former is a conventional statement (*vohāra desanā*), which admits of persons, whereas the latter is a statement made in the ultimate philosophic sense (*paramattha*) which denies the existence of any 'person' (*nissatta-nijjīva*) and admits only the existence of phenomena.

It may be statements like the former one that led to the formation of the school known as Pudgala-vāda (q. v.).

Buddhaghosa explains *bhāra* with reference to the Four Noble Truths. He says that *bhāra* is the truth of suffering, the taking up of the *bhāra* is the truth of the arising of suffering, the laying down of the *bhāra* is the truth of the cessation of suffering and the method of laying down of the burden (*bhāra-nikkhepanūpaya*) is the Path (*Vism.* 435).

Thus, *pannabhāra* one whose load has been laid down (*M.* I, 139 ; *A.* III, 84 ; *S.* I, 233 ; *Dhp. v.* 402 ; *DhpA.* IV, 168 ; *Sn. vv.* 626, 914, *SnA.* 467 ; *Nd.* I, 334) and *ohitabhāra*, one who has laid down his burden (*D.* III, 83, 97 ; *M.* I, 4, 236 ; *S.* I, 71 ; III, 161, 193 ; IV, 125 ; V, 145, 205, 273, 302 ; *A.* I, 144 ; III, 359, 376 ; IV, 362, 369, 371) mean one who has attained *Nibbāna*—an arahant.

U. K.

BHĀRADVĀJA (1), name of three of the five hundred paccekabuddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. They were seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but were never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sages (*isī gilatī ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these paccekabuddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* II, 889) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind the rock which would open and close like a folding door.

One of these Bhāradvājas is further distinguished in the Isigili Sutta by the epithets : the good and the unrivalled (*sundaro*) which last one he shares with the pacceka-buddha Sikhī. Of another of these Bhāradvājas it is said there that it was his last birth (*antimadehadhārī*), which, of course, is true of any paccekabuddha.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHĀRADVĀJA (2), one of the two chief disciples of Kassapa Buddha. The other one was known as Tissa (*J.* I, 43 ; *Buv.* xxv, 39 ; *SnA.* I, 293).

BHĀRADVĀJA (3). There are three theras known by this name, all of whom became arahants. The first was a brāhman of Rājagaha who belonged to the Bhāradvāja clan. He had a son, Kaṇhadinna whom he sent to Takkasilā for higher education. He met a thera on the way and, after listening to the Dhamma from him, entered the Order and attained arahantship. His father, Bhāradvāja visited the Buddha who was then residing in Veḷu-vana and on hearing the Dhamma from him, also attained arahantship. When Kaṇhadinna visited the Buddha at Rājagaha, he learnt from his father all about his attainments (*ThagA.* II, 50–51).

Bhāradvāja is said to have met a pacceka-buddha named Sumana, and offered him a *vallikāra* (var. *vallikara*) fruit, about thirty-one kappas ago (*Thag. vv.* 177–8 ; *ThagA.* II, 50). He is, therefore, perhaps, indentical with Vallikāraphaladāyaka thera of the *Apadāna* (*Ap.* II, p. 416 ; but the same *Apadāna* verses are also given under Bhalliya thera : *ThagA.* I, 49).

The second Bhāradvāja was the eldest of a clan of Bhāradvājas who also lived in Rājagaha. His wife was known as Dhanañjānī brāhmaṇī. She being a devout follower of the Buddha, always uttered praises of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. One day, while serving her husband with his meal, she uttered those praises. Vexed at her utterance, he addressed her as an outcaste (*vasalī*) and said that he was going to meet the Buddha and admonish him. Dhanañjānī then said to her husband that there was no person, either divine or otherwise, who could admonish the Buddha. Having said that, she encouraged him to visit him.

When he went to the Buddha, Bhāradvāja asked him what one should destroy in order to gain happiness. The Buddha's answer was that by destroying anger (*kodha*) one could obtain happiness. Bhārad-vāja then became so pleased with this very appropriate answer, that he accepted the Buddha as his teacher. He gave up his worldly life and having entered the Order attained arahantship before

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long (*S.* I, 160 f.). When he became an arahant, his brothers and several other Bhāradvājas living in Sāvatthi followed him.

For the third thera of this name see BHĀRADVĀJA (4).

I. K.

BHĀRADVĀJA (4), name (probably the clan name) of a young brāhman described as the pupil of Tārukkha, a brāhman teacher of religion. This Bhāradvāja, along with his friend Vāseṭṭha, is mentioned (*D.* I, 235) as having visited the Buddha to ask him about the correct path to attain to the company of Brahmā. Their question formed the point of depature for the Buddha's preaching of the *Tevijja Suttanta*, at the conclusion of which the two friends were converted and wanted to become disciples of the Buddha. The event is given as having taken place near Manasākaṭa.

Tho name Bhāradvāja, again coupled with Vāseṭṭha, is also mentioned in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* found both in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, 196 ff.) and in the *Suttanipāta* (pp. 115 ff.), where they ask the Buddha the question: "How is one a brāhman?" The answer to this question constitutes the subject-matter of the sutta. According to this sutta, the two seek discipleship under the Buddha on this occasion. This event takes place near Icchānaṅgala, which, T. W. Rhys Davids (*SBB.* II, p. 300, n. 2) surmises to be the same as Icchāgala mentioned by Buddhaghosa as the residential village of Tārukkha, probably a hamlet in Manasākaṭa.

The twin names, Bhāradvāja and Vāseṭṭha, are again mentioned (*D.* III, 80) as of those to whom the Buddha preached the *Aggañña Suttanta.* Here they are depicted as undergoing their probation prior to their becoming fully ordained monks.

Buddhaghosa (*DA.* III, 860, 872) reconciles these different facts of the various suttas by maintaining that the two young men accepted the Buddha as their teacher at the conclusion of the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, entered the Saṅgha at the conclusion of the *Tevijja Suttanta* and became arahants while meditating on the teachings of the *Aggañña Suttanta.*

Buddhaghosa (*DA.* III, 860) adds that Bhāradvāja belonged to a brāhman family worth forty-five crores.

It is noteworthy that the twin names also occur together in the list of names of the seers to whom tradition ascribes the second and seventh books of the *Ṛgveda*. See also AGGAÑÑA SUTTA, BHĀRADVĀJA (6).

B. J.

BHĀRADVĀJA (5), a name mentioned in the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta* (*D.* III, 204), as that of one of the forty-one yakkha chieftains to be invoked by a follower of the Buddha in time of danger or distress from yakkha rebels. This yakkha, with forty others, is recommended for such invocation by Vessavaṇa in an interview with the Buddha. The recommendation is later approved by the Buddha, who in turn makes it to his monks.

Although the name Bhāradvāja occurs elsewhere as the name of a clan, a thera, or a brāhman, this is the only instance of its occurrence as the name of a yakkha. The term yakkha, however, in this suttanta, has not yet acquired the fixed meaning of 'demon' as in later texts, but stands vaguely for any non-human being of supernormal might, varying from demoniacal to celestial nature according to the context.

For a list of the forty-one yakkha-chieftains, see DEMONOLOGY.

B. J.

BHĀRADVĀJA (6), name of a brāhman clan (*S.* I, 160) considered to be very ancient. Mention is made of a Bhāradvāja *isi* among the authors of the runes of the brāhmans (*D.* I, 242; *M.* II, 200; *A.* III, 224; IV, 61). About twenty individuals belonging to this clan are mentioned in the Nikāyas. Some of them, like Piṇḍola-bhāradvāja (q.v.), entered the order and became arahants; others, like Kasī-bhāradvāja (q.v.), became lay disciples of the Buddha.

In the *Pācittiya Pāli*, the Bhāradvāja-gotta is mentioned as a low caste (*Vin.* IV, 6).

Candrasūryapradīpa Buddha, too, belonged to this clan (*Sdmp.* 16).

U. K.

BHĀRADVĀJA SUTTA. Udena, king of the Vaṃsas visits Piṇḍola-bhāradvāja thera at the Ghositārāma in Kosambi, the capital city of the Vaṃsas, and asks how it is that young men in their prime should leave the world and yet live, aloof from lusts, the full righteous life. Piṇḍola answers that these young men regard all women as mothers, sisters or

daughters. They regard the body as full of manifold impurities, and abide watchful over the doors of the senses. Udena is pleased with the explanation and expresses faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*S.* IV, 110–13).

U. K.

BHARAṆḌUKĀLĀMA (var. Bharaṇḍuka-kālāma, Bhaddaṇḍa-kālāma), a recluse, an erstwhile colleague of the recluse Siddhattha Gotama, before he won enlightenment, when they were both pupils of Āḷārakālāma (*AA.* II, 357).

Once the Buddha visited Kapilavatthu, the capital of the Sakyans, and, on the suggestion of Mahānāma, the Sakyan, spent a night at Bharaṇḍukālāma's hermitage. When Mahānāma came the next morning, the Buddha talked to him about the three kinds of teachers: those who have full comprehension of sense-desires, but not of objects of sense or of feelings; those who have full comprehension of sense-desires and objects of sense, but not of feelings; and those who have full comprehension of all three. And the Buddha asked: "Would their conclusions be the same or would they differ?" Here, Bharaṇḍu chimed in and asked Mahānāma to say they would be the same. The Buddha contradicted him and asked Mahānāma to say they would be different. Grieved at being slighted by the Buddha in the presence of an important Sakyan like Mahānāma, Bharaṇḍu left Kapilavatthu, never to return (*A.* I, 276–8).

U. K.

BHARAṆḌU SUTTA records the visit of the Buddha to the hermitage of Bharaṇḍu-kālāma (*A.* I, 276–8).

BHĀRA SUTTA, the first sutta of the *Bhāra-vagga* of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* (*S.* III, 25 f.). The Buddha preaches that the burden (*bhāra*) is the mass of the five aggregates of grasping, the "laying hold of the burden" is the individual, the "taking up of the burden" is craving and the 'laying down of the burden" is the extinction of craving. He who lays down this burden, does not take any other burden and eradicates craving entirely, attains Nibbāna.

L. R. G.

BHARATA (1), an arahant. During the time of the Buddha Anomadassī, Bharata was born in a noble family (*kulageha*), and one day seeing the Buddha walking bare-footed, offered to him the comfortable and beautiful sandals he was wearing at the moment. As a consequence of this act he was born in good states subsequently, and during this Buddha period he was a householder of Campā. Having heard that Soṇa-Koḷivisa had renounced the world, he, too, with his brother Nandaka entered the Order and soon afterwards became an arahant (*Thag. vv.* 175, 176; *ThagA.* II, 49).

Bharata thera is probably identical with Pānadhidāyaka thera of the *Apadāna* (II, 417).

W. G. W.

BHARATA (2), a previous birth of the bodhisatta who was born as the king of Roruva and the husband of Samuddavijayā. See ĀDITTA JĀTAKA.

BHARATA (3), one of the eleven sages of old mentioned by Sakka to king Nimi, as having been born in the Brahma world because of living the holy life (*J.* VI, 99).

BHARATA (4), one of the six nobles who received a portion from the kingdom which belonged to king Reṇu. When, in accordance with a promise made earlier, king Reṇu divided his kingdom into seven portions, Bharata became the king of the Sovīras of Roruka. Bharata's five colleagues, all kings, were Sattabhū of the Kāliṅgas of Dantapura, Brahmadatta of the Assukas of Potana, Vessabhu of the Avantis of Māhissatī, Dhataraṭṭha of the Aṅgas of Campā and Dhataraṭṭha of the Kāsis of Bārāṇasī. Reṇu retained the land of the Videhas of Mithilā (*D.* II, 235 f.). This king is identified with Bharata, mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Mvyut.* 581).

I. K.

BHARATA (5), a king of Bārāṇasī, belonging to the Okkāka lineage. He was the son of king Mahākusa and the father of Dasaratha (*MhvA.* 130).

BHARATA (6), one of the early kings of the Mahāsammata race of kings to which Gotama Buddha belonged. Sāgaradeva was his father and Aṅgī(ra)sa his son (*Mhv.* ii, 4; *Dpv.* iii, 6).

BHARATA (7), a hunter who brought from the Himālaya the chief of a herd of monkeys whose cry frightened king Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī (*J.* III, 432).

BHĀRATA, a title by which three kings are addressed in the *Jātakas* ; Pañcāla, king of Uttara-pañcāla in the *Sattigumba Jātaka* (*J.* IV, 435); the king of Bārāṇasī in the *Saṅkhapāla Jātaka* (*J.* V, 170) ; and Manoja, also king of Bārāṇasī in the *Sonananda Jātaka* (*J.* V, 317, 326). The commentary explains the title as meaning one who shoulders the responsibility of government (*J.* V, 317).

U. K.

BHARATAKUMĀRA, son of the second queen of king Dasaratha of Bārāṇasī. He was also the step-brother of Rāma, Lakkhaṇa and Sītā. When Bharata was born, Dasaratha offered a boon to the queen. At that time she was not prepared to accept it but when the child was seven years old, she claimed the boon and wanted her son to succeed his father. The king at first refused, but later agreed and asked his two elder sons to leave the palace and be in the forest for twelve years, because the soothsayers had said that he would live for another twelve years. But he died during the ninth year and the queen wanted to consecrate Bharata as king. But Bharata set out with a great retinue to the forest and after informing Rāma about the death of their father, requested him to accept the kingship. Rāma said that he should spend the next three years also in the forest, in accordance with his father's wish, and refused to come back to the kingdom. Although Rāma asked Bharata to rule the kingdom until his return, he refused to do so. Bharata is identified with Ānanda (*J.* IV, 124 ff.).

I. K.

BHĀRGAVA (1), which would literally mean 'descendent of Bhṛgu' is the patronymic of several teachers, and in Buddhist literature it refers to an ascetic under whom Śākyamuni practised austerity. Bhaggava and Bhaga also occur as variant forms of Bhārgava (*DCBT.* p. 391 b).

The word Bhaggava in Pali, which also refers to an ascetic teacher to whom the Śākyamuni went after leaving Rājagaha and before seeking Ālāra and Uddaka, is probably a Prakrit form of Sanskrit 'Bhārgava'. See BHAGGAVA (1).

W. S. Kt.

BHĀRGAVA (2), one of the forty-nine brāhman clans (*gotra*) mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 635). This gotra, which is a sub-division of the Vātsya gotra, one of the seven major clans, is cited in Vedic literature as originating from the sage Bhṛgu. (See also A. N. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II, p. 101)

S. K. N.

BHĀRHUT, a village in the state of Nāgod, central India, situated 120 miles south-west of Allahabād. It is said to be the site of an ancient city, named by some as Bhaironpur, the extent of which is not certain, but considering the brickbats and potsherds scattered about for a length of one mile and a breadth of half a mile, Bhārhut was once apparently a fairly large city. It lay on the ancient highroad which ran across from Ujjain and Bhilsā in the south to Pāṭaliputta in the east and Kosambi and Sāvatthi in the north. Bhārhut remains one of the most important archæological sites after the discovery of the great Buddhist stūpa by Alexander Cunningham in 1873 (see A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*). The ruins of this stūpa, together with those of Sāñcī (q. v.) supply the greatest wealth of monumental data for the study of Indian archæology during the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era. Among the other remains at Bhārhut are a Buddhist vihāra of the mediæval period with a clossal statue and several other Buddhist figures not earlier than 1000 A.C. It is apparent that Buddhism prevailed in this region for nearly fifteen centuries until the advent of the Muslims who caused wanton destruction to the existing religious monuments.

Stūpa : When Cunningham visited the site in 1873, the stūpa had been reduced to a mound with only a few portions of the railing and the eastern gateway remaining buried under the debris. The major part of the railing and the bricks had been removed by the villagers for building purposes. The recovered portions of the railing and the gateway were removed by Cunningham to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1875, where they are exhibited in the Bhārhut gallery. The only remaining portion of the stūpa itself was a part of the base on the south-east side, which remained to a height of 6 feet and a length of 10 feet. The surface of this surviving portion was plastered indicating that the whole stūpa had been similarly treated. The lower half was plain, while the upper half was ornamented with a succession of triangular recesses which, Cunningham concluded, were meant for holding lamps. There could have been 120 recesses for the whole circumference.

beam supported a symbol in the form of a spreading acroteria, crowned by a wheel (*cakra*) and flanked by two *tri-ratna* symbols placed in line with the main pillars of the gateway. At the end of the beams were two other objects, probably figures of horses.

The eastern gateway has been invaluble for purpose of chronology, for an inscription on it (No. 687) says that one of two gateways was erected during the sovereignty of the Suṅgas, Vacchīputta Dhanabhūti, son of Gauptīputra Ājaraju (and) grandson of king Gargīputra Viśvadeva. Similar records were noticed by Cunningham on two other gateway fragments. These records, incidentally, are the only ones in which the tribal name of an Indian imperial dynasty of ancient times has been recorded contemporaneously.

The space between the railing and the base of the stūpa, which formed the ground ambulatory was 10 ft. 4 in. wide and covered with a thick flooring of lime plaster. The outer edge of the floor was finished by a line of kerb stones cut exactly to the circumference of the inner circle of the railing and pillars were set against these kerb stones.

Of the stūpa itself nothing was remaining but for a portion of the cylindrical berm of the south-east side referred to earlier. The diameter of the base of the stūpa, however, could be determined as 67 ft. 8½ in. Numerous specimens of bricks, used for the building of the stūpa, have been found and most of these were plain and square in shape measuring 12 in. × 12 in. × 3½ in. Some were still larger having a width varying from 5 to 6 in.

No relic deposits were discovered from the stūpa. Cunningham, however, was informed of a small box previously removed from the debris and kept in the possession of the local Rājā. This, however, could not be traced. It is probable that the box referred to was a receptacle of relics of some kind.

The terraced floor of the ground ambulatory was continued all round the outside of the railing for a width of several feet. Here some traces of brick walls and stone votive stūpas were found. These scattered foundations Cunningham considers to be the plinths of votive stūpas.

The excavation also brought to light the remains of a second stone railing much smaller in dimensions than the inner great railing. (It could have been about 3 ft. 3 in. high and comprised some 240 pillars with about 700 cross-bars) It was considered that the smaller railing flanked the berm of the stūpa as well as the ascending stairway and probably the *harmikā* as well.

Sculptures : The railings and the gateways of the stūpa at Bhārhut were profusely decorated with bas-reliefs and figure sculptures for the purpose of beautifying the monument and instilling religious feelings in the minds of the Buddhist devotees. The majority of the reliefs are purely decorative. The full medallions are often decorated with a full blown lotus covering the whole space or with outer rings having the middle space covered with human heads, wringed limbs, elephants, *makara*, peacocks, honey-suckle etc. In some occur objects of religious significance, e.g., stūpa, dharmacakra, *tri-ratna* etc., and others of quasi-religious nature, e.g., pūrṇaghaṭa, Lakṣmī (Māyā, Buddha's mother according to M. Foucher) etc. In the case of Lakṣmī, she is shown either standing or seated on a lotus, while two elephants are on either side, each resting on a lotus, pour water over Lakṣmī's head.

The terminus and corner pillars of the railing contain life-size figures, the majority of which are representations of divine or semi-divine beings. Most of the figures are identifiable with the help of inscribed labels, e.g., devatās : Sirimā and Cūlakokā ; yaksas : Gaṅgita, Suciloma, Virudhaka, Kupira (i.e., Kuvera), Ajakalaka and Supāvasa ; yakṣīs : Candā, Sudasanā (i.e., Sudarśanā) and Ālakamandā ; Nāgas : Cakavaka (Cakravāka). The divinities are usually depicted with their carriers, e.g., Gaṅgita, Supāvasa and Cūlakokā on elephant, Candā and Sudasanā on *makara*, Kuvera and Ālakamandā on man, etc. These carriers seem to mark the beginning of the portrayal of Indian divinities in association with their respective vāhanas. Several other divinities remain unrecognized owing to the absence of labels.

The most important among the sculptures of Bhārhut are the bas-reliefs representing *jātakas* (episodes relating to the past births of the Buddha) and the incidents of the life of the Buddha. In the *jātakas*, the bodhisattva, whether man or animal, always appear as a benevolent leader devoted to the welfare of his fellow creatures. Most of the Jātaka stories have been identified with the aid of labels. Some of them differ from the extant Pali Jātaka and it may be that the artists followed various versions current at the time. Some of the important Jātakas depicted are Laṭukika, Sujāta, Nigrodhamiga, Miga-potaka,

Makhādeva, Bhisa, Asadisa, Chammasāṭaka, Maṇikaṇṭha, Mahājanaka, Kapota, Vessantara, Kinnara, Mahākapi, Mūgapakkha, Vidhurapaṇḍita, Chaddanta, Mahāummagga, Mahābodhi, Ruru, Alambusā and Kukkuṭa.

Several bas-reliefs depicting important incidents from the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni have been identified. Significantly, the Buddha in these scenes, either before or after Enlightenment, was not shown in human form but by Buddhist symbols, e.g., bodhi-tree (*ficus religiosa*) with empty throne, wheel (dharmacakra), footprints, stūpa and *tri-ratna*. Among the identified scenes of this category are: conception, Enlightenment, homage after Māra's defeat, First Sermon, worship of the hair-relic, Descent from Trāyastiṃśa heaven, Buddha at the Indrasāla cave and Mahāparinirvāṇa.

Closely related to the life incidents of the Buddha are some historical incidents as well, identifiable among these sculptures, e.g., visit of Prasenajit to the Buddha, visit of Ajātaśatru, and donation of Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika.

The aniconic method of representation of the Buddha Śākyamuṇi has been applied to the past Buddhas as well. They are represented by the trees under which each Buddha attained Bodhihood, viz., *Pāṭalī* (*bigonia Suaveolcus*) of Vipassi, *Sāla* (*Shorea robusta*) of Vessabhū, *Sirīsa* (*scacia sirisa*) of Kakusanda, *Udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*) of Konāgamana and *Nigrodha* (*ficus indica*) of Kassapa.

Besides, there is a variety of sculptures of a miscellaneous nature. Among the figure sculptures are those superhumans such as devas, yakṣas and nāgas noted above, celestial nymphs like apsaras and vidyādharas are shown hovering in the air and human beings include royal personages, soldiers, religious mendicants and lay devotees ; the ubiquitious animals are lion, bull, elephant, and horse, while numerous other fauna are represented specially in the Jātaka reliefs. A variety of vegetal and floral patterns had been used as decorative motifs. Ornaments and jewellery, types of dress, military costumes, systems of transport like horse chariots and bullock-carts, furniture, utensils, musical instruments and numerous other objects of daily life are well represented. Various types of buildings, both secular and sacred are shown. The secular buildings vary from palaces and military forts to simple huts, which sacred buildings include bodhigharas, stūpas, saṅghārāmas, dwelling cells (kuṭi) etc.

Date : Cunningham originally assigned the date of the stūpa to a period between 250 and 200 B.C. This date was revised later by John Anderson and, with the authority of Cunningham himself, was fixed at a date not earlier than 150 B.C. (Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1883, p. 6). The latter date has been supported by many experts, including Sir John Marshall. N. G. Majumdar dates the construction of the original railing to about 125 B.C. The gateways according to him, were added at least half a century later. The eastern gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti referred to earlier is dated in the last quarter of the second century B.C. The Sungas referred to in the inscription is the dynasty founded by Puṣyamitra succeeding the Mauryas in about 185 B.C. The gateways, however, were most probably set up about a century later towards the end of the Sunga period.

Art : The art of Bhārhut like that of Sāñcī and Bodhgayā, is essentially a folk art, and it represents the archaic phase in classical Indian art. Being mostly relief sculpture, the artists had to face problems connected with story narration, third dimension, perspective etc. The artists evolved devices to overcome such difficulties. They adopted the method generally known as 'continuous narration' in telling a story in which both time and space were eleminated. The chronological sequence of a particular story was deliberately broken up and the narration centers round the location of the event. As one expert observes, " This unilocal, i.e., topographical, method of presentation is specifically Indian and may be recognised as the most logical method of continuous narration with its pivot of something that is solid and not intangible and invisible as the time element. " (S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, p. 39) Thus, incidents that happen at different times and at different places are shown in one and the same panel, the main figure being repeated several times at intervals, e.g., in the relief depicting the Ruru Jātaka, the bodhisattva deer is shown rescuing the drowning man, the king attempting to shoot the deer with an arrow and lastly the deer admonishing the king.

The problem of the third dimension is overcome by showing objects horizontally and vertically. The figures are usually placed in rows one above the other and not behind. The figures are shown in equal height, irrespective of their distance, thus ignoring optical perspective. The size of the figure is not determined by the optical vision but by the importance attached to the figure. In this manner, perspective yields to functional consistency. Oversecting and foreshortening was sometimes resorted to, yet, usually the reliefs are low and flat and are portrayed more as silhouttes detached for background. Forms are conceived not in terms of depth but of space.

A gliding linear rhythm, though faltering in accent, remains the predominant style of Bhārhut sculpture. It glides from one figure to another and integrate the objects of the composition into a unified organism. It was this idiom that became the key-note of the classical sculpture of India during the Gupta period. A few reliefs, however, follow the schematic style disturbed only by sharp contrasts of light and shade.

Although the figures are related to one another, they lack individuality and little attempt is made to express the feelings expected of each figure. Thus, all figures look alike. A few exceptions, however, occur, for instance, in the Prasenajit-Pillar in the portrayal of dancing figures of the heavenly damsels, action and movement is shown by the swaying of hands in various directions and unnatural contortions of the body.

The artists were more concerned with the microscopic delineation of minute details of ornamentation such as delicate patterns in the drapery and monuments and tattoo marks on the body. As an expert observes, the reliefs of Bhārhut, " in keeping with their plain narrative characters, have a charming simplicity of their own, which is reflected not only in their decorative beauty but also in their sincere attempt to portray nature" (N.G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, p. 56).

The figures on the pillars, e.g., tutelory deities, yakṣas, yakṣinīs, nāgas, and vṛkṣikās, show a hieratic rigidity which a few attempts at movement. These divinities are depicted in this manner at the entrances to act as guardian deities of Buddhism and to indicate their subservience to the Buddha.

Even though the Bhārhut artists seem to excel themselves in the depiction of the human figure in varied positions, as seen in the Jātaka stories, life-size divinities, heavenly nymphs etc., yet in the life incidents of the Buddha, before and after Enlightenment, he was never represented anthropomorphically. In these scenes, the Buddha was always shown by aniconic symbols, as mentioned earlier. This aniconic method was perhaps preferred by the artists in accordance with the Buddha's discouragement of such idolization.

Bhārhut artists equally excel in the carving of decorative patterns which show a remarkable variety Flora and fauna had been utilized to produce a profusion of motifs. The medallions having lotus patterns containing human busts, animals, birds etc., and the coping with the meandering creeper with their spaces filled with numerous and varied sculptures amply demonstrate the high quality attained by the artists in everything decorative. Some of the hybrid figures in the medallions such as the human-headed bull and winged lion were very probably due to west-Asiatic influences. Nevertheless, the Bhārhut artist, by absorption and assimilation, apparently had reached a very high standard in decorative art.

L. P.

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END OF VOLUME TWO